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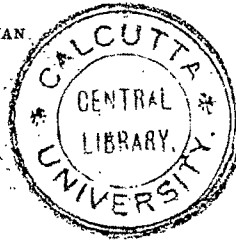
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INDUSTRY AND THE COMMUNITY¹

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ABSTRACT

It is suggested that the chief difficulty facing sociologists in the study of industry and the community and the effects of technological change is to be found in the lack of a method for comparing technical organization—the relationship of men at work in the industrial process—with social organization narrowly defined as the relationships of the inhabitants of an industrial community in family, association, church, and residential-community life. The first kind of organization has heretofore been thought of as an engineering matter, and among production engineers many techniques and much lore have come to develop. Some of it is couched in terms capable of dealing with the rapid changes of rate, frequency, and direction in human interaction that a controlled industrial process requires. Studies of the “community,” however, even though they, too, must deal with the results of such technical changes, are still couched in descriptive and taxonomic terms and are incapable of dealing with such changes in a continuum of observation with the phenomena of changing extra-industrial social life. There is a need for a common method of analysis which will trace the specific changes from one area to the other in dynamic terms. It is suggested that the materials for such a method already exist within sociology.

Current studies of the relationship between industry and the community seem to me to fail to achieve an adequate grasp of the realities of the field. They fail as yet to offer a uniform and appropriate method of description. They are far too often ignorant of one entire half of the field—industrial organization—and they suffer from an inability to deal with the concrete, temporally related events which alone show us the connection between technological change and dislocation in community life.

Yet I do not wish to make this picture of the state of research in

¹ Paper read before the American Sociological Society, Christmas meetings, 1941, New York City.

the field a gloomy one, for I believe that if the deficiencies are recognized they can be soon remedied.

A great part of the difficulty is the very simple fact that sociologists have forgotten to avail themselves of any of the material dealing with industrial organization itself. Yet much of it would enable them to see much better the connections between industrial behavior and the organization of the community. It is not the immense complexity of these connections which has turned sociologists away. Rather, it seems to be the failure of sociologists to create concepts of organization which would serve for both industry and community and thus permit from the first a method of dealing with the effects of events or changes.

Sociologists still persist, I am afraid, in regarding industrial behavior in productive organization as an activity totally apart from their own field, and thus totally incapable of description in the same terms with community life and the more familiar social institutions. The result is all too frequently to restrict studies of the relationship between industry and the community to recitations of the effects of a particular technical innovation, or a particular invention, upon established folkways or upon our older communities. Some of such studies endow technology with a capital "T" and a demoniac and animistic force. Most of them argue the effect of this quite frightening monster on society at large.

Yet the most detailed studies of industrial behavior and the effects of industrial innovation point to the lesson that a far more useful approach might well be to deal with technological advances in quite a different manner. Such advances are not only producers of new machines and new things; they are also creators of new sorts of productive, communicative, and even consumptive organization.

If the effect of technology in creating new forms of organization is kept in mind, attention can be turned back to a problem more general and in the long run more important than social disorganization. A particular shift in industrial technique becomes a specific change in organization among the persons of a specific community, to be related at once to further, subsequent changes in other non-industrial patterns of organization among the same men in their lives outside of work in the same community. Once such a parallel-

ism between industrial and community organization can be set up and dealt with, specific consequences can be traced from event to event and from behavior to behavior among the same population, and the direction of the influence—whether from community to industry or from industry to community—can be followed explicitly. Such an approach becomes necessary at once as soon as the research worker attempts to relate the form of a particular community to the form of a particular industry or industries. If the status of particular groups and persons within the community is to be correlated with their place in economic life, such an approach becomes inescapable, regardless of what one's theories as to economic determinism may be. It is equally inescapable if one is to make any realistic and dynamic interpretation of such upheavals in community life as a strike, an industrial squabble, a boom, or a shutdown.

Furthermore, it is a necessity where the practical problems of social and community life are concerned. The sociologist must ultimately have some sort of analysis for these upon which other persons—administrators, executives, union officers, politicians, and citizens, for example—can act. As long as the sociologist deals entirely with statistical generalities he can confine himself happily to the national or regional picture and, like the economist, he can take refuge in general pronouncements about the effect of technology on society, other things being equal. Problems like the effect of the cotton picker on the racial situation in the South, of the continuous-strip mill on the steel regions, or of the change over to oil for domestic heat on coal-miners can be investigated in the behavior of statistical indices. But the effects on particular individuals and the customs they may follow in particular groups in particular communities cannot be so predicted. Yet these are the predictions that other persons really want from the expert analyst of social events.

Let us take up several quite recent examples that research has revealed of the direct influence running between the parallel structures of industry and the community. They can show us how clearly there is need for new concepts of organization which will do service for both.

In the book *Technology and Labor*, for example, Eliot Dunlap Smith devotes a chapter in the story of the introduction of the

stretch-out in the New England textile industry to the direct connection between newer industrial methods in which engineering techniques figure prominently and changes in the class structure, educational system, and patterns of social mobility in the same region. The general outline of what he has to say is not new to sociologists, but it is brought for the first time into direct relationship with changes in industrial organization itself.

Eliot Smith finds that the tendency to reduce the number of mill-trained men in operating management is among the social consequences of more technical management in industry. The use of technical production controls has forced the recruitment of managerial and supervisory personnel from the ranks of the technicians, often nowadays college-trained men, who more and more begin in technical jobs without ever having worked beside men on manual work. The net result is to draw the line of difference ever more strongly, to make formal schooling ever more the only entrance into ranks higher than hourly paid labor, and to leave mill hands working less and less under men of their own sort and their own community. Here, then, the drawing of class distinctions in New England is as much a product of industrial organization as it is of any other single historical factor.

Another recent example is to be found in a series of articles by Harriet Herring in which she shows us, in the Piedmont industrial area of the South, a complete adaptation to mill conditions of the older southern patterns of landlord-tenant relationship. Here, obviously, the influence runs as much from community to industry as vice versa, and an all-too-frequently forgotten truism is well attested. The form of the community and its established behaviors in many cases exert as strong an influence on organization in industry as do the newer technical innovations upon social structure. The relationship of industry and community is one of "mutual dependence."

Some studies I have worked on myself point up equally strongly the necessity of having a common method, able to trace the influence in both directions, for dealing with social and industrial organization. In a study of the New England plastic industry, undertaken by the Industrial Relations Section at Massachusetts Institute of Technology, it became obvious very soon that the success of the new

industry (which was again filling up the abandoned mills both large and small in so many New England towns) depended a great deal on the continued existence of the same immigrant family structure which was sending new-stock farmers back to the idle farm lands round each town. Where the *femille-souche*, as some sociologists call it, persisted, a new, low-wage, and highly seasonal industry could get a start in a situation in which heads of immigrant families could turn back to agriculture, while young people still pooled family funds, expected to live at home rather than to set up independent households at once, and continued to submit to family authority. It fitted very ill, by the same token, into the areas where ethnic groups with such a family structure did not exist.

Still another example, this time from a study of industrial conflict, could perhaps better demonstrate the necessity for dealing with the dynamics of the community-industry relationship. I need not dwell here on the complete impossibility of studying the behavior of men on all sides in the centers of industrial strife—such as Akron, Youngstown, or Detroit—without a means of tracing the influence of speed-up, rerating, layoff, or job transfers out into specific families, cliques, and associations of workers; or without tracing the control of local political machines, newspapers, retail businesses, and municipal government back into the middle and upper reaches of company organization. Nor need I delay you with exploring the connections between such obviously related behaviors as, for example, those reported in the auto industry, where departmental sit-downs, union-rally methods, and hill-billy folk-custom camp meetings are not entirely foreign to one another. Nor is it necessary here either to dwell on the mushroom-like rapidity with which union grievance, complaint, and bargaining machinery comes to parallel, in mass-production unions, the hierarchical lines of authority in industry. There, too, the newer forms of social organization developing in community life have no meaning except as responses to industrial expansion itself.

Leaving these aside, then, I think I can point up the need for a common concept of organization for both community and industry by giving a much smaller-scale firsthand observation, illustrating in microcosm the parallelism I have been citing.

In collecting case materials on industrial strife, I undertook not

long ago to interpret the causes of a paper-mill strike. I had access to both union and management records, and I had the opportunity to interview those concerned, both on and off the job. The strike, it turned out, had been called by the paper-machine crew. The fact seemed strange to management, because the immediate cause of the strike, an incentive scheme introduced into the cutting-room, did not officially affect this crew in the least, as it involved a totally different department. To management, trained like many sociologists to keep community and industry apart in their minds, it seemed incomprehensible that men in no way connected during working hours with the crucial department should feel themselves aggrieved.

Yet it was easy enough to understand. On investigation one could show that the company's incentive scheme had effects far beyond the formal industrial relationships prescribed by the company's organization chart. The two sets of workers were bound by ties of kinship and by traditional patterns of age and occupational prestige, entirely outside the factory. The company's engineers had done far more than merely provide a better output in a single working department. They had, in fact, reversed the customary patterns of authority; they had set juniors and inferiors to hurrying up their seniors and superiors. The machine-room men had struck against the disturbance of their community.

The incident is a small one. But it illustrates that the relationship between community and industry is a matter of influences within a continuum in the lives of the persons working and living together. And it proves that it is social behavior, not geography or production, that defines the continuum. To separate one set of events of social behavior from another is merely to distort the reality.

Thus it becomes all the more obvious that in neglecting industrial organization itself the sociologist has cut himself off from a very large half of his problem. Nowadays we are beginning to realize the existence of as much "social behavior" inside an industrial plant as out of it. In the last year we have had brilliant documentation of the importance of the informal behavior and informal social relationships of men at work in modern industry. *Management and the Worker*, the recent book by Roethlisberger and Dixon, shows us what these are and how important they are in the industrial scene.

It is not, then, a difficult step for anyone familiar with that book to go a bit further and to compare these informal relationships with patterns of behavior in the family, association, and community and to see the need for working with their coexistence among the same population.

Yet to take a still further step and to see that the formal and purposive arrangements of industry itself are as much a part of the continuum as these other informal behaviors may be more difficult. But they cannot be left to the economists and the engineers. Manifestly, a change or innovation in a manufacturing process leads directly and at once to changes throughout the continuum. It is as much a matter of social organization as the marrying-in of a new member of the family. The effect it may have runs through an unbroken continuum of human relationships, all the way from those uniting engineer and supervisor and worker through those uniting worker and worker out into those uniting the worker and his representatives, the worker and his priests, the worker and his family.

In such an event, we cannot leave these human relationships in separate compartments of the mind. In fact it becomes very difficult to see where industry leaves off and the community begins, or vice versa. A common method for dealing with all these relationships must be found.

In many instances the need of a common method has prompted the hope, among persons in the social sciences, that one can be supplied through interdisciplinary co-operation. But the difficulty really lies deeper than any inability of any one discipline to embrace the whole field. Nothing is to be gained by lumping sociologists, psychologists, economists, personnel men, and production engineers together if each merely continues to work his own line and ignores the common problem. It has been my good fortune to see quite a few of the attempts at co-operative research of the last several years, and I have attempted to work with their results. I have little if any hope at all that any such co-operation will provide the common framework.

The basic postulate of such co-operation is that agreement in fundamentals capable of reducing a complex whole situation to ordered analysis will arise by itself out of the compromise provided by interstimulation. Yet this interstimulation is hoped for among

persons working with quite different operations derived from the quite different assumptions of the different social and psychological sciences. Now economics, psychology, production engineering, and social anthropology may well all be admirable in their place, and they can throw much light on the behavior of persons in industry and in the community, but only sociology (and only a few branches of it) is concerned with the prediction of social events. So only sociology of all the co-operating disciplines is relevant.

Indeed, the experience of the natural sciences is all against the fruitfulness of such collaboration. I see no reason for ignoring such experience. Success did not come in the natural sciences through the indiscriminate application of many diverse methods. It came through the rigorous application of a single, narrow, yet completely appropriate method—through the rigorous development of operations specific to the field of phenomena.

For that reason I believe we must look beyond the sort of co-operative research that has been carried on at Yale in the Institute of Human Relations, at the Harvard Business School in the department of industrial physiology, and more recently at Massachusetts Institute of Technology. We must look beyond the work of such persons as those who have tried to treat behavior in and out of industry in the Society for the Psychological Study of Social Issues. The material presented by such men as Roethlisberger and Dixon and the studies by E. Wright Bakke are excellent as careful explorations of the field of human behavior in and out of work. They are of great value as such. But they do not solve the problem of a common method. They give us nothing whereby we can deal with the events arising out of the continuum of relationships that runs from the production line to family and community adjustment. We must go back to a sociology developed explicitly for the purpose.

To go back, however, is certainly not to deny that a whole view is necessary. Certainly a whole view is necessary. No one can deny that there are social, psychological, economic, and technical aspects to industrial and community behavior, or that all these aspects, and any more there may be, must be dealt with if we are to learn anything of the effect of one on the other. But a whole view of a situation (a matter of diagnosis) and a common method (a matter of orderly analysis) are not the same thing. To become familiar with

all the aspects of a total situation is a necessary first step in any scientific inquiry. To deal precisely with relations among all the phenomena of the various aspects is quite a different procedure. The first requires only that the most general and intuitive sort of individual, though expert, experience be exchanged. The second demands that agreement be reached as to the specific operations to be applied uniformly on all aspects of the whole.

In the other sciences it has never been enough merely to recognize the existence of a whole configuration. It was part of ordinary experience that such phenomena as, let us say, temperature, volume, and pressure were interdependent. The method that achieved success with them was to reduce these interdependent factors of configuration to directly comparable terms. The terms had to be such that the specific influence of each one upon the other could be dealt with precisely as they worked themselves out in specific physical events.

To reach such operations the sociologist is going to have to expand his concepts of social organization in a manner capable of embracing purposeful industrial production. Further, he is going to have to revise his methods of dealing with the structure of the community in order to make his description of events there dynamic enough to allow comparison between them and those of a rapidly changing industry operating under a rapidly changing technology.

To reach such operations the sociologist will have to do several very definite things. Let me repeat them: (1) He will have to expand his concepts of social organization to embrace purposeful industrial production. (2) He will have to revise his methods of dealing with the structure of the community.

Taking the first step first, it simply implies that the sociologist must come to be able to translate technology into specific patterns of social behavior and social structure. He must describe them as structures involving interpersonal interaction and communication of specific frequency, duration, extent, order, number, and personnel. If the chief mark of industrial organization today is its extreme fluidity, its minute co-ordination and synchronization of operations, and its logical or technical character, sociology must cope with it and deal with the social events it involves. Certainly, taking over the literature on management, industrial engineering, and theory of pro-

ductive organization will not of itself do the trick. There is an immense amount of it; and it will make an immensely useful folk sociology. But the sociologist will have to reduce it to his own use in exactly the same way he will reduce economics and psychology.

A greater difficulty will lie in the second step. The sociologist will have to recast his present methods of dealing with the community. If the continuum between community and industry is to be followed precisely from event to event, the sociologist will have to create methods for describing temporal and sequential connections. If there is such a continuum, differences in it will have to be stated as variations in degree and value, not in kind.

At the present time our concepts of organization in sociology are taxonomic rather than analytic. I believe we all see that purposeful, rationally planned, and hierarchically directed industrial organization, providing for minute scheduling and intricate timing in the division of labor, is probably the best example of *gesellschaft*—to use the Tönnies vocabulary—we have. Most of us would tend to treat the older forms of community as an antithesis, regarding its *gemeinschaft* characters as phenomena of a totally different order. I do not deny the contrast, but I do ask if it is useful to us now. As a taxonomic device it well may be, but as a means of analysis how does it help us trace out the actual observed relationships?

For here we are dealing with changes and movements and influences in the events of a continuum. We are dealing with rates, directions, and fluctuations in degree. Once that is recognized the whole focus of current research undergoes a shift. The questions now of importance are not what the effect of technology is on the family, with its attendant taxonomic difficulties in defining technology and family—categories manifestly various from time to time and from place to place. The question of importance becomes immediately: How much increase or decrease in the incidence of authority in this given industrial setup, occasioned by a new industrial technique, will be reflected in loss or gain of authority among these men in their homes? And the question of prediction comes up immediately. Now we can ask directly: How soon will what degree of restriction or curtailment of informal association at work, springing from a new industrial technique, result in an outburst of compensa-

tory reaction heightening solidarity among these workers in their associations outside of work? The question will not be what causes strikes—a manifestly academic question—but: If this industrial change takes place in this community, when and where will the resulting strike break out?

Unfortunately, even the best research methods I can find in use today in community study are merely beginning to show the sort of dynamism that is needed for dealing with the continuum of industry and the community. Yet there are some excellent new developments. I should like to cite two of these.

The first is the sociometric method, now proving itself of value in the work of Lundberg in Vermont and George Loomis in the Southwest. Here there is a great gain in the demonstration of networks of interpersonal relations as the chief binding force in the structure of a community. The relations forming these binding networks build up out of such events of interaction as visiting, borrowing tools, play contacts among children, kinship obligations, and so on. It takes very little imagination to see them as the exact counterparts of the organized relationships of productive industry. But the present sociometric techniques fail to make such comparison possible. They do not go the necessary step further to describe these networks as recurrent patterns of action taking place through time in a definite sequence, with definite repetitions of ascertainable frequency. Yet the most complete novice in productive engineering knows that any modern technology must provide for controlled sequences, frequencies, and synchronizations of human interaction through time. When sociometry can include the time dimension in its description of the networks making up community life, the two halves of the industry-community continuum will be comparable.

The second modern development in methods of community research I should like to cite suffers, as does all sociology, from the same failure to include the time dimension that figures so importantly in production engineering. Yet it bids fair to go far in sketching out a common framework for industry and community.

I refer to the so-called position-analysis methods developed by W. Lloyd Warner out of the application of social anthropology to modern communities, as in the Newburyport research, at last to see the

light of day. Here the devices adopted by the sociometrists are carried out to cover all the networks of interpersonal relationship of the community. Each of them—each clique, family, association, church, etc.—is chartered according to the relative position its members occupy in the over-all segments (class, ethnic, religious, etc.) of the whole community. The result is, or should be, not unlike a very accurate and very detailed map, made on the social “dimensions,” in which each individual’s participation in social life is defined in terms of each other person’s similar participation. The map of such relative positions is then the “structure” of the community.

This sort of attack upon the community is of immense importance in bridging the gap between community and industry—which also must construct its total maps (organization charts, flow-of-work charts, layout plans, job analyses and specifications, rating schedules, etc.). It takes little imagination to see how completely the two sets of maps would supplement each other. But once again, except for an attempt to interpret social events and movements (like political campaigns), or even individual events (like crime and neuroses), as resultants of strains or conflicts definable by reference to the relative position of groups or individuals in the social structure of the community, these methods, too, neglect the temporal flow of events which alone allows us to see the influence of community on industry or industry on community. The positions conceived, like the networks of the sociometrists, are still static, like an industrial organization chart drawn without reference to systematizing the flow of work. Yet once a position-analysis social structure is drawn up, it should be no difficult task to redefine the underlying participations in temporal terms.

There do exist, therefore, the makings of methods which can unite observations of the industrial process and those of community life in a single sociology, whose operations are at once general enough to embrace the whole continuum of the field of the relationship between industry and the community and dynamic enough to deal with the temporal flow of the specific influences which affect one another. It remains only to turn such makings into an adequate single set of operations.

years has been in the direction of emphasis upon the social situation that produces those adjustment responses in the individual which constitute the chief content of personality. The first texts in the field represented diametrically opposite emphases in this respect. Ross (37), following the French and Italian schools of collective psychology, made collective behavior his almost exclusive theme. He gave us practically no insight into the personalities that participated in what he called "social planes and currents," or collective behavior. On the other hand, McDougall (32) was basically concerned with what went on inside the individual in a social situation. Instead of deriving this behavior from conditioning by environmental stimuli operating in adjustment situations, he sought to produce the social environment or culture from the native social traits of the individual. No one but the psychoanalysts any longer gives credence to this theory of control by instincts, and even they would appear to consider their basic instinct patterns to be the result of experience rather than of direct inheritance. While collective psychology is not now ignored, it has suffered somewhat of an eclipse in the effort of the social psychologists to discover the mechanisms of collective processes in the individual rather than in the social whole. Doubtless major emphasis will again be placed upon the collective processes as discussed by Cooley (24), Ross (37), Martin (33), and Sumner (40) when the analysis of individual behavior within the collective situation has caught up with the analysis of the collective situation itself.

Trends in this direction of again emphasizing the social situation are already marked, but with chief concentration upon what the social situation does to the behavior of the individual acting in response to that situation. This is, of course, an old point of view for the sociologists, having been exploited by Cooley (24), Mead (34), the present writer (especially in the last two parts of his *Introduction to Social Psychology*), and by several other later social psychologists following the same general pattern. But this cultural emphasis is relatively new for the psychologists who have written in the field of social psychology. S. L. Pressey (35) has recently made some pertinent remarks about the blindness of the old-line psychologists to the influence of the social situation upon individual behavior. He rightly accuses them of snobbishness and their methods of sterility.

He points out that college students now desire to know how personal efficiency is achieved, not in a vacuum but in real life; how to make adjustments to environments; how to choose vocations; what attitudes and personality traits to develop; and what produces emotional conflicts and criminal or other abnormal conduct. He further analyzes two standard texts in psychology which devote approximately one-third of their space to biological processes and only a few pages to social relations. He shows that they deal largely with animal behavior, fairly fully with child behavior, but almost not at all with adult behavior. As Pressey remarks, such narrowness in psychology is rendering the subject relatively sterile and is driving students into psychiatry, education, sociology, home economics, and other subjects that will handle the social-psychological processes which people need to understand.

In direct contradiction to this disapproved point of view is that expressed by Ralph Berdie (6), who lists the following general types of applied psychologists: clinical psychologists, psychometricians, specialized teachers, industrial, hospital, and school psychologists. All these, with their several subdivisions, he regards as working in the general field of social psychology, although their several subject matters bear the names of specialized types of psychology. Professor Trow (41), in an unpublished paper shown to the present writer, classifies educational psychology as an applied aspect of social psychology. In taking this point of view, he is conscious of a shift from the old emphases in his specialty upon measurement over to the technique of teacher-student-subject-matter relationships. He has drawn up a scheme of content for this conception of educational psychology which emphasizes the functional and behavioristic or operational processes involved in his subject matter (41).

Most of the individual psychologists who write in the field of social psychology are now abandoning the old subjective and individualistic approaches and are centering attention upon the social situation in an endeavor to discover what it does to the individual behavior and personality. Thus F. H. Allport states (2) that psychophysical experimental studies are giving way in large measure to the study of the social situation which produces behavior and to the study of the behavior of the individuals in that situation. J. F.

Brown declares (22) that the field-theoretical approach in social psychology is chiefly concerned with the conditions under which an event occurs rather than with the enumeration of the characteristics of classes of objects and behavior. Berdie (6) and Pressey (35), as we have already seen, are concerned primarily with the behavior of individuals in the process of functional adjustment to environmental situations, and even the tests that Berdie describes are intended to measure such adjustment or the lack of it. Blumer, in a paper (19) later to be discussed in another connection, implies the same emphasis. Dunham (25) in his analysis of recent work on attitudes also reveals this emphasis. Dunlap (26) would apparently reduce the content of social psychology to an analysis of historical behavior in a historical setting. Heidbreder (27) represents McDougall as at one time in his career adopting the Neo-Hegelian concept of group mind (31), but this is by no means identical with what we are describing here. Janus (28) posits culture as described by Tylor as the chief subject matter of social psychology. Lewin (29) states that psychology must handle the group as well as individual behavior processes. Lippitt (30) contends that

the social atmosphere is one of the outstanding characteristics of the total psychological field of the individual. An adequate field-theoretical approach to sociopsychological investigation seems to demand a simultaneous study of the major characteristics of the social field (e.g., properties of the social group) and the adjustment of the particular individual . . . to the quasi-social facts of his total life-space [p. 26].

These are discoveries which are doubtless of the first importance for the individual psychologists who have not read Cooley (23) or my own work of 1926 (11), which is definitely and specifically posited upon this thesis.

It is sometimes difficult to tell what the individual psychologists have read—perhaps very little outside of what appears in their own and the biological journals and perhaps not always that. For a group of writers to be awakening to a fundamental truth in social psychology almost forty years after it was stated implicitly by Cooley (23) and fifteen years after it was stated explicitly by myself (11) is retardation and isolation with a vengeance. Britt seems to be inclined to the opinion that the individual psychologists are not so

ignorant of what other people are doing as they seem, but, being a highly competitive and jealous group, that they prefer to rediscover things for themselves, even if somewhat late, rather than give credit to others outside their field who have already emphasized the facts. This tendency toward a certain type of Pharisaism may be observed in numerous absorptions of criticisms of the instinct hypothesis from a work (9) which some of these psychologists at first criticized severely and later ignored bibliographically, although they used its content freely (10). One of the most striking cases of the ignoring of one type of sources appeared in connection with a certain so-called "experimental social psychology" which used a framework of more or less true experiments on which to hang much material that was not of laboratory origin without giving credit to the actual sources from which it was drawn (14).

Evidently the idea of a strictly autonomous science of psychology, and much less of social psychology, is being abandoned. Berdie (6) points out that in a case of child delinquency no one of the psychologists engaged on the case could solve the problem of the cause until they called in a sociologist, who analyzed the social situation and revealed the conditioning factors (p. 554). Heidbreder (27) discloses the fact that one of McDougall's most serious errors was the result of his attempt to make of psychology a strictly autonomous science by establishing purely psychic causation (pp. 155-56). This effort led him, among other things, into the absurdities of his instinct theory, a defense of animism, a teleological approach, and a belief in telepathy. Britt (20) and Janus (28) go so far as to say that social psychology must draw its data from any pertinent source whatever. Vyscheslavzeff (42), like Pressey (35), emphasizes the close interrelationships of all the social sciences with social psychology. The present writer has called attention in a number of instances to the purely relative and incidental character of boundary lines between the sciences (8, 13) and to the fact that sciences arise out of adjustment-problem situations instead of being supernaturally revealed or inherent in the system of the universe (8, 18). It is therefore not a cause for criticism that, as Reuter (36) claims, social psychology in its early stages borrowed largely from other subjects (p. 394). The important fact is that there were some men capable of realizing the

need for a selected body of data organized around a new and important point of view which could function in the description and control of human behavior in adjustment situations.

Closely connected with these problems of autonomy and jurisdiction, there has recently appeared an article by an adherent of the Chicago school of social psychology attacking other schools or points of view. Reuter, in this article (36), although stating that he is not a social psychologist, seeks to uphold the social-interactionist point of view and to expose to ridicule what he calls the "behaviorist," or neurological, approach. Because he speaks for the former group, his paper may be taken as a convenient basis for one phase of our analysis. Characteristically enough, some of those who do not realize the identity of meaning between "behaviorism" in psychology and "operationalism" in philosophy possess a much greater tolerance for the latter term.

After pointing out some of the confusion in the early growth of social psychology—which might easily be paralleled in the early history of any scientific discipline—which I will not pause here to discuss, Reuter gets down to a so-called "contrast" between what he calls variously the psychological, neurological, and behavioristic school of social psychology, on the one hand, and the sociological or social-interactionist school, on the other hand. He says that the latter school emphasizes personality development, which, of course, is true; but so also does the former school, which he in some respects misrepresents. If any school of social psychology should dispense with the personality concept, it would cease to be social psychology, and only sociology or something else would be left. He also says (p. 300) that the psychological or neurological school is dominated by a modified behaviorism which derives social behavior and personality from reflex responses. In my *Social Psychology* I have shown (chap. viii) that personality and social behavior are derived from five different types of antecedent behavior patterns and not from reflexes alone, and yet Reuter classes me with this psychological-behavioristic-neurological group. He next says that this school holds that society is only associated individuals, not an organic unity in itself. I believe he is thinking here of some articles by F. H. Allport (1) which exaggerated an old issue, but which were perhaps more nearly cor-

rect in viewpoint than the Neo-Hegelian belief that society is itself a living organism and the individual only a shadow or Platonic imperfect phenomenon, which some of the social-interactionists seem to hold. But if Reuter means that this so-called "neurological" school does not recognize the fact that society is a self-sufficing entity prior to the appearance of any particular individual, he should have eliminated me from the classification, for my *Social Psychology* states specifically the contrary (chaps. v, vi, and xviii), and so do all other social psychologists, except possibly F. H. Allport (3).

Reuter's third proposition (p. 301) is that this school is forced by its own logic to explain how collective behavior originates from primitive patterns. This atomistic statement entirely misapprehends the viewpoint of the group he criticizes. No one ever claimed to derive all collective patterns from one single pattern or set of patterns any more than one could derive all variant biological traits from a singly inherited trait. But, just as bisexual breeding produces an infinite variety of traits, so also the association and selection of unlike responses ("conditioning of responses," the behaviorists call it) are capable of developing all the world's inventions, provided the environment furnishes the appropriate stimuli. Reuter's fourth accusation is that this school has so far been the most approved branch of social psychology because of its objective methods, but he claims that it has outlived its usefulness.

Reuter next turns to what he calls the "social-interactionist" school, which he says dates from Cooley and Baldwin and antedates the school which he has just misinterpreted. He says it was further developed by Thomas, Dewey, Mead, and Faris. A more correct statement would have been that Cooley, drawing heavily on Adam Smith and his successors and contemporaries, really founded both schools in their modern form, which are basically one and the same. Cooley's *Human Nature and the Social Order* (1901) set the pattern for the behavioristic school quite as much as for the so-called "social-interactionist" school. But Cooley was lacking in a neurological and a technical psychological foundation, as he himself often said, and therefore he could not develop the behavioristic point of view to its logical conclusion. But I have letters from him which show that he accepted it essentially as I stated it. Cooley did not do what some of

his self-styled followers have done. Lacking this foundation and ability to trace the personality concretely back to its roots in the individual response to environmental stimuli, they have substituted vague concepts for psychosocial behavior realities.

Reuter says that "the sociological view conceives of personality and social nature as realities developed through the interaction of original nature and the group mechanisms" (p. 301). So does the behaviorist view, but it tries to find out just *how* this happens and is not satisfied in saying merely that it does happen. Again he says that the social-interactionist school assumes that the child at birth is largely amorphous in its behavior, with few definite patterns. But who has insisted upon this point more than the behaviorist school? Again, he says, the social-interactionist school regards society as the big reality, not an incident. So do the rest of us when we view society in cross-section at any one moment; but the behaviorist does not forget that culture is a growth and that it came to be what it is as the result of the multitudinous deposit and conservation of an infinite number of individual inventions. Furthermore, the behaviorists are not content merely to hold this point of view. They are able to explain how culture or society came to be dominant over the individual, as I for one do in my *Social Psychology* (chaps. v-vi).

Reuter also says that the social-interactionists tell how the child's behavior becomes organized under the control of its needs and of outside stimuli. I think Reuter mistakes their emphasis upon the fact that this occurs for telling *how* it happens. Only the behaviorists have actually described the method. Again, he contends, the social-interactionists center their attention upon the act, especially the hidden part or incubation, more than upon the overt aspect (pp. 302-3). Now I submit that the only way in which the inner, or implicit, neuro-psychic or symbolic phases of the act can be studied, apart from the relatively crude method of introspection, is neurologically and behavioristically. Does Reuter mean to confess that in the end all of his social-interactionists must become behaviorists? It was the behaviorists who developed the objective method of studying symbolic behavior, and it is they who have done most in this connection. Finally, he says that these two schools are irreconcilable but that they are not generally recognized to be so. I should say that

only his group of partisans regard them as irreconcilable. On the other hand, the behaviorists see the so-called social-interactionists of the extreme type described by Reuter as occupying an unduly circumscribed portion of the field of social psychology. The behaviorists are also social-interactionists but without metaphysical preconceptions, and they are sure that the social-interactionists would be behaviorists if they understood what behaviorism in social psychology is doing.

One other statement of Reuter's must be introduced here but without detailed comment. He has created for us another organic analogy. He speaks of the childhood, the adolescence, and the maturity of social psychology (p. 303). It might appear that for the sake of completeness he should have added a fourth stage—that of second childhood or senility, in which group might be included the small contingent of behaviorist phobics.

Finally, he would exclude "trait psychology" as "irrelevant, immaterial, impertinent," and confusing (p. 304). He declares: "It deals with the 'individual,' and there is no individual in social psychology—or, for that matter, in any other phase of genuine sociology. The individual is a biological concept, and the traits of the biological organism lie outside the sociological orbit of interest." With this I must give up the argument, for my opponent has denied his own existence and has disappeared from view.

It is far from my purpose to deny any importance to this school of social-interactionists. I think they have much to contribute when they abandon their metaphysics and mysticism and get down to a definite study of social behavior in the concrete. I am merely allowing them to display their own absurdities through one of their disciples, who, it should be said in justice to them, as he says, is not a social psychologist.

It might be well to approach the last division of our subject—that of method in social psychology—by referring again to Knight Dunlap's repudiation of the old types of data upon which the science has hitherto depended because of the reputed inadequacy of these data to conform to a practicable methodology (26). He says (p. 50) that it is impossible to found an autonomous science of social psychology upon isolated abstract concepts such as those used by Sighele,

Le Bon, Tarde, Baldwin, and Ross; upon the instinct concept of McDougall and Dewey; upon the "nebulous concept of personality"; or the ancient concept of the unconscious as revived by the Freudians. He believes that only through the study of history—presumably historic behavior—can we bring social psychology out of the vicious circle of individual subjectivism where it has now become lost. Evidently Dunlap conceives of social psychology as collective psychology. In the last analysis Lewin (20) would appear also to be gravitating in the direction of emphasis upon group behavior. Lippitt (30) states that groups must be taken and defined as dynamic unities, which would seem to imply a study of collective behavior.

But Dunlap appears to be alone in his insistence that the study of personality is outmoded in social psychology or even that it is a vague concept. Berdie (6) appears to conceive the whole field of applied psychology as resting upon personality analysis and testing. Blumer (19) recognizes that personality is sometimes difficult to analyze or measure adequately, but he regards it as central to social psychology. Reuter (36) also asserts (p. 301) that the study of personality is central in social psychology. Janus (28) insists upon the importance of the study of attitudes in social psychology, especially for purposes of prediction. Vyscheslavzeff (42) gives much the same emphasis when he insists upon the importance of the so-called "archetypes" of attitudes in the collective-unconscious for the interpretation of collective behavior. Among his archetypal attitudes are those of power, authority, the father, the leader, the patriarch, the creative complex, and the insurrectionist attitude. Winslow (43) would appear to emphasize physical archetypes (perhaps those of Kretchmer) rather than those supposedly inherent in the collective unconscious. Although personality measurement has developed in the study of human social behavior before the measurement of animal personality, he believes that the typological study of the simpler lower animals can throw much light upon the differentiation of human personality types (p. 47). He places much emphasis upon the power of the endocrines to shape personality development, which is just the opposite of the approach of the social-interactionists, according to Reuter. If these latter recognize endocrines at all, it would appear from Reuter's statement that they could not regard them as having any meaning for social psychology. The behaviorist group,

on the other hand, disregard nothing that influences human personality and thus collective behavior.

Schilder (38) emphasizes the greater ease of understanding animal groups after the study of human groups. He also insists that the relations and functions of ants and termites are determined by their anatomy (p. 83), a point of view which, unlike Reuter's, recognizes strongly the influence of the individual personality upon the complex of collective behavior. He also disagrees radically with the point of view of Vyscheslavzeff (42), who believes that the so-called collective unconscious dominates collective behavior (pp. 63-65). Schilder maintains that the idea of collective unconsciousness has no more truth than that of the collective representations of Durkheim (p. 90).

Vyscheslavzeff designates four types of consciousness as important in the control of social behavior: (1) the collective unconsciousness (tradition, the mores, etc.), (2) collective consciousness (rational public opinion), (3) individually conscious acts (contracts, free unions, exchange of services, division of labor), and (4) self-consciousness (p. 61). Although he believes the collective unconsciousness is best fitted to dominate social behavior without friction, he maintains that it should be balanced and corrected by rational types of consciousness (pp. 61-66). He concludes that dialectic deliberation is the highest form of collective consciousness, since it raises personality out of the mass and renders it self-conscious (p. 75). Having a psychoanalytic turn, he insists that it is as important to psychoanalyze a nation as an individual in order to bring its problems into the collective foreconsciousness (p. 65). To most social psychologists this will admittedly sound like vague analogical talk rather than like definite scientific analysis.

Some of the things that Blumer says (19) about personality analysis sound almost as vague (pp. 716-18), but not because he leans toward psychoanalytical mysticism. He would appear to offer no better method of understanding personality than the creation of a more objective subjectivism as a means thereto (p. 719). He profoundly distrusts numerical methods of measuring personality (p. 712). So did McDougall, who would substitute a mystical terminology instead of an objective one. But Blumer does not go in this direction either. He stays within the realm of common sense if not of quantitative measurement.

There is, of course, much to be said for the common-sense standpoint of Blumer and some other social-interactionists. Anyone who examined the recent work of the so-called experimentalists in social psychology must have been struck by the fact that they have not discovered a single major fact of value in the field by the use of quantitative methods of studying social behavior. They have succeeded in confirming some of the things we already know from direct observation; but, as one of them said recently in my hearing, he supposed he had set up his problem in such a way as to arrive at his conclusions. Blumer (19) points out (p. 712) that the process of simplification necessary to the application of quantitative procedures often eliminates the more important relationships—the imponderables, which Bismarck believed were so much more significant than the accurately measurable in the field of international relations. I have often watched administrators judge men by means of mechanical categories which they had adopted—and how often their judgments go wrong for this very reason! Blumer has more faith in the ability of the “rich personality” to interpret and estimate so complex and subtle a thing as personality than all the quantitative mechanical devices that can be brought to bear in testing and measuring it. With this I agree in general. I should rather trust the genius of a Cooley or a Vincent to detect motives, attitudes, and behavior than nine-tenths of the laboratory equipment. But there are so few Cooleys and Vincents and so many little men who measure in social psychology that they are compelled to use machines and mathematical formulas. And the administrators who pick the social psychologists are no better than the social psychologists they pick. As a result we get statisticians, questionnaire makers and mongers, and machine operators instead of these rich and penetrating personalities for social psychologists.

There is also another very considerable use for this mechanized type of social psychologist: he can do valuable clerical work in testing quantitatively the hypotheses and observations of superior intellects in the field. He is indeed indispensable if not exactly fitted for leadership in the subject.

I am far from wishing to be understood as being opposed to the use of quantitative methods in social psychology. On the contrary I am heartily in favor of their employment. I merely wish to say that I

think Blumer has a valuable point that is in danger of being overlooked in our present worship of figures, equations, graphs, curves, and quotients. I also wish to protest against the naïve assumption of administrators and others that a second- or third-rate mathematician turned social psychologist has more to offer than the experts in personality observation and analysis. Most of the important things in both collective and individual behavior must first be seen by human eyes, after which perhaps they can be measured by those who wield the instruments and keep the records. In other words, as Dr. Jessie Bernard (7) and others have pointed out, controlled observation of behavior may correct and refine more general observations; but the mathematical technique rarely comes before the general observation. While there is a tendency to allow the instrument—either inside or outside the laboratory—to do the observing, he whom Blumer calls the “rich personality” should select the point of view and control the instrument as well as interpret its results. The results certainly are not self-interpreting. It is much easier also to develop instruments to measure individual personality traits than collective behavior traits and processes. But in time these will also doubtless be measured in some form or other, although not necessarily in the laboratory or by strictly quantitative methods.

In this connection it is interesting to note that the most important trends in the field today—speaking in terms of science rather than of administration—seem to be not in the direction of new quantitative devices but in the development of new lines of interpretive insight. If G. W. Allport (5) can intimate that we might as well turn over to waiters, businessmen, and other practical persons the prediction of behavior in social situations as to leave it to the academically trained (mechanized?) social psychologist, cannot we also say that the quantitative worker in the field of personality analysis can work successfully only within the categories of personality analysis which the man of insight—the “rich personality” who knows men before machines—sets up for him? Some years ago I protested against taking the artificial situations of the laboratory as the basis of measurement in the study of social behavior (14). No more justified is generalization from oversimplified and distorted data that do not correspond to realistic adjustment behavior.

In this connection also we see less of a tendency to depend on

arbitrary classifications and artificial categories set up for the purpose of dominating the facts and more of a tendency to drop a good many of the old categories and simplify the classifications. Lewin (29) points out that mere classifications of concepts and enumeration of facts are not adequate; social psychology must show the functional operation of such facts and concepts (p. 871). Janus (28) warns against the illusion that an arbitrary classification can limit the subject matter of social psychology (p. 391). In this connection Lippitt (30) points out that we cannot solve the problems of social psychology by looking for prototypes of groups but that we should rather seek to discover the laws of the behavior of groups (p. 27). It is the old conflict between the structural and the functional approach over again. Certain methods of interpretation having been built up, it seems important to some people to preserve these interpretations intact by building a fence around them—the process of formalizing them. But further work in the field convinces us that the fence must be torn away in order that additional functional growth of the science may occur. Even McDougall realized that a science that grows must acquire new concepts and principles of classification (27). Lewin (29) also emphasizes this point, contending that it is necessary to develop new terminology in order to bring new data and relationships into relief (p. 870). Blumer (19) also (p. 710) recognizes this trend and instances operationalism as one of the emerging terms to fit this new demand.

One more trend needs to be observed in this connection. Behaviorism no longer shocks our younger social psychologists. To be sure the term itself, thrust out of the back door by the older psychologists who preferred to take their principles from authority or speculative reason rather than to come at them by studying people in action, has appeared again through the front door in the softened guise of operationalism. All the behaviorists in social psychology ever meant by the term "behaviorism" is that we must study what men do in order to discover what patterns they live by and what we may expect from them.

In a word, social psychology is breaking the old bonds with which those who would reduce it to a metaphysical system would bind it. It has properly developed in the direction of quantitative measurement and generalization, and for a while the emphasis upon mechani-

cal processes of measurement and classification grew too much at the expense of the study of people and groups as wholes and in action in their normal social situations. But the error of this bias is now being perceived, and partial measurements and quantitative labeling is again being made subsidiary and contributory to a total understanding of both the person and the situation instead of being an end in itself. Neither method can get along adequately without the other and neither should seek to strangle the other.

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PERSONALITY DISORDER AND SPATIAL MOBILITY¹

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ABSTRACT

Data collected in a survey by the Mental Hygiene Study of the Eastern Health District in Baltimore are analyzed. By the use of carefully adjusted rates it is demonstrated that the population living for the shortest time in the same house shows the highest prevalence of personality disorder. Intracity mobility seems to be a much more important factor in this connection than intercommunity migration.

The numerical relationships between the incidence and prevalence of personality disorders and the spatial mobility of the population have attracted the attention of both sociologists and psychiatrists for some time. Two methods have been used in research on this problem. The first is the ecological method. A number of studies have been published showing that various psychoses, particularly schizophrenia, but also juvenile delinquency and other forms of maladjustment, are more common in city areas where people move frequently than in more stable areas. Another group of studies deals with admissions to mental hospitals, separating international or interstate migrants from patients born in the country or state of admission. These studies indicate a higher incidence of many psychoses among the migrants.

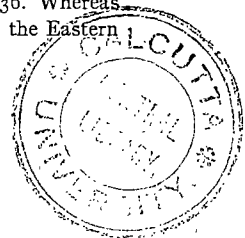
In the present paper a new approach to the problem will be demonstrated. To the best of our knowledge it has not been used before.

The basic material for our investigation has been drawn from the records of the 1936 survey conducted by the Mental Hygiene Study in the Eastern Health District of Baltimore. The purpose and scope of this survey as well as the procedures followed in case finding, classification, and statistical treatment have been described elsewhere.² Suffice it to say that information concerning mental deviants was collected from a great variety of sources—hospitals, clinics, courts, social agencies, etc.—and that it was possible to verify the residence of the great majority of the cases found by identification in the household rosters of the National Health Survey which served as our population base. The N.H.S. was also the source of additional cases.³ The present paper deals with one

¹ This study was made with the support of the International Health Division of the Rockefeller Foundation.

² *Mental Hygiene*, XXV, No. 4 (October, 1941), 624-46.

³ The National Health Survey was made in the winter months of 1935-36. Whereas in the rest of the country only a sample of households was canvassed, in the Eastern



thousand and twenty-two individuals identified in the household rosters. It should be noted that this limitation insures full comparability of all cases with the corresponding population. A word is in order concerning the cases that could not be thus identified. Most of them probably were members of families which moved into the area after, or left prior to, the canvass or they had been institutionalized for more than twelve months and were therefore not included in the enumeration. Four major groups of personality disorder will be discussed.

1. *Psychotics*.—The chief sources of cases in this group are the public and private mental hospitals and the psychiatric clinics. Most of the cases received some intramural care in 1936. A great variety of diagnoses is represented, schizophrenia being by far the most common. A few individuals who do not show fully developed psychoses but exhibit isolated psychotic traits are also included in the group. Unfortunately, our material is too small to be separated into more specific diagnostic groupings.

2. *Adult neurotics*.—About one-half of this group are classified as psychoneurotics or as adults with neurotic traits. Most of these were found in the psychiatric clinics and in the social agencies. The other half are the "nervous in census," that is, individuals reported in the N.H.S. as suffering from nervousness about whom no further information could be obtained. It can be shown⁴ that this group is demographically quite similar to the group in which psychoneurosis was diagnosed by physicians and to the adults with neurotic traits, and we believe that it consists largely of the same types of patients, except that less is known about them.

3. *Psychopathic personalities and adult behavior deviates*.—The majority of cases classified as psychopathic personalities had been so diagnosed in hospitals and clinics. Most of the remainder come from the records of social agencies. Many different types of severe social maladjustment are included, varying all the way from aggressiveness to submissiveness, covering traits like belligerency, deception, impatience, irritability, quarrelsomeness, unco-operativeness, chronic dependency, inefficiency, laziness, shiftlessness, suggestibility, unreliability, and so on. Many severe alcoholics are also classified here.

4. *Children with behavior disorder*.—The chief sources for the group are clinics, social agencies, and the juvenile court. The group is made up of

and Western Health Districts of Baltimore a complete census was taken. Copies of the N.H.S. schedules have been made available to the Johns Hopkins University School of Hygiene and Public Health. The coding and tabulating were carried out by the department of biostatistics.

⁴ *Mental Hygiene*, XXVI, No. 1 (January, 1942), 100-119.

all children showing one or more of the traits listed in the *Statistical Manual*⁵ under the headings "Habit Disturbance," "Conduct Disturbance," and "Neurotic Traits." Conduct problems were present in the majority of cases. It should be noted that in a child a single "neurotic symptom" or a single offense was sufficient for classification as a behavior disorder, whereas in adults an estimate of the whole personality has always been attempted.

All rates presented in this paper are one-year prevalence rates per thousand corresponding total population. They indicate how many cases were active at some time during the year; they do not show how many new cases became active during the year or how many were active simultaneously on any particular day. The type of information available does not permit the computation of these other types of rates.

The wide range of age-specific prevalence rates of all personality problems in combination with the differences in age distribution between population groups would render crude rates quite misleading. Therefore, all rates presented in this paper are adjusted for age, the indirect method being used with the total population of the Eastern Health District as standard. The rates for the four types of personality disorder do not add up exactly to the rate for the aggregate of all types, as one might expect them to do. This is due to the use of the indirect method of adjustment.

Table 1 presents in summary form the cases found in each of the four classes of personality disorder, distinguishing six population groups determined by ethnic stock⁶ and relief status of household. The rates per thousand corresponding total population are also given and reveal striking differences between families on relief and not on relief and also between whites and Negroes and between Hebrews and other whites. From our analysis of the material we have reason to believe that real differences of prevalence exist between these groups, but we also know that the rate differences are partly due to variations in case finding. It is recognized a priori that some of our sources like the social agencies and psychiatric clinics draw most of their clients and patients from the lower social-economic strata and that therefore the upper strata are underrepresented in our material. There are indications that the relief status of the family is the critical point and that income differences above the relief level are

⁵ *Statistical Manual for the Use of Hospitals for Mental Diseases: Prepared by the Committee on Statistics of the American Psychiatric Association in Collaboration with the Department of Statistics of the National Committee for Mental Hygiene* (Utica, N.Y.: State Hospital Press, 1934). A revised edition is under preparation.

⁶ This term may not be quite correct but we prefer it to "race" in this connection.

of less importance as far as case finding is concerned. It appears also that the Jewish social agency operating in the district was particularly interested in personality problems, at least in 1936, and case finding among the Hebrews is therefore more complete than in other groups.⁷

As it is not always possible to determine what part of the differential between families on relief and not on relief and between families of differ-

TABLE 1
NUMBER OF CASES* AND AGE-ADJUSTED RATES PER 1,000 POPULATION OF
MAJOR GROUPS OF PERSONALITY DISORDER BY ETHNIC STOCK
AND RELIEF STATUS OF HOUSEHOLD

Population Group	TYPE OF PERSONALITY DISORDER									
	Psychotics		Adult Neurotics		Psychopathic Personalities and Adult Behavior Deviates		Children with Behavior Problems		All Types	
	No.	Rate	No.	Rate	No.	Rate	No.	Rate	No.	Rate
Non-Hebrew whites:										
Relief.....	23	8.5	43	15.5	28	10.3	59	11.7	153	43.4
Nonrelief.....	103	2.9	234	6.5	36	1.0	125	4.0	498	14.5
Hebrews:										
Relief.....	7	20.9	18	47.7	13	32.4	9	14.7	47	104.2
Nonrelief.....	25	5.1	30	6.1	10	2.0	32	7.3	97	20.4
Negroes:										
Relief.....	11	3.4	29	8.9	15	4.4	72	11.6	127	29.9
Nonrelief.....	19	2.4	27	3.4	8	.9	46	6.2	100	12.7
Total population.	188	3.4	381	6.5	110	2.0	343	6.2	1,022	18.5

* Cases active in 1936 and identified in the National Health Survey.

ent ethnic stock is a reflection of actual conditions and what part is a function of differential case finding, comparisons between these groups cannot and should not be made on the basis of the data presented. To whatever cause or causes these differences are attributed, it is necessary to minimize their influence. Therefore the indirect method of adjustment has been utilized to include these variables as well as age. In the following discussion all rates referring to the relief or the nonrelief population are

⁷ *Mental Hygiene*, XXVI, No. 1 (January, 1942), 100-119.

adjusted for age and ethnic stock, all rates referring to ethnic groups are adjusted for age and relief status, and all rates for the total population of the district are adjusted for all three factors.

By this elaborate process of adjustment we believe we have arrived at prevalence rates which are reasonably free from distorting influences and which furnish a reliable yardstick for the things we want to measure.

The information available in the rosters of the N.H.S. contained two items indicating spatial mobility: first, the number of years the household had been located in the same house and, second, the number of years the household had been in the city of Baltimore. This information is available for practically all households. In the original rosters the data were given in single years up to nine, all durations of ten or more years being combined. To get more stable rates it was necessary, however, to consolidate the data into larger groups. It should be noted that all information concerning duration of residence refers to the household as such and is not necessarily true for all individuals living there at the time of the enumeration. This fact may be of some importance in the Negro population where family structure is frequently loose and numerous roomers and lodgers are found. Among the whites, the vast majority of household members belongs to the immediate family.

Table 2 sets forth the numbers of cases found and the rates per thousand corresponding population, distinguishing in each diagnostic class and population division three groups of households by length of residence in the house. These three subgroups in each division are the important items of this table; it has been explained above why comparisons between relief and nonrelief populations and between ethnic groups should not be made.

Inspection of the rates given in Table 2 reveals a quite consistent pattern. A negative correlation is apparent between duration of residence in the house and the prevalence of each of the four types of personality disorder. No matter how the breakdown is made, the rates in the group with the shortest residence in the house are always higher than in the group living in the same house for ten years or more. In two-thirds of the cases the trend is quite regular, including also the middle group, where the duration of residence in the house was from two to nine years.

The regularity of the pattern seems to make it unnecessary to verify statistically the significance of the relationship found. We have, however, carried out this computation for the aggregate of all types of personality disorder in the total population, and the results confirm the earlier conclusion. The difference between 23.4 and 18.9 is 4.5; the difference be-

TABLE 2

MAJOR GROUPS OF PERSONALITY DISORDER BY RELIEF STATUS, ETHNIC STOCK, AND DURATION OF RESIDENCE IN HOUSE

YEARS IN HOUSE	PSYCHOTICS	ADULT NEUROTICS	PSYCHOPATHIC PERSONALITIES AND ADULT BEHAVIOR DEVIATES	CHILDREN WITH BEHAVIOR PROBLEMS	ALL TYPES
A. Number of Cases Active in 1936 and Identified in National Health Survey					
Relief:					
10 and over.....	8	17	8	10	43
2 to 9.....	12	40	16	69	137
0 or 1.....	21	33	32	61	147
Nonrelief:					
10 and over.....	74	156	21	61	312
2 to 9.....	47	85	21	97	250
0 or 1.....	26	50	12	45	133
Non-Hebrew whites:					
10 and over.....	64	146	18	54	282
2 to 9.....	40	75	18	78	211
0 or 1.....	22	56	28	52	158
Hebrews:					
10 and over.....	16	23	9	9	57
2 to 9.....	6	17	9	22	54
0 or 1.....	10	8	5	10	33
Negroes:					
10 and over.....	2	4	2	8	16
2 to 9.....	13	33	10	66	122
0 or 1.....	15	19	11	44	89
Total population:					
10 and over.....	82	173	29	71	355
2 to 9.....	59	125	37	166	387
0 or 1.....	47	83	44	106	280
B. Rate per 1,000 Corresponding Total Population Adjusted for Age and Ethnic Stock					
Relief:					
10 and over.....	4.2	9.9	4.7	8.1	28.2
2 to 9.....	3.4	10.9	4.4	17.3	36.2
0 or 1.....	7.7	11.9	11.2	20.8	51.6
Nonrelief:					
10 and over.....	2.8	5.8	.9	3.2	12.9
2 to 9.....	3.4	6.2	1.4	5.1	16.2
0 or 1.....	3.8	7.7	1.4	5.1	18.0

TABLE 2—*Continued*

YEARS IN HOUSE	PSYCHOTICS	ADULT NEUROTICS	PSYCHO- PATHIC PERSON- ALITIES AND ADULT BEHAVIOR DEVIATES	CHILDREN WITH BEHAVIOR PROBLEMS	ALL TYPES
C. Rate per 1,000 Corresponding Total Population Adjusted for Age and Relief Status					
Non-Hebrew whites:					
10 and over.....	3.0	7.0	1.1	3.7	15.1
2 to 9.....	3.7	7.0	1.4	5.3	17.4
0 or 1.....	3.9	9.9	3.2	6.7	24.1
Hebrews:					
10 and over.....	6.1	9.4	4.2	4.1	24.0
2 to 9.....	3.5	9.2	4.6	10.2	28.0
0 or 1.....	13.4	9.7	4.9	13.4	40.5
Negroes:					
10 and over.....	1.2	2.3	1.5	5.7	10.5
2 to 9.....	2.1	5.3	1.6	10.1	19.1
0 or 1.....	3.2	4.1	2.1	9.3	18.7
D. Rate per 1,000 Corresponding Total Population Adjusted for Age, Ethnic Stock, and Relief Status					
Total population:					
10 and over.....	3.0	6.4	1.5	4.3	15.6
2 to 9.....	3.3	6.9	1.8	6.8	18.9
0 or 1.....	4.7	8.1	3.0	7.5	23.4

tween 18.9 and 15.6 is only 3.3; but both are significant, being 2.8 and 2.6 times their standard error.

It would seem that the Negro population conforms less closely to the general pattern than do the other subdivisions. In view of what has been said above about the known peculiarities of living habits in the colored group, it seems useless to pursue this point any further.

If a breakdown is made by duration of residence in the city rather than by length of residence in the house, a quite different picture appears (Table 3). Because the great majority of the people in the Eastern Health District are old residents of Baltimore, no finer distinction can be made than between households of under and over ten years' residence in the city. Even so, 84 per cent of all cases fall into the latter group. There is

TABLE 3

MAJOR GROUPS OF PERSONALITY DISORDER BY RELIEF STATUS, ETHNIC STOCK, AND DURATION OF RESIDENCE IN CITY

YEARS IN CITY	PSYCHOTICS	ADULT NEUROTICS	PSYCHO- PATHIC PERSON- ALITIES AND ADULT BEHAVIOR DEVIATES	CHILDREN WITH BEHAVIOR PROBLEMS	ALL TYPES
A. Number of Cases Active in 1936 and Identified in National Health Survey					
Relief:					
10 and over.....	36	74	35	118	263
Less than 10.....	5	16	21	22	64
Nonrelief:					
10 and over.....	127	248	44	177	596
Less than 10.....	20	43	10	26	99
Non-Hebrew whites:					
10 and over.....	109	236	43	162	550
Less than 10.....	17	41	21	22	101
Hebrews:					
10 and over.....	31	42	17	37	127
Less than 10.....	1	6	6	4	17
Negroes:					
10 and over.....	23	44	19	96	182
Less than 10.....	7	12	4	22	45
Total population:					
10 and over.....	163	322	79	295	859
Less than 10.....	25	59	31	48	163
B. Rate per 1,000 Corresponding Total Population Adjusted for Age and Ethnic Stock					
Relief:					
10 and over.....	5.4	11.1	5.4	16.6	38.6
Less and 10.....	3.5	10.6	12.3	20.6	47.7
Nonrelief:					
10 and over.....	3.2	6.1	1.2	4.4	14.9
Less than 10.....	2.7	6.7	1.1	3.8	14.2

TABLE 3—Continued

YEARS IN CITY	PSYCHOTICS	ADULT NEUROTICS	PSYCHO- PATHIC PERSON- ALITIES AND ADULT BEHAVIOR DEVIATES	CHILDREN WITH BEHAVIOR PROBLEMS	ALL TYPES
C. Rate per 1,000 Corresponding Total Population Adjusted for Age and Relief Status					
Non-Hebrew whites:					
10 and over.....	3.4	7.3	1.4	5.0	17.1
Less than 10.....	3.2	8.1	2.8	4.6	19.2
Hebrews:					
10 and over.....	7.0	9.1	3.8	8.1	27.9
Less than 10.....	1.4	12.5	9.6	7.5	30.1
Negroes:					
10 and over.....	2.5	4.7	2.1	9.1	18.4
Less than 10.....	2.0	3.7	1.1	10.1	16.3
D. Rate per 1,000 Corresponding Total Population Adjusted for Age, Ethnic Stock, and Relief Status					
Total population:					
10 and over.....	3.5	6.9	1.8	6.2	18.4
Less than 10.....	2.8	7.2	2.8	6.2	19.3

no apparent pattern. A higher prevalence rate among the older residents than among the newcomers is found about as often as the opposite. This lack of pattern is naturally reflected in the rates for the aggregate of all types of disorder in the total population. These rates are 18.4 per thousand for the households ten or more years in the city and 19.3 per thousand for those with a length of residence up to nine years. The difference is clearly not significant.

It thus appears that there is a definite, inverse relationship between the prevalence of mental-health problems and the duration of residence in the house, but that no such relationship can be demonstrated with length of residence in the city.

This conclusion is further emphasized by two more comparisons that can be made. If we confine ourselves to households of ten or more years'

residence in the city and make a further breakdown by length of residence in the house, we find a prevalence rate for the aggregate of all types of 15.6 per thousand total population among those who had lived in the

TABLE 4
PREVALENCE RATES OF ALL TYPES OF PERSONALITY DISORDER PER 1,000 TOTAL
POPULATION, ADJUSTED FOR AGE, ETHNIC STOCK, AND
RELIEF STATUS OF HOUSEHOLD

DURATION OF RESIDENCE	CASES	RATE PER 1,000	DIFFERENCE	S.E. OF DIFFERENCE	CRITICAL RATIO
A. All Households by Duration of Residence in House					
Years in house: 10 and over.....	355	15.6	3.3	1.3	2.6
2 to 9.....	387	18.9		1.6	2.8
0 or 1.....	280	23.4			
B. All Households by Duration of Residence in City					
Years in city: 10 and over.....	859	18.4	.9	1.3	.7
Less than 10.....	163	19.3			
C. Households Residing in City for 10 Years and Over by Duration of Residence in House					
Years in house: 10 and over.....	355	15.6	5.5	1.4	3.9
Less than 10.....	504	21.1			
D. Households Residing in House for Less than 10 Years by Duration of Residence in City					
Years in city: 10 and over.....	504	21.1	-1.8	1.6	1.1
Less than 10.....	163	19.3			

house for at least ten years and 21.1 for those who had occupied different houses in the city during the last ten years. The difference between these two values is 5.5 or 3.9 times the standard error.

Conversely, if attention is directed only toward those households that have lived in their present house for less than ten years, we find that the older residents of the city have a prevalence rate for all types of disorder of 21.1 per thousand total population, which is actually more than among the newcomers to the city, where the rate is only 19.3. This difference is only 1.1 times its standard error and therefore not significant in itself, but it supports the impression that intracity mobility rather than inter-community migration is of importance in connection with the prevalence of mental-health problems. Table 4 summarizes these findings.

Our material therefore confirms the result of the ecological studies. The differences known to exist between areas of higher and lower spatial mobility appear duplicated in the differences between groups of households with shorter or longer duration of residence in the house. The population in the more mobile households furnishes more than its share of psychoses, neuroses, psychopathic personalities, and other types of personality disorder among adults and children. This observed fact may be interpreted in two ways. It is possible that the mobile families are on the move for reasons not associated with their mental makeup and that adjustment difficulties and personality disorders of every kind are the results of this moving around. On the other hand, families with a tendency to mental deviation may not adjust well wherever they find themselves and therefore change their residence oftener than do more stable people. The truth is probably somewhere between these extremes. There is one observation, however, which might be interpreted as emphasizing the constitutional factor. We have demonstrated that the intracity migrants rather than the in-migrants from other communities have an excess of personality disorder. If the change of environment were the outstanding factor in the relationship between spatial mobility and mental instability, one would expect at least equally elevated rates in both groups of migrants. But this is only a suggestion, and the question of nature or nurture remains wide open.

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MENTAL DISORDERS IN CITIES

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ABSTRACT

Within the limits of comparability, studies made in five cities (Kansas City, Milwaukee, Omaha, St. Louis, and Peoria) show the same tendency of cases of mental disorder, as measured by commitments, to concentrate in interstitial areas. When mental disorders are separated into their subdivisions, the same general conclusions as those reached by Faris and Dunham in their study of Chicago may be drawn, though in this study this conclusion is not so clear as in the concentration of the total number of commitments.

This paper is a report of a co-operative study of mental disorders in five cities. It was suggested by the recent publication of *Mental Disorders in Urban Areas* by R. E. L. Faris and H. Warren Dunham. The latter study was carried on primarily in Chicago with some of the results checked by data from Providence, Rhode Island. Results of this original study may be summarized as follows: (1) that cases of insanity were not found to be evenly distributed through the urban community but came, rather, in large proportions from certain areas of concentration; and (2) that there is a variation in the area distribution of the types of psychosis—schizophrenia, for example, following rather closely the pattern of all forms grouped together, while the manic-depressive type is distributed more evenly over the community as a whole.

It would seem apparent that certain advantages would result from a greater degree of co-operation in research. Any project of value would seem to warrant testing, both as to procedure and as to conclusions by means of additional studies. For these and other reasons Ernest W. Burgess made the suggestion that the study by Faris and Dunham be checked by a co-operative study of mental disorders in several Midwestern cities. Stuart A. Queen assumed the chairmanship of a committee and gave general direction to the studies made in Kansas City by Ernest Manheim, in Milwaukee by Marguerite Reuss, in Omaha by T. Earl Sullenger, in St. Louis by William L. J. Dee, and in Peoria by the present writer.

A statement of some of the earlier findings of the general study was reported to the American Sociological Society at its 1939 meeting.¹ A somewhat more detailed report of the study was given by the participants at the 1940 meeting of the Midwest Sociological Society.

¹ See Queen's statement, "The Ecological Study of Mental Disorders," *American Sociological Review*, V, No. 2, 1940, 201 ff.

Before proceeding with a report of the findings in these communities, a word should be inserted concerning the difficulties encountered and the limitations as to interpretation. The first difficulty arises, especially in the smaller cities, with reference to the number of cases available for study. It was found in Peoria, for example, that records prior to 1928 were so inadequately kept that admissions preceding that date could not be included. The number of cases in the various cities and the period of their admission to hospitals are given in Table 1.

TABLE 1
NUMBER OF CASES OF MENTAL DISORDER IN FIVE CITIES
AND YEARS OF THEIR ADMISSION TO HOSPITALS*

City	Number of Cases	Years of Admission
St. Louis.....	3,047	1931-36
Milwaukee.....	6,142	1925-38
Omaha.....	1,001	1931-35
Kansas City.....	2,800	1925-38
Peoria.....	1,845	1928-39

* All years inclusive except for St. Louis whose data are for the five-year period April 1, 1931, to April 1, 1936.

In each city rates computed for its subdivisions were based on the adult population figures for 1930. Since only a small number of cases is available in most of the cities, it is difficult to check adequately the Chicago study when different types of psychoses are considered. The total of 7,253 cases of schizophrenia employed by Faris and Dunham is more than the total of all types of mental disorders reported from any one of the other five cities. Only the most tentative conclusions can be drawn, therefore, with reference to distribution of mental types. In most cities the records of all hospitals, both public and private, were employed in the securing of the cases.

TOTAL CASES OF MENTAL DISORDER

When the total cases of insanity are taken as a basis for computation, the authors of the Chicago study summarize their findings as follows:

The highest rates are clustered about the center of the city and the rates are progressively lower at greater distances from the center. The slight rise of the rates in the Lake Calumet region reflects the deteriorated condition of that region, which, although less severe, is similar to that of the areas surrounding the central part of the city.²

² R. E. L. Faris and H. Warren Dunham, *Mental Disorders in Urban Areas* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1939), p. 25.

Almost identically the same conclusion is to be reached concerning the data for every one of the communities here being reported, including the variations caused by outlying deteriorated areas. Dee concludes for the St. Louis study that the distribution of cases of mental disorder "fit into the ecological pattern fairly well with a few notable exceptions. However, the St. Louis pattern cannot be considered as conclusive as those contained in the Chicago studies."³ Miss Reuss reports for Milwaukee, "High rates are concentrated in the center of the city, in the rooming-house and Negro districts, with some tendency to spread to the western part of the city. High rates tend to follow river valleys."⁴ Omaha cases seem to follow the pattern discovered in Chicago less definitely than is true of the other cities. Sullenger's summary statement of the findings is, "From our analysis of thirty-two homogeneous ecological areas of Omaha we find that social pathologies tend to concentrate in certain areas where conditions are most favorable for their existence." In Kansas City, Manheim points out that "on the whole the distribution of rates is parallel to that in Chicago. However, the city fringe, including the nonindustrial neighborhoods with high home-ownership rates shows increasing rates for almost all of the diagnoses." In Peoria a spotting of the cases on a map shows the same tendency to concentrate in the areas surrounding the central business district and in those sections given over to industry. Peoria is a river city with a strip of low land lying along its bank. The more desirable residential areas are on the bluffs away from the river. It is from the valley region that the large preponderance of cases of mental disorder come, the bluff area contributing fewer than a quarter of the cases while it contains approximately 40 per cent of the population. One of the tracts on the bluff contributed during the twelve-year period only 5.80 cases of insanity per ten thousand of the adult population, while in one of the valley tracts the comparable rate was 50.90. These two districts represent the extremes to be found in the city.

In all the cities studied there is a comparable variation between the low and the high rates. The extremes of variation are shown for the cities studied, including Chicago, in Table 2.

While there is some variance among the cities, probably to be expected in communities of varying size and situation, still there is sufficient evidence to support the conclusion that insanity areas exist.

The existence of areas of concentration of mental disorders corresponds

³ William L. J. Dee, "An Ecological Study of Mental Disorders in Metropolitan St. Louis" (Master's thesis, Washington University, 1939), pp. 37-38.

⁴ Unpublished report.

in general to the pattern of other factors already studied.⁵ In some of the cities there were found correlations between other disorganizational factors and insanity. While these relationships were not studied in detail in all of these cities, still there is no reason to believe that there would not be a comparable correlation in these cities between the factor of insanity and the other factors, as was found in Chicago.

In Peoria, where the writer has studied a large number of factors in relation first to divorce and second to juvenile delinquency, the relation among the factors which reveal social disorganization has been estab-

TABLE 2*
EXTREMES OF INSANITY RATES FOR LOCAL AREAS IN
SIX CITIES: ANNUAL RATES BASED ON 100,000
ADULT POPULATION AS OF 1930

City	Lowest Rate	Highest Rate
Chicago.....	28.67	465.75
St. Louis.....	17.20	442.60
Milwaukee.....	28.58	429.90
Omaha.....	31.96	245.94
Kansas City.....	26.20	155.50
Peoria.....	58.00	509.00

* The rates in this table are not given for the purpose of comparing the cities. There are too many variations in institutional facilities and commitment policies to make this feasible. The table is meant to show, merely, the extremes of variation in each community and the similarities among the communities as to areas of high concentration of cases of mental disorder, compared with other areas that are comparatively free from them.

lished.⁶ A list of the most important of these factors, and their degree of correlation with insanity, is given in Table 3.

Similarly, a series of factors were found to correlate negatively with mental disorders. A list of these with the degree of negative correlation is revealed in Table 4. Evidence of a similar nature comes from Omaha, where Sullenger reports in some detail for each of thirty-two sections of the city. He remarks concerning one of the sections:

It is characterized by single family dwellings, little personal and social disorganization, a fairly high rate of home ownership, middle-class economic status, stable family life, and about the average ratio of children to adults. With few exceptions, the rate of mental disorders is low.

⁵ See Faris and Dunham, *op. cit.*, pp. 1 ff., for an excellent summary.

⁶ "Divorce in a City of 100,000 Population" (Doctor's dissertation, University of Chicago, 1939); and *Delinquency in Peoria*, published by the County Court and Bradley Polytechnic Institute as report on Project 80076, Works Progress Administration.

For still another section of Omaha the same writer reports:

This section is characterized by racial mixture. The economic status is much lower than the average and personal disorganization is much higher. There seems to be a slightly smaller proportion of children compared to adults than is found in most sections. This district has a markedly higher rate of mental disorders. It is a zone of transition.⁷

TABLE 3
FACTORS POSITIVELY CORRELATED WITH MENTAL DISORDERS AND
THE DEGREE OF CORRELATION (PEORIA)

Factors	Correlation Coefficient	Factors	Correlation Coefficient
Adult crime.....	.81	Buildings needing major repairs.....	.71
Juvenile delinquency.....	.74	Vacant dwelling units.....	.77
Suicides.....	.65	Proportion of rental units.....	.67
Divorce.....	.64	Houses unfit for use.....	.62
Unemployment.....	.77	Residential mobility.....	.64
Relief.....	.76	Proportion of male population.....	.63
Indigent families.....	.71		
Rent delinquencies.....	.39		

TABLE 4
FACTORS NEGATIVELY CORRELATED WITH MENTAL DISORDERS
AND THE DEGREE OF CORRELATION (PEORIA)

Factors	Correlation Coefficient	Factors	Correlation Coefficient
Average rent paid.....	-.45	Church membership.....	-.55
Value of property.....	-.35	Dwellings in good condition..	-.62
Annual income.....	-.49	Home ownership.....	-.69

In summary it may be said that a constellation of factors is associated with insanity, and another constellation of factors fails to associate with the mental disorders. From the evidence thus found in the study of these five cities it would appear that there are "insanity areas" comparable to the delinquency areas of Chicago which Shaw discovered more than a decade ago.⁸

TYPES OF PSYCHOSIS

When cases of mental disorders are divided into the different types of psychoses represented, it is more difficult to substantiate the findings of Faris and Dunham. This fact, however, is probably due to inadequate

⁷ Unpublished report.

⁸ Clifford R. Shaw, *Delinquency Areas* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1929).

data and the generally smaller size of the communities studied rather than a disproof of the results of Faris and Dunham. It may also be due to the fact that in these various cities there are deviations in diagnosis of the types of mental abnormalities.

In Chicago it was found that the distribution of cases of schizophrenia "follows the same general pattern as the rates for the general insanity series. The high rates are in or near the center of the city and the low rates consistently occur at the city's periphery."⁹

On the other hand, "the distribution of the manic-depressive cases shows no marked concentration of high rates at the center of the city."¹⁰ Again, it was found that alcoholic psychoses and psychoses due to drug addiction show a marked concentration; "the bulk of the cases are, in fact, concentrated more heavily at the center of the city than in the schizophrenic series."¹¹ Also in the case of general paralysis, "the concentration of cases in this series is very similar to the various types of schizophrenia and is quite marked with the bulk of the cases falling in the high-rate communities near the center of the city."¹² In the case of old age psychoses, Faris and Dunham found that "the extent of concentration is not as marked as the concentration found in the general paralysis and the alcoholic psychosis series."¹³

The studies in the other cities verify with minor variations the concentration of schizophrenic cases. In St. Louis Dee concludes that

a comparison can be made between the schizophrenic pattern and the typical ecological pattern for the city. Immediately it is noticeable that there is some concentration of high rates in the center of the city and along the westward salient typical of the ecological pattern. However, a closer scrutiny will bring out many exceptions to the concentration. It is these numerous exceptions that force the conclusion that the schizophrenia series fit the general ecological pattern only moderately well and that these results can hardly be considered conclusive.¹⁴

Moreover, Dee finds some verification of the Faris and Dunham observations that there is a tendency for schizophrenia to be disproportionately frequent among the white people living in districts predominantly Negro in population.¹⁵

In the Milwaukee study Miss Reuss reports that the high schizophrenic

⁹ Faris and Dunham, *op. cit.*, p. 40.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 132.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 66.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 138.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 70.

¹⁴ Dee, *op. cit.*, p. 44.

¹⁵ Faris and Dunham, *op. cit.*, pp. 82 ff.

rates are concentrated in the central part of the city but tend to be extended farther into the outlying areas than are the total insanity rates.

In Omaha, Sullenger found that in those areas in which the total insanity rates are low there are also generally low schizophrenic rates. Mannheim's maps of Kansas City show the same general tendency of schizophrenic cases to concentrate where total insanity rates concentrate, though there are variations.

In Peoria the coefficient of correlation between total insanity cases and schizophrenia is low, only $+.29, \pm .13$. These figures, however, should not be taken as evidence that there is not the same tendency for schizophrenia to concentrate, since there were only 193 cases available for study.

The findings of Faris and Dunham that there is a greater scatter through the entire community of manic-depressive cases than of other types of psychoses is verified in each of the cities studied. Dee reports that "absolutely no correlation exists" between schizophrenia and manic-depressive psychosis.¹⁶ In the Kansas City study Mannheim seems to find more of a tendency toward concentration than is true of the other communities. He reports that

manic depressives show a great scatter than the schizophrenic group and paresis, though with some exceptions, the highest rates occur near the center of the city in the low-rent areas and in the mobile districts. The lodging-house and hotel areas contribute less to the relative incidence of the manic depressive psychosis than to the schizophrenic group.¹⁷

Sullenger finds a high rate of manic-depressive psychoses in some districts where other types of insanity are low. In Peoria there were only eighty-eight cases of manic-depressive psychoses to be studied, but a plotting of these cases on the map shows a tendency toward even distribution throughout the entire community. Milwaukee has a more random pattern of manic-depressive psychosis than of schizophrenia, but there is also concentration in the downtown and river-valley sections.

Only in St. Louis are data available for checking the conclusions of Faris and Dunham concerning the distribution of senile psychoses. Dee's summary of his findings is as follows:

Although a slight concentration of high-rate tracts is found along the downtown river front the lack of concentration elsewhere keeps this distribution from making anything more than an extremely poor fit in the ecological pattern. The distribution really presents a random pattern since the high rates as well as the low rates are scattered widely throughout the city. This is in direct contrast to the pattern obtained in Chicago.¹⁸

¹⁶ Dee, *op. cit.*, p. 52.

¹⁷ Unpublished report.

¹⁸ Dee, *op. cit.*, p. 70.

The Chicago findings for paresis are verified to a certain extent. What little information the reports contain, while not conclusive, tend to bear out the general conclusion reached by Dee in his St. Louis study:

The spatial distribution of the paresis rates shows a closer approach to the general ecological pattern of St. Louis than the two preceding disorders (senile dementia and manic depressive), though not as good a fit as schizophrenia. . . . The concentration of high rates in the center of the city is pretty heavy, but there are several scattering high items which destroy the perfection of the picture. . . . Because of these limitations the pattern makes only a partial fit to the typical ecological distribution. . . . The Chicago study demonstrated that a better fit existed.¹⁹

In summary, the studies in five cities tend to verify the findings of Faris and Dunham, more completely for total rates than for rates by specific psychoses. Exceptions are to be found in some of the details—for example, a greater degree of concentration of schizophrenia in certain areas of Chicago than is to be found in St. Louis, Omaha, or Peoria. There is virtual agreement in all of the cities as to concentration of total insanity cases. Even here, however, variations found in the rates in the various cities may give rise to further questions and need for further study. Why these differences between communities should exist remains an unanswered question.

These studies offer no help in securing answers to certain other questions raised by the Chicago study. The data of Faris and Dunham were sufficient to make comparisons for some of the subtypes of psychosis. They find that the catatonic type of schizophrenia differs from the other types in distribution. None of the other cities has sufficient data to determine whether or not this finding is true in general.

One of the important questions raised by Faris and Dunham is the hypothesis that isolation may be a determining factor in some types of mental disorder. Again, the studies in the various cities present no supporting data of significance, unless it is the positive correlation between mental disorder and residential mobility found in the communities where definite calculations have been made. It seems probable that this question may be the chief guidepost for the sociologist in his further studies of mental disorder.²⁰

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¹⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 80-83.

²⁰ See Queen's statement on this point, "The Ecological Study of Mental Disorders," *American Sociological Review*, V, No. 2 (1940), 209.

URBANIZATION AND FERTILITY*

A. J. JAFFE

ABSTRACT

Urban-rural differential fertility was studied in a number of non-European countries as of the present time and in a number of European nations and in the United States during the early nineteenth century. With but one exception the rural fertility rate was observed to be substantially higher than the urban rate.

It is a well-established fact that in our modern European culture fertility rates are generally higher in rural areas than in cities. This has been demonstrated by a number of investigators who used a large variety of analytical techniques¹ and several different measures of fertility. Certain phases of this problem of differential fertility remain to be investigated, however, and it is to these that this paper is addressed.

The first question which may be asked is: To what extent does this differential exist in geographical and cultural areas other than our own? In particular we are interested in discovering whether this differential is found among nonwhite groups living on the margins of our present cultural area. The second question refers to the age and time of origin of urban-rural differential fertility. Previous studies have shown that it has existed in certain areas of Europe for more than half a century, but no investigation has attempted to determine the earliest period for which such a differential can be positively established. Finally, it may be asked: What is the trend in this differential? Is it decreasing or increasing in magnitude? This analysis is directed toward the solution of these three questions.

METHOD AND DATA

In many respects the ideal measure of fertility is the gross reproduction rate. This measure, by giving equal weight to the specific fertility rates for each age group, eliminates the influence of the age and sex composition

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¹ Warren S. Thompson, *Population Problems* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1935), p. 153; see also Roderich von Ungern-Sternberg, *The Causes of the Decline in Birth-Rate within the European Sphere of Civilization* ("Eugenics Research Association Monograph," No. IV [Cold Spring Harbor, Long Island, N.Y., 1931]), p. 71.

of the population being studied and measures fertility per se.² In order to compute this rate, the number of females by age and the number of births by age of mother are required. For our analysis it was possible (with but three exceptions) to obtain only the age composition of the populations being studied; hence the gross reproduction rate could not be computed. It was therefore necessary to devise a new measure which would take full advantage of the available census data on age composition and at the same time would be so closely related to the gross reproduction rate as to afford a reliable index of it. This new measure, which we may term the "census reproductivity coefficient," is derived in the following manner. Given the number of women in each five-year age group and the number of female children under five years of age classified according to age of mother, it is possible to compute the average number of female children under five years of age per woman in any given age group. The census reproductivity coefficient is the sum of these age-specific rates. As we just noted, however, the number of children classified by age of mother was not available for most of the populations analyzed. It was therefore necessary to compute this coefficient by an indirect method, this method being exactly the same as that described by Karpinos and by Glass. As both have shown, with reference to the gross reproduction rate this indirect method affords highly reliable results.³ It is thus evident that the census reproductivity coefficient, as computed for the purposes of this study, is similar to the gross reproduction rate computed by the indirect method, with the exception that the number of children under five years of age is substituted for the number of births.

At this point let us examine more closely the relationship of the census reproductivity coefficient to the gross reproduction rate and determine the extent to which the former is a measure or an index of the latter.

In this study we are interested in investigating the urban-rural differential in fertility. If there were no differences between urban and rural child mortality rates, the census reproductivity coefficient would exactly measure the gross reproduction rate (except for the constant difference between the coefficient and the rate which is introduced by the constant

² It should be noted that the gross reproduction rate is standardized on a rectangular population. The net reproduction rate also can be considered as a standardized fertility rate; however, varying weights are applied to the age-specific fertility rates, in contrast to the uniform weights applied when computing the gross reproduction rate.

³ B. D. Karpinos, "The Differential True Rates of Growth of the White Population in the United States," *American Journal of Sociology*, XLIV (1938), 270-71, and D. V. Glass, *Population Policies and Movements in Europe* (London: Oxford University Press, 1940), pp. 387-505.

death rates). The available evidence, however, leads us to believe that child mortality rates are higher in urban than in rural areas.⁴ The effects of such differential mortality can be evaluated by data for Sweden. For this country we can express the census reproductivity coefficient and the gross reproduction rates for Stockholm as percentages of those for the remainder of the country for the periods from 1760 to date.

In 1760 the coefficient for Stockholm was only 47 per cent of that for the remainder of Sweden, whereas the gross reproduction rate was 91 per cent of that for the rural areas. By 1860 the coefficient for Stockholm was 51 per cent of that for rural Sweden and the gross reproduction rate was 73 per cent. These percentages were, respectively, 52 and 65 in 1900 and 46 and 50 in 1930. In eighteenth-century Sweden the differential in child mortality between Stockholm and the remainder of the country was very great, the Stockholm rate being almost twice as large as the rural rate. By 1930 the urban-rural differential had decreased so much that the census reproductivity coefficient was very nearly the same as the gross reproduction rate.

Still another test for the relationship of the coefficient to the gross reproduction rate is afforded by data for the United States (1930). The net reproduction rate, gross reproduction rate, and census reproductivity coefficient could be computed for the white population of each state. Correlating each of these with one another reveals that the net reproduction rate and the census reproductivity coefficient had a correlation of .995, the gross reproduction rate and the coefficient had a correlation of .986, and the net and gross reproduction rates had a correlation of .977.

We may summarize these two tests as follows. Where child mortality (during the first two and one-half years of life) is low and the urban-rural differential is not great, as in the United States today, for example, the coefficient closely parallels and almost equals the gross reproduction rate. As the level of child mortality and the urban-rural differential in this mortality increase, however, the coefficient increasingly diverges from the gross reproduction rate, as was observed in Sweden in 1760. Since child mortality of this magnitude⁵ is generally not encountered, however, we may accept the census reproductivity coefficient as a fairly adequate index of the gross reproduction rate.

⁴ In countries where modern sanitation and public health measures have been introduced such differentials are now very small (see Louis I. Dublin and Alfred J. Lotka, *Length of Life* [New York: Ronald Press Co., 1936], pp. 90-93).

⁵ In rural Sweden about 30 per cent of all female infants born alive had died by age three, whereas in Stockholm about 57 per cent had died by this age (data from Richard Price, *Observations on Reversionary Payments* [London, 1812], II, 404 ff.).

As we have already remarked, the census reproductivity coefficient was calculated by an indirect method. We know also that the enumeration of children under five years of age is generally not complete. Accordingly, it was thought advisable to present all the coefficients as indices. For each population analyzed the rural coefficient is set equal to 100, and the urban coefficient is converted into an index by expressing it as a percentage of the rural coefficient. We are thus able to analyze the differences between urban and rural areas within any given nation at any given moment of time, although we may not be able to analyze the actual level of fertility.

The data utilized in this study were obtained from censuses taken in the various countries. All available census enumerations which presented the population cross-classified by age, sex, and urban-rural residence were analyzed. As is known, the definitions of urban and rural areas are not constant from one country to the other. In some countries, as the United States, all incorporated places above a certain size are considered as urban, the rest of the country being classified as rural. In other countries—Mexico, for example—the necessary data were available only for the chief city or cities and for the entire country. In such instances urban and rural areas were defined as follows: the urban areas are those cities for which separate age data were obtainable, and the remainder of the country was considered as rural.

GEOGRAPHICAL AND CULTURAL DISTRIBUTION OF THE URBAN-RURAL
DIFFERENTIAL DURING THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

Latin America.—For the Virgin Islands 1930 data for the Negroes were found. The index for urban areas was 85 as compared with 100 for rural areas.⁶

In Puerto Rico data are available for both whites and Negroes in 1920 and 1930. At the earlier period the urban index was 53 for the whites and 48 for the Negroes, and, in 1930, 56 and 59, respectively.

In Cuba the urban indices in 1919, for both whites and Negroes, were about half as large as the rural, being 50 and 57, respectively.⁷

In Mexico the urban indices in 1895, 1921, and 1930, were, respectively, 71, 57, and 64.⁸

For Chile data were procured for 1920 and 1930. At the latter date the

⁶ Urban areas comprise all cities and towns of 2,500 inhabitants or more, the remainder of the island being considered rural.

⁷ Urban areas comprise cities of 25,000 inhabitants or more.

⁸ The urban area is Mexico City (Federal District), the remainder of the country being considered rural.

urban⁹ index was 63. From the earlier census, data were available only for the cities of Valparaiso and Santiago; the census reproductivity indices in these two cities were, respectively, 70 and 67.

Asia.—Limited data from a population sample in China in 1932 were utilized. In the market-town population the index was 92 as compared with 100 in the farm-village population.¹⁰

Table 1 shows the census reproductivity indices for various city-size groups in Japan in 1913.¹¹

From the Philippine Islands in 1903 we have data for four selected populations—Ilocano, Pampangan, Tagalog, and mixed. For these groups the urban¹² indices were, respectively, 33, 30, 66, and 35.

TABLE 1

Population	Index
20,000-25,000.....	75
25,000-50,000.....	83
50,000-100,000.....	83
100,000 and over.....	72
Tokyo (population 1,650,000).....	72
Osaka (population 1,055,000):.....	70

TABLE 2

Population Group	Singapore	Penang
Malaysians.....	89	89
Eurasians.....	76	84
Chinese.....	83	97
Indians.....	111	111

From British Malaya there are data for 1931 on the Malaysians, Eurasians, Chinese, and Indians. They were placed in two groups: (1) those living in the two urbanized states of Singapore and Penang¹³ and (2) those in the remainder of the country, which is considered rural. The indices for these four population groups in the two urbanized states are as given in Table 2.

⁹ Urban areas in 1930 were cities of 10,000 or more.

¹⁰ The labor force in the farm villages consists mainly of agricultural workers, whereas in the market towns it consists of nonagricultural workers.

¹¹ Urban areas consist of cities having 20,000 inhabitants or more.

¹² The only urban area is the city of Manila, the remainder of the country being considered rural.

¹³ Singapore state contains the city of Singapore (population 446,000) and Penang state, the city of Penang (population 149,000).

In Ceylon the indices for five ethnic groups in urban¹⁴ areas in 1921 were lower than the rural index. These groups were the Low Country Sinhalese, Kandyan Sinhalese, Ceylon Tamils, Indian Tamils, and Ceylon Moors, with indices of 82, 77, 81, 88, and 95, respectively.

Other populations.—In Palestine the urban¹⁵ index for the Christian population in 1931 was 71, for the Jewish population 94, and for the Moslem population 90.

In the United States in 1930 the urban¹⁶ index for the Mexicans was 82, for the Indians 61, for the Chinese 88, and for the Japanese 68.

Among the Negroes in South Africa the census reproductivity indices for urban areas¹⁷ in 1921 and 1936 were, respectively, 61 and 67. Among the Asiatics the index was 90 for both years.

We have here examined the data for thirteen countries, including thirty-one separate population groups. With but one exception, that of the Indians in British Malaya, the census reproductivity index was lower in urban areas than in rural. It would thus appear that, as of recent years, urban-rural differential fertility is found among numerous population groups outside of Europe or of lands settled by Europeans.

THE URBAN-RURAL DIFFERENTIAL PRIOR TO THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

Since census enumerations and the compiling of population data were largely confined to the United States and the European nations during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, practically all our data for this period pertain to these two areas. The only non-European country for which the requisite census data were obtainable was Bengal, for which data were available for 1881.

From extant data it was possible to compute gross reproduction rates for Stockholm and the remainder of Sweden (the latter being considered

¹⁴ Urban areas comprise cities having 2,500 inhabitants or more.

¹⁵ The urban areas consist of Tel Aviv, Jerusalem, Haifa, and Jaffa, the only towns which "have any likeness to urban centers as these are understood in Europe" (E. Mills, *Census of Palestine, 1931* [Alexandria, 1933], I, 25). The remainder of the country is considered rural.

¹⁶ Urban areas are incorporated places of 2,500 inhabitants or more.

¹⁷ "An urban area is deemed to be the area included within any city, borough, municipality, village management board, health committee, township or other local board, constituted under any law and possessing some form of urban local authority. The other areas which are considered to be rural, include farming areas, native reserves, tribally owned farms, unalienated crown lands, and the residential areas adjoining the boundaries of large cities" (*Sixth Census of the Population of the Union of South Africa*, Vol. I: *Population* [Pretoria, 1938], p. xiii).

rural) from 1760 to date. In 1760 (average for the period 1757-63) the rate for Stockholm was 91 per cent of that for the remainder of Sweden; in 1820 it was 76 per cent and in 1840 it was 70 per cent of the rural rate. Throughout the remainder of the nineteenth century the gross reproduction rates in Stockholm were appreciably lower than those for the remainder of the country.

For the white population in the United States in 1800 we find the census reproductivity indices for the various city-size groups¹⁸ as shown in Table 3. Similar urban-rural differentials were observed at that period within each state. During the remainder of the nineteenth century the urban areas consistently showed lower indices.

TABLE 3

Population	Index
2,500-10,000.....	70
10,000-25,000.....	57
25,000-50,000.....	62
50,000 and over.....	64

TABLE 4

Population	Index
20,000-25,000.....	74
25,000-50,000.....	77
50,000-100,000.....	78
100,000 and over.....	67
Berlin (population 633,000).....	68

The state of Utah in 1860 presents a special case from the point of view of fertility analysis, since the Church of the Latter Day Saints, to which practically the entire population belonged, placed great emphasis on high fertility. Under such special conditions it might be imagined that the urban-rural differential would not occur. Nevertheless, the census reproductivity index for native whites in Salt Lake City was only 84, as compared with 100 for the remainder of the state.

The *départements* of France in 1861, when classified into three groups—those containing large cities, those containing small ones, and those predominantly rural—were found to have indices of 61, 92, and 100, respectively.

In Prussia we find census reproductivity indices for the various city-size groups¹⁹ in 1864 as given in Table 4.

¹⁸ See definition in n. 14.

¹⁹ Urban areas comprise cities having 20,000 inhabitants or more.

In Rumania the indices for the various city-size groups²⁰ in 1899 were as shown in Table 5.

Finally, we have data for the Mohammedan and Hindu populations of Bengal in 1881, distributed by residence in Calcutta proper, in the

TABLE 5

Population	Index
2,000-10,000.....	80
10,000-25,000.....	72
25,000-50,000.....	61
50,000-100,000.....	63
Bucharest (population 276,000).....	52

suburbs of Calcutta, and in the remainder of the country. The indices in these three areas were, respectively, 42, 49, and 100 for the Mohammedans and 57, 60, and 100 for the Hindus.

By reviewing data for the United States, four European nations, and Bengal in various periods of the nineteenth century and for Sweden in the eighteenth, we have found that the census reproductivity index for urban areas was significantly lower than that for rural areas. It would appear, then, that the urban-rural differential existed for at least one hundred years prior to the twentieth century; it is definitely not a new phenomenon.

TRENDS IN URBAN-RURAL DIFFERENTIAL FERTILITY

The data necessary for an adequate analysis of trends in urban-rural differential fertility are exceedingly limited, since few nations have regu-

TABLE 6

Year	Index	Year	Index
1760.....	91	1880.....	72
1820.....	76	1890.....	73
1840.....	70	1900.....	65
1850.....	74	1910.....	67
1860.....	73	1920.....	55
1870.....	81	1930.....	50

larly enumerated their populations and published the requisite data in comparable form over a period of several decades. For these reasons this analysis could be made only for Sweden, 1760-1930; the United States, 1800-1940; England and Wales, 1850-52 to 1930; and Mexico, 1895-1930.

The gross reproduction rate for Stockholm, expressed as a percentage of that for the remainder of Sweden, is as shown in Table 6.

²⁰ Urban areas comprise cities having 2,000 inhabitants or more.

Inspection of the data in this table suggests that the differential between urban and rural fertility has been increasing since 1870 at least.

Net reproduction rates by urban and rural residence for the United States and individual states are available from a special study made by the United States Bureau of the Census for the census years 1800-1840 and 1920-40. The net reproduction rates for the white population in urban²¹ areas of the United States and the states of Virginia and South Carolina (two states in which the white population has remained of relatively pure Colonial stock) expressed as percentages of the rural rates, are as shown in Table 7. Inspection of these data suggests that the urban-

TABLE 7

Year	United States	South Carolina	Virginia
1800.....	59	58	66
1810.....	61	76	59
1820.....	59	63	64
1830.....	52	46	58
1840.....	55	53	66
1920.....	65	61	58
1930.....	61	63	56
1940.....	59	59	55

rural fertility differential has not decreased since 1800.²² Since the net reproduction rates in urban areas have shown no tendency to approach those in rural areas, and since we know that mortality rates have decreased more in urban areas than in rural,²³ we can only infer that the gross reproduction rate since 1800 has decreased in the urban areas in comparison with the rural areas.

The gross reproduction rate for London may be expressed as a percentage of that for all England,²⁴ with the results as given in Table 8. No definite trend can be observed to suggest that this differential has substantially changed since 1850-52.

In Mexico census reproductivity indices could be computed for the

²¹ See n. 14.

²² In some of the northern states like Massachusetts and New York, where the foreign-born have settled in the large urban centers, the urban-rural differential has decreased, owing to the influence of these population groups.

²³ A. J. Jaffe and W. I. Lourie, Jr., "An Abridged Life Table for the White Population in the United States in 1830" (unpublished).

²⁴ Data from Glass, *op. cit.*, pp. 13 and 63.

years 1895, 1921, and 1930. For Mexico City the index was, respectively, 71, 57, and 64 at each of these census years. This irregularity is such as to suggest that there is no definite trend toward an increasing or decreasing urban-rural differential.

TABLE 8

Biennium	Index	Biennium	Index
1850-52.....	80	1890-92.....	87
1860-62.....	85	1910-12.....	90
1870-72.....	86	1930-32.....	84
1880-82.....	89		

On the basis of the meager data available for studying trends in urban-rural differential fertility, we can only conclude that there is no evidence to prove that this differential is decreasing. Our analysis suggests that this differential was just as great prior to 1850 as it is today.

SUMMARY

Despite the inadequacies of the census data utilized in this study, the results form such a consistent pattern as to make us feel confident that the following points have been established.

1. Urban-rural differential fertility is far more widespread than was originally thought. Not only does it exist today in the European nations and in those lands whose population is predominantly of European descent, but it is also found among the populations of Latin-American countries where there is a large admixture of native blood, among at least some of the native Asiatic populations, among the Moslems in Palestine, among the native Negroes and the Asiatics in South Africa, and among the nonwhite groups (other than Negro) in the United States.

2. This urban-rural differential apparently existed throughout much of Europe during the entire nineteenth century and possibly even during the eighteenth century, having been observed in Sweden as early as 1760. Just when this differential first appeared it cannot be said, but we may infer that it probably arose at least three or four generations prior to the first date for which it can be definitely established. This must be the case, since differentials of the magnitude observed in Europe and the United States in the first half of the nineteenth century could not have appeared suddenly.

3. The urban-rural differential in fertility may have been about as

great in the first half of the nineteenth century as it is today. This suggests that the differential is neither increasing nor decreasing with the passage of time.

FACTORS ACCOUNTING FOR URBAN-RURAL DIFFERENTIAL FERTILITY

Here we can but review the data and theories set forth by some writers on this subject to account for differential fertility; we have no new data to bring to bear upon this problem.

It is thought that one of the factors accounting for urban-rural differential fertility today is the greater accessibility of modern contraceptive techniques in urban areas than in rural²⁵ regions. However, the availability of these techniques cannot, in itself, account for this differential, since it has been observed in cultures and at periods in which modern means of contraception were unknown. Hence, it would appear that the mechanism whereby such differentials are produced consists of a whole series of birth-prevention practices and not of only one technique or a group of similar techniques.

Included among the various family limitation practices are abortion, sexual taboos, legal restrictions and postponement of marriage, and infanticide, as well as contraception proper.²⁶ That one or another of these methods has been known to and used by most peoples at one time or another is the opinion held by many students.²⁷ Himes especially has amassed great quantities of evidence to show that knowledge of family limitation practices has been possessed by practically all peoples at almost all historical epochs. Such knowledge, it would appear, has not always been used extensively or successfully. Nevertheless, the fact that it was in existence suggests that the basis for differential fertility was present and that only a "desire" for such a differential was needed to bring it about.²⁸

As further evidence that family limitation practices other than our modern contraceptive techniques were often successfully employed, we

²⁵ P. K. Whelpton, "Causes of the Decline in Birth Rates," *Milbank Memorial Fund Quarterly*, XII (1935), 246-47; von Ungern-Sternberg, *op. cit.*, p. 58.

²⁶ Thompson, *op. cit.*, p. 6.

²⁷ See, e.g., *ibid.*; N. E. Himes, *Medical History of Contraception* (Baltimore: Williams & Wilkins Co., 1936), pp. 421-22; A. M. Carr-Saunders, *Population* (London: University Press; Humphrey Milford, 1925), pp. 54-56; and Glass, *op. cit.*, p. 280.

²⁸ We might note that the use of the drug ergot as an abortifacient may have been known to the ancient Romans, Greeks, Egyptians, and Hebrews, and possibly the Chinese and others (Herman Schelenz, *Geschichte der Pharmazie* [Berlin, 1904], pp. 11, 75, 281, 285).

may cite several instances in which populations without the benefit of such techniques have nevertheless not reproduced to the limit of physiological capacity. Among native women (married, widowed, and divorced) sixty-five years of age and over in the Philippine Islands (1939), the number of children ever born (including stillbirths) averaged about six.²⁹ Among a sample of native white and mixed white-Negro women (married) sixty-five years of age and over in rural Puerto Rico (1910), the reported number of children ever born was about seven.³⁰ Finally, in Reinhardtsgrima, Germany, during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the average number of children per marriage appears to have varied between three and four.³¹ Although the exact number of children which a woman is potentially able to bear is unknown, it is fairly certain that the number is well in excess of six or seven.³² Evidently, then, birth prevention of one form or another was practiced.

Since it has been seen that knowledge of birth-prevention practices has been widely distributed—both spatially and temporally—we may well ask what social conditions would bring differential birth-prevention practices into play and so produce differential fertility.

The answer which the majority of population students believe to be the most plausible lies in the field of standards of living. Although the various theories advanced have all differed somewhat from one another, they may be summarized as follows. Let us consider the "plane of living" of a population group as the sum total of all goods and services available to that particular group; let us consider the "standard of living" as that plane of living which the group desires for itself and believes it is in a position to attain. We then find that fertility decreases as the ratio of the standard of living to the plane of living increases. In other words, when people want "luxuries" or are "ambitious" or are seeking "social advancement," they find it necessary to limit the number of their children.³³

²⁹ Average for ten provinces, Philippine census, 1939.

³⁰ Unpublished sample tally of the 1910 census of Puerto Rico.

³¹ Johannes Krausse, "Unterschiedliche Fortpflanzung im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert," *Archiv für Bevölkerungswissenschaft und Bevölkerungspolitik*, X (1940), 24-33.

³² Raymond Pearl, "Biological Factors in Fertility," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, CLXXXVIII (1936), 23, 24; R. K. Stix and F. W. Notestein, *Controlled Fertility* (Baltimore: Williams & Wilkins Co., 1940), p. 32.

³³ Students holding to this general theory include: Frank Lorimer, Ellen Winston, and Louise K. Kiser, *Foundations of American Population Policy* (New York: Harper & Bros., 1940); James A. Field, *Essays on Population* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1937), chap. xii: "Reflections on the Case for Birth-Control;" Glass, *op. cit.*, p. 372; von Ungern-Sternberg, *op. cit.*, p. 201; Thompson, *op. cit.*, pp. 165-66; F. Lori-

Through a given period of time, if the people of a nation become more "ambitious," we find their fertility rate falling. If at a given moment we find different segments of a population having varying amounts of "ambition," then we find group differentials in fertility. Urban areas, either because they attract more "ambitious" persons or because the urban environment is such as to foster the urge for "social advancement," have lower fertility rates than the rural areas, where the factor of "ambition" is of less significance.

Related to this factor of the desire to advance the plane of living are, of course, other factors, the most important of which, apparently, is the development of the feeling of individual liberty. Children, besides being economic liabilities, restrict the individual liberties of their parents.

In any event, the rise of differentials in fertility and changes in fertility through time have been facilitated in recent years by the introduction of modern contraceptive techniques. Such techniques have made it easier for a group which desires to limit its fertility to do so. It would not appear imperative, however, that such modern techniques be hand; human beings generally find methods for limiting their reproductive capacity as they desire.

U.S. BUREAU OF THE CENSUS
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mer and F. Osborn, *Dynamics of Population* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1934), pp. 325-26; and Clement Serpeille de Gobineau, "De certains facteurs qui déterminent les mouvements des naissances," *Bevölkerungsfragen*, ed. Hans Harmsen and Franz Lohse (Munich: J. F. Lehmanns Verlag, 1936), p. 287.

"THE PREDICTION OF PERSONAL ADJUSTMENT" A SYMPOSIUM

The four papers that follow are devoted to a critical analysis of the volume, *The Prediction of Personal Adjustment*, by Paul Horst, Paul Wallin, Louis Guttman, *et al.* This study was instituted by the Social Science Research Council to deal with the important problems of predicting human behavior. Since this problem is one of major interest, the editors have deemed it advisable to invite a number of scholars to analyze this volume.

PROBLEMS OF PREDICTION

HAROLD HOTELLING

The problems of prediction of personal adjustment are of two main categories. Some are peculiar to this and a very few closely related fields alone, embracing the objectives and the general nature of the observations to be made. The second category is of problems common to many fields. These are problems of mathematical statistics. Questions of both kinds are dealt with in a recent publication of the Social Science Research Council.¹ The present article consists chiefly of comments on some of the fundamental general problems of prediction (i.e., of mathematical statistics) discussed in the book. It will be seen that these matters have important implications for future research enterprises, in this field and in others.

The main theme of the book concerns the steps to be taken in order to devise suitable techniques for forecasting school and vocational success, marital happiness, and criminal recidivism. There is also an important chapter on prediction and national defense, emphasizing the need of employing proper psychological and statistical methods in personnel placement in the armed services and discussing the German military utilization of psychologists, which is intensive and on a large scale, involving among other things the selection of men with Ph.D. degrees who subsequently receive a three-year advanced training in military psychology. These psychologists, though not primarily military men, seem to have

¹ Paul Horst, Paul Wallin, Louis Guttman, *et al.*, *The Prediction of Personal Adjustment* (New York: Social Science Research Council, 1941).

the chief voice in the selection of candidates for commissions, as well as in other important matters, according to a report quoted from H. L. Ansbacher. Germany is a weak country in mathematical statistics, and little has been done there with modern methods of test analysis by statistical reasoning, but the large number and the ability in other ways of the German psychologists who are working intensively on war problems are thought to have made up for this deficiency. The pseudo-science put forth by the Nazis for political purposes is said to be quietly ignored by the psychologists.

Prediction requires use of a formula for estimating the quantity to be predicted (the "predictand," in my language), on the basis of observations available at a sufficiently early time on one or more other variables, which we may call "predictors." The predictors may, for example, be the scores assigned to questionnaires or test items. The selection of predictors is partly a matter of designing experiments, partly a matter of looking about to see what is available, and partly a matter of applying mathematical criteria. A complete theory of the mathematical criteria appropriate for the selection of predictors has yet to be developed, though there is some literature on the subject, and further research has for some time been under way at Columbia University on this question.² It is desirable that the selection of the function of the predictors to be used should utilize any available information regarding the nature of the phenomena under investigation and the causal connections of the variates. This is commonly impossible, however, and a formula is chosen with a view to having something as simple and convenient as possible without its conflicting with the known facts, which include the deviations of actual observations from the corresponding estimates obtained from the formula. This usually means adopting a linear function of the predictors, with constant coefficients to be determined from a body of observations brought together for the purpose. Non-linear functions of the predictors may and, as the authors point out, ought often to be used. But in practically every case a formula is used that is linear in the constant coefficients, and this leads to a situation which is mathematically much like the strictly linear

² Mr. Ralph J. Brookner has attained results bearing on certain phases of this question, but they have not yet been published. A relevant contribution of mine, missed by the authors in their discussion, was "The Selection of Variates for Use in Prediction, with Some Comments on the General Problem of Nuisance Parameters," *Annals of Mathematical Statistics*, XI (1940), 271-83. The criterion worked out in this paper has been applied by Dr. W. D. Baten to agricultural problems in "How To Determine Which of Two Variables Is Better for Predicting a Third Variable," *Journal of the American Society of Agronomy*, XXXIII (1941), 695-99.

case, even though squares, products, and other functions of the predictors are multiplied by these constants. The problem then is to determine, with the help of N observations on each of the variables x_1, \dots, x_p and y , the most suitable coefficients b_1, \dots, b_p in such a prediction formula as

$$Y = b_1x_1 + b_2x_2 + \dots + b_px_p,$$

which is to be used with future values of x_1, \dots, x_p to obtain estimates Y of the values of y to be associated with these future x 's. For example, y may be an index of success in marriage while the x 's are features of an individual or couple contemplating marriage which, it is hoped, may be inserted into the formula with the result that the couple will go blissfully ahead if Y is a large number but will separate and seek other partners if Y is small. We may apportion the numbers $1, 2, \dots, N$ among the individuals, or the engaged couples, on whom we have a complete set of observations, and use these as tags to identify them in our mathematical manipulations. Let us denote by x_{ia} the value of x_i , and by y_a the value of y , in the a th case. We shall let a and other Greek indices take values from 1 to N , while i and other Latin indices take values from 1 to p —recalling that p is the number of coefficients to be determined while N is the number of cases that have been completely observed. We must have $N > p$, and a certain degree of what is known as linear independence, but this latter item need not detain us here.

The classical method of determining the coefficients b_i is by the method of least squares, by which the sum of the squared deviations of the observed y 's from the corresponding values of Y computed by the prediction formula and the observed x 's is made a minimum. Let us use S to denote summation over the sample, i.e., with respect to Greek indices from 1 to N , and let us use Σ to denote summation with respect to Latin indices from 1 to p . The criterion of least squares is that the b 's should be so chosen that

$$S(y_a - Y_a)^2 \quad (1)$$

should be as small as possible, where

$$Y_a = \Sigma b_i x_{ia}. \quad (2)$$

This criterion leads to a solution by the simplest of calculus. If for brevity we define

$$a_{ij} = Sx_{ia}x_{ja}, \quad \text{and} \quad g_i = Sx_{ia}y_a, \quad (3)$$

the equations for determining the coefficients b_i , known as the normal equations, may be written compactly

$$\Sigma a_{ij} b_j = g_i, \quad (i, j = 1, \dots, p). \quad (4)$$

We may express the solution of these equations in terms of the elements c_{ij} of the matrix inverse to that of the coefficients a_{ij} . This means that c_{ij} is the cofactor of a_{ij} in the determinant of the a_{ij} 's, divided by this determinant. From certain of the most elementary theorems on determinants it then follows that

$$\sum a_{ij} c_{ik} = \delta_{jk} \quad (5)$$

where the summation is with respect to the repeated index i , and δ_{jk} is the Kronecker delta, defined to be equal to unity if its two subscripts are equal, and otherwise to be zero. Multiplying the i th normal equation (4) by c_{ik} , summing with respect to i , and using the last relation, leads to a solution in the form

$$b_k = \sum c_{ik} g_i \quad (6)$$

Here and hereafter it will be understood that the summation is with respect to the index that appears twice, in this case i .

In judging the accuracy of determination of the coefficients and the goodness of the prediction formula obtained, use is made of the minimum value obtained for the sum of squares of the deviations $y_a - Y_a$. This is done partly through the standard errors of the b 's and of the forecast Y itself and partly through the correlation coefficient R , known as the multiple correlation, between the y 's and the Y 's for the observed sample. For the multiple correlation we have exact interpretations in terms of probability determined ingeniously from several different standpoints by R. A. Fisher, supplemented by extensions to other cases by S. S. Wilks and others.

This exact theory seems, however, to be little known among psychologists and sociologists; no reference to it appears in the volume at hand. Workers in these fields are accustomed to use instead the older inexact sampling theories and the loose logic associated with them. The sampling theory of the regression coefficients is easier and better known. That of the Y 's, the predictions themselves, is also easy but is not so well known. The essential question regarding them is the accuracy to be expected in applying the prediction formula obtained from one sample to a new sample. The correlation of the y 's in a new sample with the corresponding Y 's calculated from the prediction formula based on the former sample will usually be less than R , to an extent indicated by the mathematical theory. The discovery that this is so has also been made without the help of the mathematical theory, simply by direct laborious calculation and trial. When thus empirically made, the discovery has come as something of a shock and has tended to discredit statistical methods in the minds

of persons who supposed that mathematical theory proved what they find to be untrue.

The observation that correlations of observed values with those calculated from the formula are lower in new samples than in the sample from which the formula was determined leads the authors of *The Prediction of Personal Adjustment* to a search for statistical methods alternative to those in use:

It has been observed, however, that in general, when the same prediction formula is applied to new groups, prediction efficiency is materially reduced. The essential problem here is not how to determine weights on the basis of a given sample so as to obtain the highest prediction efficiency on that sample, but rather to obtain weights which yield the maximum prediction efficiency when applied to other samples. The assumption which has been implicit in most weighting methods in the past is that in order to get the maximum prediction efficiency on new samples the formula should be determined so as to give the maximum prediction efficiency on the experimental sample. Thus far the evidence for the validity of this assumption is almost nil. The problem, of course, is fundamental to all prediction problems, since it is only the prediction for new samples which is of practical interest or value. Certain theoretical aspects of this problem are discussed in Supplementary Studies B and D. Proposed methods for attacking the problem also are suggested in Supplementary Study E-4. However, a great deal more theoretical work needs to be done, after which experimental studies should be conducted to verify the theoretical formulations. Due to the basic importance of this problem for prediction, a number of well planned projects should be set up to investigate it [p. 140].

A fairly adequate solution of the problems thus raised will now be given, thus obviating the need of the suggested research projects. We shall *prove* that the formula giving the maximum "predictive efficiency" for a new sample, when this is interpreted as minimum error variance, which is equivalent to maximum correlation, is that found by the method of least squares from the old sample. It is, of course, necessary that the coefficients in the formula be determined entirely in terms of the "old sample," i.e., the observation available when they are computed. Among such formulas, the best will be seen to be that given by least squares. The assumptions that will be made do not limit the applicability of the results in any serious way, since there are known methods of circumventing them in a variety of situations where alternative assumptions are more appropriate.

We assume that each y_a is an unbiased estimate of a corresponding true value η_a which is a linear function of $x_{1a}, x_{2a}, \dots, x_{pa}$, thus:

$$\eta_a = \sum \beta_i x_{ia} . \quad (7)$$

The errors of observation $\Delta_a = y_a - \eta_a$ are supposed to be uncorrelated with each other and of uniform variance σ^2 . Using E to stand for the mathematical expectation in the probability sense, or mean value in a "hypothetical infinite population," of the variate following E , we thus have

$$Ey_a = \eta_a,$$

whence

$$E\Delta_a = 0. \quad (8)$$

The covariance of y_a with y_β is the same as that of Δ_a with Δ_β , namely,

$$\sigma y_a \cdot y_\beta = E\Delta_a \Delta_\beta = \sigma^2 \delta_{a\beta}. \quad (9)$$

What is wanted is a prediction formula

$$Y = \Sigma b_i x_i \quad (10)$$

having the following properties for every possible set of values which x_1, \dots, x_p may take in a new sample:

- a) Y is a linear function of the observed values y_a .
- b) Y is an unbiased estimate of the true value $\eta = \Sigma \beta_i x_i$.
- c) The standard error of Y is as small as possible.

From these requirements it follows that b_i must be a linear function of the y_a and must be an unbiased estimate of β_i . Thus we may write

$$b_i = S k_{ia} y_a, \quad (11)$$

while for all possible sets of values of the β 's the identity

$$Eb_i = \beta_i$$

must hold. Thus β_i is identically equal to

$$Eb_i = S k_{ia} E y_a = S k_{ia} \eta_a = S k_{ia} \Sigma \beta_j x_{ja},$$

by (11) and (7). Hence the coefficient of β_j in the last expression must vanish if $j \neq i$ but equal unity if $j = i$, that is,

$$S k_{ia} x_{ja} = \delta_{ij}. \quad (12)$$

Under these p^2 restrictions we are to choose the Np coefficients k_{ia} in such a way that the variance of Y for any arbitrary set of values x_i shall be a minimum, in accordance with requirement (c).

The covariance of b_i and b_j is found from (11) and (9) to be

$$\sigma b_i b_j = S S k_{ia} k_{j\beta} \sigma y_a y_\beta = \sigma^2 S S k_{ia} k_{j\beta} \delta_{a\beta} = \sigma^2 S k_{ia} k_{ja}.$$

The variance of the estimate (10) is

$$\sigma Y^2 = \Sigma \Sigma \sigma b_i b_j x_i x_j = \sigma^2 \Sigma \Sigma S k_{ia} k_{ja} x_i x_j. \quad (13)$$

To minimize this subject to (12), we differentiate with respect to k_{ia} the expression

$$\frac{1}{2} \sum \sum S k_{ia} k_{ja} x_i x_j - \sum \sum S \lambda_{ij} k_{ia} x_{ja},$$

where the λ_{ij} 's are Lagrange multipliers. This gives

$$x_i \sum k_{ja} x_j = \sum \lambda_{ij} x_{ja}. \quad (14)$$

Let us use the notations (3) above. Then upon multiplying (14) by x_{ma} , summing with respect to a , using (12) in the left-hand member of the resulting equation, and (3) on the right, we obtain

$$x_i x_m = \sum \lambda_{ij} a_{jm}.$$

We may solve these equations for λ_{ij} by multiplying by c_{hm} , summing for m , and using (5) with changed indices. The solution is

$$\lambda_{ij} = x_i \sum c_{jm} x_m. \quad (15)$$

If we multiply (14) by y_a and in the left-hand member of the resulting equation substitute from (11) and then from (10), while in the right-hand member we use the notation g_j from (3) and replace λ_{ij} by its value (15), we have

$$x_i Y = x_i \sum \sum c_{jm} g_j x_m.$$

Thus, in the required estimate Y , the coefficient of x_m is

$$b_m = \sum c_{jm} g_j.$$

This is exactly the result (6) obtained by the method of least squares. The proof just given is in fact only a modest extension and modernization of a derivation of the method by Laplace.³

If we proceed as in ordinary least-square theory, we obtain from (3) and (9) the value $\sigma^2 a_{ij}$ for the covariance of g_i and g_j , and from this and (6) deduce that

$$\sigma b_i b_j = \sigma^2 c_{ij}.$$

Applying this to (10), we find

$$\sigma Y^2 = \sigma^2 \sum \sum c_{ij} x_i x_j$$

as the variance of a forecast resulting from inaccuracies in the determination of the coefficients in the forecasting formula. The forecast also has an error, independent of this, resulting from the deviation of an individual new observation of y even from the true mean value η for individuals of

³ Cf. E. T. Whittaker and G. Robinson, *The Calculus of Observations* (Edinburgh, 1924 and 1926), sec. 115.

the hypothetical infinite population having the same values of x_i, \dots, x_p . Hence the total variance of the forecast with respect to an individual having particular values of these x 's is

$$\sigma^2 (1 + \sum \sum c_{ij} x_i x_j) .$$

It will be seen that this increases rapidly as the x 's become large. Fiducial limits for the forecast are obtained by adding to it and subtracting from it appropriate multiples of the square root of the last expression. The multiplier is to be determined from the Student distribution when, as is always the case in practice, σ^2 is replaced by the estimate s^2 obtained by dividing the minimum sum of squares (χ) by the number of degrees of freedom, $N-p$. For the case of a single predictor x these limits are represented graphically by the ordinates corresponding to any value of x of the two branches of a hyperbola of which the least-squares line is a diameter. This has been discussed, with an example pertaining to potato yields, by Holbrook Working and the present writer.⁴ If the true relation is not linear, the foregoing expression for the variance is too small by an amount which may be trivial for small x 's within the observed range but increases rapidly when the new x 's are outside this range.

The values of the predictors naturally will vary from case to case, but we do not need to inquire into the nature or cause of this variation in reaching the results above. We need only to assure ourselves that there is sufficient variation to make them useful predictors, and this latter question is tested efficiently by known methods. If some part of their variation can be identified as errors of measurement, this fact does not affect the accuracy of any of the foregoing theory, in spite of the fact that errors of measurement do tend to reduce the value of a predictor. The reduced value is still correctly measured on the basis of the theory that has been worked out. A widespread failure to appreciate these facts has led to much useless effort to reduce the error variance of a prediction below its minimum by modification of the method of least squares to take account of the unknown errors in the predictors. Whatever is known about the errors of measurement of particular variates should be applied in the design of an experiment; but, once the experiment is completed in any such form as we have been considering, these errors do not affect the nature of the calculations to be made.

The selection of a predictand presents some difficult problems. We may wish to measure success in marriage with a view to developing a

⁴ "Applications of the Theory of Error to the Interpretation of Trends," *Journal of the American Statistical Association*, March supplement, 1929, pp. 73-85.

suitable forecasting formula for the guidance of young persons. Whatever criterion of success we employ will be subject to criticism, since, on account of secretiveness regarding intimate personal relationships, and for other reasons, it is hard to find any sort of measure that is dependably accurate and since the thing being measured gets to look rather fuzzy anyhow on close scrutiny. There will usually be various criteria available, all more or less roughly correlated with the thing we would like to measure and also with one another. If we could estimate accurately the correlations with the really important thing whose measure is sought, we could calculate by least squares a set of coefficients or weights to be applied to our various measures so as to get that index most highly correlated with the real thing. Let us call the real thing Z , the various criteria y_1, y_2, \dots ; and the linear function of these criteria that is most highly correlated with Z let us call Y . In setting up an index to measure Z , it so far seems that the closer we get to Y in choosing a linear function of y_1, y_2, \dots , the better will be our index.

There is, however, another consideration to be taken into account. We desire not only to *estimate* Z by means of the y 's but also to *predict* Z by means of some other variates x_1, x_2, \dots , belonging to a temporally different group. In the example the y 's would be observations of various kinds on married couples, while the x 's would be observations on couples contemplating marriage. The ordinary procedure in such a case, which is also the procedure espoused in the new volume, begins by making up an index Y' which is a linear function of y_1, y_2 , etc., with coefficients chosen according to the judgment of the investigator. Usually (though the authors do not explicitly take this position) the hope is that Y' will approximate as closely as possible to Y and therefore to Z . It is not possible to use Z itself, since it is not directly measurable, or to find Y accurately, since this would require a knowledge of the correlations with Z , which cannot be determined from observations because of the unavailability of direct measures on Z . However, the intuition of the investigator and general considerations may lead him to be willing to assign estimated values to these correlations and from them to calculate estimated coefficients for the index or, more commonly, to assign directly the coefficients defining an index Y' , with the hope that Y' , Y , and Z are all close together. In this he is not working in quite complete darkness, since the signs of the correlations are usually obvious. All this is done without any reference to the predictors x_1, x_2 , etc. It is only after Y' has been chosen that the further step is taken of calculating coefficients of the x 's by least squares so as to estimate Y' as accurately as possible.

The question may be raised whether this is the best procedure or whether some attention should not be given to the predictors in the process of selecting the weights that determine the predictand Y' . Some of the criteria y_1, y_2, \dots , can be predicted from the x 's more accurately than others, and there is something to be said for giving them more importance in making up the index Y' . If two of the y 's, say y_1 and y_2 , are correlated equally closely with the basic Z that is sought, but if y_1 can be predicted from the x 's a great deal more accurately than y_2 , then it is obvious that we shall have greater success in predicting Z by predicting y_1 than by predicting y_2 . There will be still greater success in using certain linear combinations of y_1 and y_2 , but among these the best choice will certainly depend on the x 's. In view of the haziness that always surrounds the correlations of the y 's with Z , and therefore the coefficients in Y , whereas the correlations of the y 's with the x 's and with one another can be found from objective observations, I suggested in 1935⁵ that the most useful Y' will often be the one that can be predicted most accurately and indicated a technique for computing this predictand. Later⁶ I made a more detailed study of this matter, which involves a generalization of the ordinary ideas of correlation and regression to deal with the correlation and regression of vectors and leads to many interesting further developments. A variety of problems of probable inference in this connection leads to sampling problems which I was able to solve only approximately or for special cases, but in which further advances have since been made by other workers, notably M. A. Girshick, W. G. Madow, R. A. Fisher, P. L. Hsu, R. C. Bose, and S. N. Roy. These problems are concerned with the roots of certain determinantal equations and the associated vectors, one of which gives the most predictable criterion. Other linear functions of the criteria y_1, y_2, \dots , are determined by other roots of the same equation. These are uncorrelated with the most predictable linear function and with one another and possess properties that make them of interest whenever a criterion other than the most predictable one is for any reason to be used.

Louis Guttman, author of the 114-page section of *The Prediction of Personal Adjustment* entitled "Mathematical and Tabulation Techniques," takes up on page 292⁷ the question of the most predictable cri-

⁵ "The Most Predictable Criterion," *Journal of Educational Psychology*, XXVI, 139-42.

⁶ "Relations between Two Sets of Variates," *Biometrika*, XXVIII (1936), 321-77.

⁷ Selection of a criterion is also discussed by another author on pp. 66-86.

terion on the basis of my first short paper on the subject. In that paper I had used the example of finding some function of high-school grades to be used in predicting college success, with the accompanying problem of finding a function of college grades and other such criteria that might lend itself to prediction. Mr. Guttman objects to the use of the most predictable criterion and its best predictor in such a case on the following grounds: Success in college, though somewhat predictable by means of high-school grades, ought not to be *defined* in terms of them but in terms of college grades alone. If the investigator cannot make up his mind for what purpose he is going to utilize the notion of general success in college should he define it, nothing in the world can help him define general success in college as a single, scientifically meaningful variate. The choice of a purpose, and hence the definition of the variate to be predicted, must be considered to be outside the statistical theory of prediction. The definition must be given by the particular science interested in the variate. For example, educators must decide why they are interested in general success in college; if a decision can be had, the definition will be forthcoming. Statistical analysis may then be used to ascertain the predictability of the defined variate from any given set of predictors.

This stress on definitions seems to require that we rest all analysis of marital happiness, for example, on definite measurements of marital happiness itself rather than on its symptoms or evidences. This brings us back to the old difficulty of how to measure pleasure, which caused the more naïve forms of hedonistic philosophy to go on the rocks. We can measure various aspects of behavior which we regard as manifesting degrees of pleasure or pain, but we cannot measure pleasure and pain themselves. If we are to take any action designed to increase pleasures or reduce pains, and judge its effectiveness by observing its results apart from our own intuition, we must base our judgment on the observable manifestations only, even though we may choose to define pleasure and pain as something different from these manifestations. Likewise if we are to predict pleasure or pain as a consequence of certain predisposing circumstances, and to check the accuracy of our prediction by observations, we must use as a criterion of pleasure or pain some function of observable variates only. Which of the many possible functions should be used is to some extent arbitrary. The choice will naturally be of some function which intuition tells us is correlated with what we want to measure but cannot; but within this class of reasonably suitable functions we will do well to make a selection of one that we can predict well rather than of one that we can predict only badly or not at all.

It is conceivable that a statistical inquiry might reveal that the most predictable function of college grades is so heavily weighted with grades in one subject—chemistry, say—as to reflect little else, and that any function of college grades differing much from this would have such trifling correlations with school grades as to be virtually unpredictable. Such a result would have first-rate interest. It could be used to overhaul the preparatory curriculum and the process of selecting chemistry students so as to raise the level of chemists of the next generation. If it were so used, there would be the possibility that some subjects not contributing to success in chemistry would be deleted from elementary and high schools. This might be a bad thing because such subjects may have values of other kinds that would be lost. But this would happen only if these other values failed to be justified by adequate arguments, drawn from sources other than the records of school and college grades considered. The good prediction formula found for chemistry ought not to be discarded merely because there are other things than chemistry in college. We predict what we can; and what we can't, we leave unpredicted. Surely it is not futile to ascertain what things within the general field of one's subject can be predicted and what things cannot.

Predictors and predictands need not be continuously measurable quantities but may be discontinuous and if so are, in the simplest case, dichotomies. The case in which some of the predictors in the method of least squares can take only a finite number of values is equivalent to the observations falling into discrete classes, as when, in predicting criminal recidivism, a man's national origin and religion are included. If the predictand is sensibly continuous, the least-squares theory applicable is little affected by the question whether the predictors are continuous or discontinuous.

The discrete predictand is another matter. Here we classify our cases into broad groups, for example, "good" and "bad," or "male" and "female," without any finer gradations of the thing that we seek to predict. We may, however, have continuous variates such as age, I.Q., and stature, with respect to which we are to select individuals to put into one group or the other. One project, for example, is to study the records of criminals to try to find what characteristics measurable before their release from prison can be used to predict whether they will again commit crimes. The predictand in this case is represented by the classification of individuals according as they are or are not again convicted. Given any set of data of this kind, it is possible, by fairly simple mathematics, to set up a function of the measured continuous variates alone which assigns

the individuals of the sample to the two classes with errors which, in a certain reasonable sense, are a minimum. Such a function, called a "discriminant function" by R. A. Fisher, who, with his co-workers, has applied it extensively, may then be used to assign future criminals to the two classes consisting of those who are and those who are not expected to become recidivists.

The discriminant function ought not to be used for any such purpose of prediction, however, until it is verified that the assignment into classes which it makes is at least as good as the result of assignment by tossing a coin. The appropriate test of this question in terms of probability was published in 1931.⁸ The question whether the classification by the discriminant function (which is the best possible to be determined from the known data) is not merely better than by pure chance but good enough to satisfy certain further criteria, or better than in some other hypothetical case, is a question of importance on which the chief work has been done in Calcutta and published in *Sankhya* in a series of papers by P. C. Mahalanobis, R. C. Bose, and S. N. Roy. These mathematical discoveries, which replace the crude attempt made by Karl Pearson with his "coefficient of racial likeness," have been applied by Mahalanobis to the discovery of new ethnological truth on the basis of measurements of persons in various castes and villages in Bengal. This work is summarized, in part, in a paper by R. A. Fisher.⁹ Numerous problems of great interest are still outstanding in this field. In the volume at hand the discriminant function is described very briefly without reference to any test in terms of probability.

The authors of *The Prediction of Personal Adjustment* rightly give some attention to problems of numerical calculation, which are very serious when numerous variates and large samples are involved. They are concerned chiefly with punch-card methods. Ledyard R. Tucker contributes a brief note on a machine method for quantifying attributes. Mr. Guttman gives an account of an iterative method of solving normal equations which he has devised, and which may turn out to be of great utility. It is not, however, clear how its efficiency compares with that of certain other iterative methods. The solution of normal equations ought usually to follow the calculation of the inverse of the matrix of their coefficients, which is also needed for probability tests and for other purposes. This fact is

⁸ Harold Hotelling, "The Generalization of Student's Ratio," *Annals of Mathematical Statistics*, II (1931), 360-78.

⁹ "The Statistical Utilization of Multiple Measurements," *Annals of Eugenics*, VIII (1938), 376-86.

likely to be important in choosing among various computational schemes. A symposium on numerical calculation, including discussions of these questions, was held in New York on December 28, 1941, by the Institute of Mathematical Statistics, the American Statistical Association, and the Committee on Addresses on Applied Mathematics of the American Mathematical Society.

"Factor analysis" is a name for a variety of schemes for forming linear combinations of available measurements in the absence of any thoroughly exact, definite, and reliable criterion as to how this ought to be done. There are some relevant criteria, though they are sufficiently loose to leave ample room for differences of opinion, and solutions of a sort are possible for some tantalizing questions. Marion W. Richardson contributes a section on the combination of measures dealing with some of these questions.

The book ends with five interesting studies by Paul Horst: (I) "A Multiple Rating Problem and Its Mathematical Solution"; (II) "The Problem of the Matrix of Incomplete Data";¹⁰ (III) "The Role of Prediction Variables Which Are Independent of the Criterion"; (IV) "Approximating a Multiple Correlation System by One of Lower Rank as a Basis for Deriving More Stable Prediction Weights"; and (V) "An Analytical Formulation of the Multiple Cutting Score Technique." Earlier, there are other supplementary studies by Paul Wallin and Robert B. Reed.

Like most co-operative studies, the book as a whole is loose-jointed. It shows many signs of excessive haste and inadequate clerical and administrative services, ranging from the major matters discussed above down to such details as the repeated use of "principle" where "principal" is meant. This and the paper covers suggest that it was designed to meet an emergency rather than to be an enduring contribution to science. But what emergency? The war? Or some formulation of future policy on the part of the Social Science Research Council? In either of these cases greater deliberation, with expert work by a specialist in mathematical statistics, would have been in order.

Mathematical statistics is a subject calling for full-time and long-time specialization. It is not that the specialist does not interest himself in a variety of things. On the contrary, there is perhaps no one whose activities and interests cover a broader field, embracing as they do all the sciences, natural and social, pure and applied, with mathematics and logic.

¹⁰ This study does not take account of the most important work on the subject, which is by S. S. Wilks, "Moments and Distributions of Estimates of Population Parameters from Fragmentary Samples," *Annals of Mathematical Statistics*, III (1932), 163-95.

But these are all connected through the central theory of probability and uncertain inference, of estimation, of reduction of observations, and of the design of investigations. It is in the cultivation of this central theory that the hope lies for good work in the field of prediction, whether of personal adjustment or of anything else. The same mathematical statistics that can be applied to psychological problems can be applied also in many parts of biology, in economics, in meteorology, and in industry. The tendency to try to build up all the necessary theory independently in many different contexts, without mutual interaction and criticism, is responsible for much ineffectiveness in what is accomplished in applied statistics as well as for many downright errors. Psychologists in particular have tended too much to rely on other psychologists for their statistical methods rather than on mathematical statisticians. There has arisen a whole school of psychological statisticians who write on statistical theory and quote one another extensively in apparent ignorance of what has been accomplished by other workers. In *The Prediction of Personal Adjustment* almost all the references are to psychological journals or to books by psychologists, even in regard to matters where the really relevant literature is elsewhere. Writings of mathematical statisticians that have appeared in psychological journals are cited, while other works by the same individuals are ignored.

That the theory of statistics is not a branch of psychology, any more than it is a branch of economics, medicine, agriculture, or numerous other things, was made perfectly clear nearly twenty years ago by Truman L. Kelley in the preface of a book which became a standard treatise on statistics for psychologists. This might have served as a warning against the sort of isolated attempt to develop statistics as a wing of psychology that has grown up. The reasons for the course of events seem to be: (1) the psychologists (and independently, in separate compartments, the anthropologists, sociologists, economists, engineers, medicos, etc.) had statistical problems whose solution in some way was essential to the progress of their work; (2) there were no departments of statistics to be called on; (3) the psychologists (also economists *et al.*) were in established university departments, or in governmental or industrial employment, where jobs could be offered to young men; and (4) young men were employed as psychologists to work under the supervision of psychologists (or economists, engineers, etc.) on statistical problems. Some of these young men had some mathematical training, though that is not the same as training in mathematical statistics. However, the processes of training and selection and the institutional arrangements were, and continue to be, such

that these statisticians developed primary loyalties to the departments that employed them rather than to the general and relatively abstract field of mathematical statistics which needed to be cultivated. Hence, while they came to be known among others in their respective departments as statisticians, there was little urge to study or to develop statistics as a general science, apart from the obvious needs in the field of application.

This development has a good as well as a bad side. It is better that inefficient statistical methods be used than that no statistical methods be used at all. Even efficient statistical methods have been discovered from time to time by workers with applications having little knowledge of the general theory. Moreover, a good mathematical statistician can do his best work if he is quite close to applications, with enough knowledge of them and feeling for their problems to discern what are the important statistical questions. The work of mathematical-statistical psychologists has been of real value to mathematical statistics in general. But what is really needed is a concentrated group of mathematical workers who think of themselves primarily as builders of a general theory as well as appliers of that general theory to particular applied problems. The creation of such a group is partly a matter of the need for it being realized by universities and foundations, but is partly also a matter of education of personnel. Present education, both in statistics and in mathematics, is very inadequate for this purpose. Criticism of current work in theoretical statistics, including the criticisms I have made in this article, ought to be softened by the consideration that the opportunities for statistical education of a high order have been far from adequate and that we have no right to expect anything better except as an outcome of the operation of an educational system that as yet has not existed.

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

A CRITICISM OF *THE PREDICTION OF PERSONAL ADJUSTMENT*¹

PITIRIM A. SOROKIN

Three kinds of propositions appear in this volume. One group of these merely restates, in a complicated way, the conclusions and tests known long ago and practiced on a large scale in past and present societies. These

¹ Paul Horst, Paul Wallin, Louis Guttman, *et al.*, *The Prediction of Personal Adjustment*. New York: Social Science Research Council, 1941. Pp. xii+455.

methods and tests are of two kinds: one may be called the "method of common sense," the other, the "method of crucial tests." The first method says that if and where a "prediction of personal adjustment" is possible, the main condition of its accuracy is an intimate knowledge of, and a thoughtful insight into, all the relevant—personal and situational—conditions of the individuals involved. The method of crucial tests means an observation of the behavior of the tested individual under either actual or experimental conditions relevant to the tested ability: the behavior of a general under conditions of a real battle; the behavior of a prospective chieftain under conditions demanding from him endurance, courage, and inventiveness; etc. Reiterating these old methods, the authors of the volume do not make, however, the slightest reference to an enormous variety of these methods, tests, and techniques as actually practiced in different societies of the past. They leave an impression that these methods have been invented recently. Meanwhile if they had studied the numerous and most ingenious tests and techniques used by different societies, they would have discovered that, for instance, in Sparta or India or ancient Persia alone, these tests and techniques were richer and more ingenious than the "aptitude" and a few other tests mentioned by the authors. A neglect of historical experience of mankind here, as elsewhere, leads to the poverty of results and shortsighted perspective. It is high time to realize that the thousands of years of human experience were not fruitless in regard to social discoveries, techniques, and tests.

With this criticism, the propositions of this kind in the volume are sound, but they do not contribute anything new at all. As a matter of fact, they sum up only an insignificant fraction of the tests and techniques existing in this field.

The next group of propositions represents a series of mathematical and pseudo-mathematical exercises in a transcription of various mathematical formulas modified and adjusted for statistical use. Like an exercise in a transcription of a multiplication table, these mathematico-statistical essays are innocent—if they do not break the canons of mathematical and logical reasoning (and I am not sure they do not). Otherwise they are perfectly useless because they neither enrich mathematics or logic nor do they help in the real prediction of "personal adjustment." These formulas, symbols, and equations remain in the air, unattached to the empirical sociocultural facts, and do not show at all how these "signs," "equations," and "formulas" can be applied to the actual facts, how the qualitative aspects of the sociocultural phenomena can be reduced to mere quantities, and how unidentical and unequal phenomena or units designated by an

identical sign of X or Y can be made identical and equal. If I have to do this kind of exercises, I would rather do straight mathematical operations instead of the diluted ones.

The third kind of propositions is the most ambitious and most interesting. They attempt to put the business of prediction on a solid scientific basis, not limited to the above methods of intimate knowledge and crucial tests. This part is utterly disappointing and objectionable. Its main defects are four: an overenthusiastic faith in the infallibility of the ritualistic operations of a mechanical and quasi-quantitative nature in producing truth; a remarkable inability to see the real difficulties of the problems raised; putting the cart before the horse; and, finally, a cultivation of misleading precision at the cost of an approximate validity. A couple of examples will illustrate these defects.

The authors rightly say that in prediction studies we must reduce an enormous number of variables to a few "fundamental" ones. The statement merely reiterates, in an unprecise way, what has been done, since time immemorial, in any causal analysis. But do they give any real method of distinguishing which of the numerous variables are "fundamental" and which are superfluous? They certainly do not. Without mentioning practically any of the important analyses of the problem, made by many a great scientist, they merely offer a purely mechanical—both cumbersome and hopeless—series of endless operations of quasi-quantitative type which in no way can give a valid solution of the problem. I know of hardly any causal discovery in the natural or social sciences obtained in the way of the mechanical processing recommended by the authors.

They further tell us that in the bunch of variables and their components each of the multiple—"fundamental" and nonfundamental—factors should be "weighed" and "rated" in their comparative importance, before the prescribed ritualistic formulas are applied to the data. Their discussion leaves an impression that this "weighing" and "rating" are something unimportant which can be done either by the investigator or by the concordant opinion of the majority of the "authorities." Besides that there is little said about the matter, and the authors hurry up to the lengthy discussion of the ritual of processing the data through the prescribed formulas. This is indeed putting the cart before the horse. As a matter of fact, this "weighing" and "rating" is the central difficulty. If it is done wrongly, all the formulas together cannot prevent an error in the conclusions. If it is done adequately, the formulas are hardly needed: the weighing itself already gives the answer as to which of the multiple factors

is fundamental and which is not. A reference to the consensus of the authorities is not a solution of the problem. A multitude of astrologers in Hellenistic Egypt unanimously ascribed an increase of sexual perversions to a certain constellation of the planets (see F. Cumont, *L'Égypte des astrologues* [Bruxelles, 1937], pp. 177 ff.). And yet, in spite of their unanimity and of their complex mathematical operations, these *mathe-matici* were wrong in their causal diagnosis. Before and even immediately after the publication of Copernicus' work, the majority of the astrologers and astronomers held the Ptolemaic system more valid than the Copernican. In other words, the consensus of the "authorities" is not an evidence of the validity of the weighing. It is the mere fact of this or that opinion and as such is not real evidence at all.

The next crucial problem in any use of "multiple factors" in the socio-cultural field is the problem of a combination and measurement of heterogeneous variables which, in their co-operation, supposedly produce the effect, be it happiness in marriage or success in probation, or what not.

Can we put into one basket "the multiple factors" and can we measure the comparative role of each of these factors when they are utterly heterogeneous and incommensurable? If we can, how and by what logic? If we cannot, why, then, do we continue to try to solve an insoluble task? Let us assume that the multiple factors of happiness in marriage are: the age of the married, their educational background, satisfaction in copulation, number of children, the religious factor, the employment factor, and the temperament factor. Who, except Almighty God, can combine and especially comeasure these incommensurable and uncombinable variables in one set of the multiple factors of happiness in marriage? Where is the common measuring stick that can be equally applied to copulation, religious belief, unemployment, and children?

In other words, this is one of the most difficult problems of any proposition dealing with heterogeneous "multiple factors." Whether it can or cannot be solved is unimportant here. What is important is that our authors pass it by without even mentioning it. Similarly they pass by without touching a number of other important problems involved in any study of the "multiple causation" made up of heterogeneous and incommensurable variables. It is obvious that without a satisfactory solution of these preliminary—and cardinal—problems any further analysis of any techniques and technicalities of quasi-quantitative procedures is superfluous. If it is done, as it is done in the reviewed work, it does not mean anything.

It should be added further that the whole volume does not contain any

new research in prediction: it merely surveys and analyzes the work done by others.

These remarks explain why this group of propositions appears to me disappointing and objectionable. As a whole the volume is typical of our age of the cultivation of a misleading preciseness at the cost of an approximate validity. This cultivation is responsible, to a great extent, for a large number of predictive failures of recent social science in regard to business trends, peace and war trends, political regimes trends, and many other trends. If we do not want to continue these failures and become a contemporary variety of pseudo-mathematical astrology, it is high time to replace our cultivation of a misleading preciseness by a development of an approximate but valid social science.

HARVARD UNIVERSITY

REJOINDER

There are three of the major points raised in Professor Hotelling's review that I shall comment upon here: (a) the problem of predicting from one sample to another; (b) the problem of multiple criteria; and (c) the competence of social scientists in statistical prediction. The comments are necessarily very curtailed.

A. PREDICTING FROM SAMPLE TO SAMPLE

Professor Hotelling gives an interesting reformulation of a classical demonstration. This purports to show that the least-squares statistics of the given sample are the best for prediction purposes in other samples where criterion scores are unknown. A very simple example will suffice to show that this is not necessarily true.

Consider the simple case where only the distribution of a criterion y is known for a given sample of size N . Were the population distribution known, the best least-squares prediction to make in a new sample would be Ey . (We use Professor Hotelling's notation here for the reader's convenience.) Since Ey is usually unknown, an estimate Y is calculated from the given sample. Then the expected value of the square of the error of prediction for a person in a new sample is

$$E(y - Y)^2 = \sigma_y^2 + \sigma_Y^2 + (Ey - EY)^2.$$

The problem is to determine Y so as to minimize the left member. The first term on the right is constant, and only the last two terms can be varied by altering the prediction process. If Y is an unbiased estimate of Ey , then the last term on the right vanishes, and we must minimize σ_Y^2 . As is well known in the theory of estimation, if the population distribution of y is normal, then, from among a wide class of processes, the process of using the known sample mean

will minimize σ_y^2 . This is, of course, the sample least-squares statistic. *However*, if the distribution of y is not normal, some other unbiased estimate of Ey may have a smaller variance than the sample mean. For example, for a rectangular distribution, with $N > 2$, the mean of the largest score and the smallest score in the sample has a smaller variance than the sample mean and is therefore more efficient for predicting from sample to sample. And this is *not* the sample least-squares statistic.

Is there a mathematical error, then, in the classical theorem that Professor Hotelling exhibits? Not at all. The difficulty is that it does not deal with the problem before us. The demonstration assumes linearity of regression and homoscedasticity for the population. So far so good, for something must be specified about the population. But then conditions (a), (b), and (c) impose restrictions upon the *prediction process*. This changes the problem from that which confronts us. Our problem is simply this: Given a certain population distribution, find the prediction process that will minimize $E(y - Y)^2$. Solving the classical problem is in general different from solving this problem.

It should be noted further, with respect to specifying a population distribution, that the prediction studies dealt with in the monograph use *qualitative* variates as predictors. Caution must then be exercised about assuming a normal multivariate distribution for the population.

General considerations that are involved in minimizing $E(y - Y)^2$ are given in the mathematical sketch in Part V of Study B-1. (This quantity is denoted there by e^2 .) Until a complete mathematical analysis is forthcoming, it seems best to follow empirical evidence, such as presented in Study B-4.

The drop in predictability by going from sample to sample is investigated *mathematically* in Part V, and from a general point of view that considers all possible linear processes—including even the process of using *intuitive* weights as well as using sample least-squares statistics. (Only elementary algebra is used there for simplicity and clarity, for this is entirely adequate for developing the general argument. The use of the “sophisticated” notation of expected values seems to lead to some awkwardness at times in analyzing the problem of predicting from sample to sample.)

It is very important to examine the final variance of a forecast that Professor Hotelling exhibits. After concluding the classical problem, he then proceeds “as in ordinary least-squares theory” to another problem concerning the error of the forecast. But while the preceding classical problem is not necessarily different from the general problem of predicting from sample to sample, since it does give the best answer in a certain subset of cases (and good approximations in other subsets), the subsequent procedure exhibited to find the variance of a forecast is *precisely opposite* that required for predicting from sample to sample. Professor Hotelling assumes the scores on the predictors to be constant and considers the variation in regression coefficients from sample to sample, with the concomitant variation in the forecast. This is the conventional prac-

tice for certain problems in inference and leads to the known and "easy" theory to which Professor Hotelling alludes. But, in the problem of prediction from sample to sample, *just the opposite is required*. We determine prediction coefficients for a single known sample, and these are to be applied to a new and completely random sample. Thus, *the prediction coefficients remain constant, and the scores on the predictors vary*. Actually, using the prediction coefficients of a known sample, the variance of the forecast is

$$\sigma_y^2 = \sum \sum b_i b_j \sigma_{x_i x_j}.$$

How best to estimate this from sample statistics, and how best to set confidence limits for the criterion value y , should be solved when we solve the general problem of how best to predict from sample to sample.

As a last comment on this particular problem, let me point out a new question that is of great practical as well as theoretical importance, and which may help us focus more clearly on what is really involved in predicting from sample to sample. The new sample usually consists of more than one person, and we usually use one or more predicting variates. Thus, in a new sample, we usually have additional information about the means and variances of the predictors and, in the general multivariate case, about the intercorrelations between the predictors. The new problem is this: How can we best combine the known data of the new sample with that of the old sample in order best to predict the still unknown criterion in the new sample? This seems to lead to even greater mathematical difficulties than before. An empirical experiment is under way to investigate this problem. Should a somewhat satisfactory solution be obtainable, the drop in predictability by going from sample to sample can be arrested, perhaps virtually nullified. And prediction techniques will become much more powerful than heretofore.

B. THE PROBLEM OF MULTIPLE CRITERIA

The criticism of the "most predictable criterion" in section 22 of Study B-I was made only in the context of *definition* of a single meaningful criterion and should not be interpreted as referring to the utility of canonical variates in studying the relationship between sets of variates. My point was that the definition of the criterion should not rest upon the predictors, so that, for example, general success in college should not be defined as that function of college grades which is most predictable from high-school grades. Professor Hotelling apparently does not disagree with this. In his hypothetical example where the "most predictable criterion" is composed essentially of chemistry, he apparently does not propose to call this variate "general success in college."

The impression might be given by Professor Hotelling's example that the "most predictable criterion" indicates how predictable its component criteria are separately. It is very easy to show examples where the "most predictable criterion" is *perfectly* predictable but where all its component criteria are separately *negligibly* predictable. None would disagree with Professor Hotelling

that to "ascertain what things within the general field of one's subject can be predicted and what things cannot" is most desirable; but, in general, the "most predictable criterion" does not serve this purpose. The "least predictable criterion" is somewhat helpful in this regard, for each of the component criteria is at least as predictable as the "least predictable criterion."

The problem of multiple criteria is essentially that of scale construction. Professor Hotelling gives an excellent synopsis of the motivation behind current approaches to scale construction, where an essentially unknowable Z is supposed to be estimated by a set of known y 's. It is such postulated unknowables that have led to the haziness of logic and technique that surrounds many attempts at scale construction. Professor Sorokin voices a well-founded objection, in his review, against attempts to combine criteria that do not hang together. Such attempts seem to arise from this haziness. Study B-3 develops a theory and method of scale construction that is not based on unknowables. It is based upon the *reconstructibility*, by means of a single variable, of the *observed behavior* that went into the scale. This method *tests the hypothesis* that it is useful to throw a number of criteria together into a single scale, and it will reject such attempts that are not useful.

This theory has been developed and improved in important and fundamental respects since the publication of the monograph. The method of Study B-3 will be useful with data that conform to a "parallelogram" theory, while other methods are necessary for other types of data. A "triangular" method has been applied with some success to certain data for the United States Army. This approach indicates that scale construction can be a more powerful analytical device than may have been realized. I hope to have a chance to make a fuller exposition of this in the near future.

C. COMPETENCE OF SOCIAL SCIENTISTS IN STATISTICAL PREDICTION

The statistical theory of prediction, as Professor Hotelling stresses, and as was strongly emphasized at the outset in Study B-1, is a mathematical theory that does not belong to any one particular science. And it seems to be very little known to the majority of research workers in the fields of prediction covered by the monograph.

Study B-1 arose from close contact with actual prediction experiments and with workers engaged in that type of research. Professor Hotelling points out the lack of discussion of certain important tests of significance in multivariate analysis that have been developed by him and others. But these are not the only ones omitted from the discussion nor is the omission necessarily due to abysmal ignorance. (On p. 273 of the monograph will be found the reference to Fisher's summary of the literature on the discriminant function to which Professor Hotelling also refers.) Except for a final section on item analysis, no discussion at all is given about tests of significance, although examination of the literature will show an abundant need for a discussion of elementary tests even like chi-square and the variance ratio. Only in Part V was sampling discussed,

and then from the point of view of the fundamental parameter ϵ^2 which is basic to prediction. Current tests of significance, while important, are but a first step in this general problem. It is of little avail to test a discriminant function for significance and to find it significant but not very useful in prediction in a new sample.

A final section was appended on item analysis because of the almost universal (and uncritical) use of this in practice. This is actually a first approximation to multiple correlation or to the discriminant function. It is fortunate that these approximation techniques are somewhat efficient; and they will continue to be used until the problem of predicting from sample to sample is solved mathematically, or a better empirical approximation is found. (The simple formulas in sections 17 and 30 of Part V, for the analysis and weighting of items, would have saved at least half a year's time and would have yielded better results on certain large projects had they been used instead of the clumsier and rather incoherent item analysis techniques that were thought to be "refined.")

The first four parts of Study E-1 were devoted entirely to the exposition of the population parameters involved in prediction, giving the much overlooked theory of attributes a somewhat new emphasis. A perusal of the literature of prediction studies in the fields covered by the monograph gives a strong indication that even if there were no sampling problems—if all population parameters were available—very many workers would not know what parameters to seek, how to use them, or what they mean.

Professor Hotelling's vigorous advocacy of greater competence in mathematical statistics for those interested in statistical prediction should be heartily indorsed by all who wish to see progress in prediction work. The questions such as defining the criterion and other problems of meaning, however, must reside with the social scientist.

In conclusion, the *American Journal of Sociology* should be congratulated for having secured an eminent mathematical statistician like Professor Hotelling as a reviewer. It is all too rare that statistical work in the social sciences is submitted for review to competent mathematical statisticians. Although disagreement may be had with Professor Hotelling on various points concerning the monograph under review, his forthright criticism should be fruitful in focusing attention upon and stimulating the solution of important problems in prediction.

LOUIS GUTTMAN

Cornell University

REJOINDER

Most of the criticisms made by Professor Sorokin fall wide of the objective and scope of the monograph *The Prediction of Personal Adjustment*. He condemns it because it does not cover the whole field of the prediction of human behavior in past as well as in present societies.

The authors have selected a less ambitious but a more attainable goal. They have concentrated their critical survey upon the series of research projects under way in the last fifteen years in the fields of school success, vocational adjustment, marital happiness, and reformation of criminals. Research in these different fields has grappled with essentially the same problems: (1) establishing a criterion of success, (2) determining what factors in personality and experience are associated with this criterion, and (3) weighing these factors and combining them into a predictive score in order to work out an expectancy table which can be applied to new cases to predict success or failure in the given activity. The task of the monograph to fund the experience in these four fields of personal adjustment and to make recommendations for improvement of research methods has been ably executed and has won the appreciation of workers in these fields.

Professor Sorokin is quibbling with terms when he states that research in these fields has contributed nothing "new" in method. He is evidently writing in Solomon's style that there is nothing new under the sun. These studies have introduced the simple but crucial test that predictions made before the event are compelled to face the reality of the actual outcome. Brilliant formulations of causal analysis in sociology have too long been sterile because they have not been subjected to the acid test of phenomena arranged in the time sequence of "before" and "after." New contributions to method made by this volume such as those contained in the supplementary studies are doubtless dismissed by Professor Sorokin because he objects to quantitative operations. But his statement that "the whole volume does not contain any new research in prediction" indicates that he did not read these significant supplemental studies which make important new contributions to prediction methods.

Professor Sorokin is distressed by all the difficulties in the way of prediction, which to him seem insurmountable, such as the translating of qualitative factors into their quantitative indices, deriving fundamental from nonfundamental factors, and the problem of weighting factors. The answer to his plausible but spurious objections is that prediction works. Interestingly enough, "the mechanical processing of data," to which he strenuously objects, appears upon the basis of the available evidence to predict adjustment better than the methods of "common sense" and of "crucial tests" upon which he sets the seal of his approval. For example, two careful studies of the comparative efficiency of clinical and statistical methods—one by T. R. Sarbin¹ upon academic success in college, and the other by Robert Schiedt² upon prediction of observance of parole—show that the clinical psychologist and the prison physician, utilizing the interview and the institutional records, make poorer predictions than does the so-

¹ "The Relative Accuracy of Clinical and Statistical Predictions of Academic Success" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Ohio State University, 1941).

² *Ein Beitrag zum Problem der Rückfall Prognose* (Munich: Münchener Zeitungsverlag, 1936).

called "mechanical" prediction technique. No study has come to my attention that demonstrates the superiority of case study over statistical prediction.

The final, and to Professor Sorokin the fatal, objection to any systematic method of predicting human behavior is the problem of the combination of heterogeneous variables. He attempts to make this problem insoluble by denominating these factors as "utterly heterogeneous and incommensurable." But this verbal tour de force throws out the baby with the bath. For if the factors determining human conduct are "incommensurable" and if it is therefore impossible to "measure the comparative role of each of these factors," then a natural science of human behavior is out of the question. But fortunately there exist several techniques, to all of which consideration is given in this monograph, to deal with just this problem of how to determine the comparative role of different factors and to combine them for the prediction of human behavior. Certain of these methods are statistical and mathematical, as partial and multiple correlation, matrix algebra, factor analysis, and mathematical equations. Others are those of the case study, as sympathetic introspection, empathy, recipathy, intuition, insight, and conceptual analysis, to which Paul Wallin contributes a valuable discussion in his supplementary study included in the monograph.

A further contribution of this work, and no slight one in view of its potentialities, is the *rapprochement* which it envisages and encourages between statistical and case-study methods in prediction. This monograph makes evident that the real question here is not the relative superiority of one or the other method or even how each may be used to supplement the other but rather how the development of the other method may be advanced by the possibilities of conceptual analysis and insight inherent in the case study and by the findings of rigorous and exact statistical and mathematical operations.

ERNEST W. BURGESS

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HIGHER DEGREES IN SOCIOLOGY CONFERRED IN 1941

According to reports received by the *Journal* from institutions offering graduate instruction, 58 doctoral degrees and 106 Masters' degrees in sociology were conferred in the calendar year 1941 by 59 institutions in the United States and Canada. This list includes only those institutions which require dissertations or theses. Because of lack of space, degrees, dissertations, and theses in the field of social work are not included.

DOCTORS' DEGREES

- Ernest M. Banzet, B.A. Hamline, 1920; M.A. Minnesota, 1926. "Social Change in a Rural Community as Reflected in a Rural Weekly Newspaper." *Michigan State*.
- John Biesanz, B.A. Chicago, 1937. "The Youth Hostel." *Iowa*.
- Gordon Williams Blackwell, B.A. Furman, 1932; M.A. North Carolina, 1933; M.A. Harvard, 1937. "The Significance of Structural Family Characteristics in the Lowest Economic Stratum of Southern Agriculture." *Harvard*.
- Melvin Brooks, B.A. Washington State, 1935; M.A. Iowa State, 1937. "Trends in Marriage and Birth Rates by Occupational Classification in Wisconsin, 1923-1935." *Wisconsin*.
- David Edison Bunting, B.S. Sam Houston State Teachers College, 1932; M.A. Texas, 1933. "The Work of the American Civil Liberties Union in Defense of Freedom of Teaching and Learning." *Teachers College, Columbia*.
- John Harmon Burma, Jr., B.A. Trinity, 1933; M.A. Texas, 1938. "A Study of Migration from a Nebraska County during the Drought-Depression." *Nebraska*.
- Harold Christensen, B.S., M.S. Brigham Young, 1935, 1937. "Measurement of Population Pressure among Wisconsin Farmers." *Wisconsin*.
- Marshall Barron Clinard, B.A., M.A. Stanford, 1932, 1934. "Crime and the Process of Urbanization: A Study of Culture Conflict." *Chicago*.
- Howard Cotten, B.A. Brigham Young, 1932; M.A. Wisconsin, 1938. "Level of Living, Social Participation, and Social Adjustment: A Study of the Standard of Living of 299 Ohio Farm Families." *Wisconsin*.
- Randle E. Dahl, B.A., M.A. Clark, 1929, 1933. "American Watch Movement Manufacturing Industry." *Clark*.
- Leland Collins Devinney, B.A. Albion, 1931; M.A. Wisconsin, 1933. "Some Relationships between Educational Achievement and Social Stratification." *Chicago*.

- H. Warren Dunham, Ph.B., M.A. Chicago, 1929, 1935. "The Character of the Interrelationship of Crime and Schizophrenia." *Chicago*.
- David Efron, Dr. filosofía y letras, University of Buenos Aires, 1929. "Race and Gesture." *Columbia*.
- Thomas Russell Fischer. "Industrial Disputes and Federal Legislation." *Columbia*.
- William Fuson, B.A., M.A. Kansas, 1936, 1938. "A Sociological Analysis of the Incidence of Mental Disorders in Kansas." *Wisconsin*.
- Roderic Gillette, B.S., M.A. Missouri, 1928, 1931. "The Status of the Junior Red Cross as a Factor in Education." *School of Education, New York University*.
- Joseph Bertram Gittler, B.S., M.A. Georgia, 1934, 1936. "Society's Adjustment to a Mechanical and a Social Invention: A Study in Social Change." *Chicago*.
- John B. Griffing, B.S. Kansas State, 1904; B.A. Drake, 1909; M.A. Columbia, 1913. "A Comparison of the Effects of Certain Socioeconomic Factors upon Size of Family in China, Southern California, and Brazil." *Southern California*.
- Dorcas Hall, B.A. Allegheny, 1920; M.A. Columbia, 1929. "Vocational Guidance in Relationship to Occupational Mobility in Williamsport, Pennsylvania." *Pittsburgh*.
- Howard Harper Harlan, B.A. University of Richmond, 1933; M.A. Virginia, 1934. "The Social Behavior of Children in the First Two Years." *Virginia*.
- Albert Hoyt Hobbs, B.A. Pennsylvania State, 1933. "Differentials in Internal Migration." *Pennsylvania*.
- Charles Ernest Hutchinson, B.A., M.A. Southern California, 1931, 1933. "A Study of Acculturation Processes in the Indian Pueblos of the Rio Grande Valley." *Southern California*.
- Abe J. Jaffe, B.A., M.A. Chicago, 1935, 1938. "Urbanization and Fertility." *Chicago*.
- Sigurd Johansen, B.A., M.A. Minnesota, 1932, 1934. "Rural Social Organization in a Spanish-American Culture Area." *Wisconsin*.
- Earl S. Johnson, B.A. Baker University, 1918; M.A. Chicago, 1932. "The Evolution of the Chicago Central Business District." *Chicago*.
- Alfred Winslow Jones, B.A. Harvard, 1923. "Life, Liberty and Property: A Story of Conflict and a Measurement of Conflicting Rights." *Columbia*.
- Manford H. Kuhn, B.A. Earlham, 1931; M.A. Wisconsin, 1932. "The Contribution of Freud and Psychoanalysis to the Description and Analysis of Societal and Cultural Data." *Wisconsin*.
- Wendall F. Kumlien, B.A. Lawrence, 1911; M.S. Wisconsin, 1923. "Conditions Surrounding Social Change." *Wisconsin*.
- Olaf F. Larson, B.A., M.A. Wisconsin, 1932, 1933. "A Type-Study of Selected Social Aspects of Land and Its Uses." *Wisconsin*.

- Carlo Lawrence Lastrucci, B.A. San Francisco State College, 1935; M.A. North Carolina, 1936. "The Professional Dance Musician." *Stanford*.
- Eugene Perry Link, B.A. Emporia, 1929; B.D. Union Theological Seminary, 1933. "Democratic-Republican Societies, 1790-1800." *Teachers College, Columbia*.
- Marston Martel McCluggage, B.A. Emporia, 1928; M.A. Kansas, 1931. "Motivating Forces in the Development of Collectivized Forms of Leisure-Time Activity." *Kansas*.
- Edgar C. McVoy, B.A., M.A. Florida, 1934, 1937. "A Study of Wants and Their Satisfaction among a Sample of Rural People in Minnesota." *Minnesota*.
- Francis Blair Mayne, B.S. Illinois, 1933; M.S. Wyoming, 1933. "A Study of Stereotype Statements: Their Prevalence and Inter-relations among a Group of University Students." *School of Education, New York University*.
- Haskell M. Miller, B.A., M.A. Southern Methodist, 1932, 1933. "Institutional Behavior of the Cumberland Presbyterian Church: An American Protestant Religious Denomination." *School of Education, New York University*.
- Barrington Moore, Jr., B.A. Williams, 1936. "Social Stratification." *Yale*.
- Wilbert Ellis Moore, B.A. Linfield, 1935; M.A. Oregon, 1937; M.A. Harvard, 1939. "Slavery, Abolition, and the Ethical Valuation of the Individual: A Study of the Relations between Ideas and Institutions." *Harvard*.
- Bernard George Mulvaney, B.A. St. Viator, 1930; M.A. Catholic University, 1934. "A Correlational Analysis of the Relation between the Catholic Composition of a Population and Its Birth Rate." *Illinois*.
- Douglas Oberdorfer, B.A., M.A. Florida, 1933, 1934. "Effects of the Depression on Marriage and Divorce in Wisconsin." *Wisconsin*.
- Charles F. X. O'Brien, B.A., M.A. Seton Hall College, 1937, 1938. "The Legal Status of Corporal Punishment in the Public School Systems of the United States—a Comparative Study." *School of Education, New York University*.
- John C. Payne, B.A., M.A. Illinois, 1930, 1933. "A College Course in Contemporary World Civilization as an Instrument in Effecting Changes in Opinion." *School of Education, New York University*.
- Hans Heinrich Plambeck, B.S., M.A. Oregon, 1935, 1938. "Social Participation of Farm Families in Formal Organizations." *Cornell*.
- Eugene Scott Richards, B.A. New Orleans, 1928; M.A. Southern California, 1931. "Effects of the Negro's Migration to Southern California since 1920 upon His Sociocultural Patterns." *Southern California*.
- Chris C. Rossey, B.P. Bethany College, 1913; M.A. Columbia, 1923. "Factors Related to Selection and Placement in State Teachers College, Jersey City, New Jersey." *School of Education, New York University*.
- Bryce Finley Ryan, B.A. University of Washington, 1932; M.A. Texas, 1933; M.A. Harvard, 1937. "Boston High School Graduates in Periods of Prosperity and Depression." *Harvard*.
- Mary Schaffler, B.A., M.A. Western Reserve, 1910, 1927. "The Suburbs of

- Cleveland: A Field Study of the Metropolitan District outside the Administrative Area of the City." *Chicago*.
- Robert Schmid, B.A. Ohio, 1937. "Youth Movements in Germany: Prolegomena to a Theory of Social Movements." *Wisconsin*.
- Rex A. Skidmore, B.A., M.A. Utah, 1938, 1939. "Mormon Recreation in Theory and Practice: A Study of Social Change." *Pennsylvania*.
- Edward J. Storey, B.S. New Hampshire, 1922; M.A. New York University, 1935. "Free Printed Materials in Health Education." *School of Education, New York University*.
- George W. Strong, B.A., M.A. Pittsburgh, 1936, 1937. "The Role of Sociology in the High School." *Pittsburgh*.
- Frank Sweetser, Jr., B.A. Dartmouth, 1934; M.A. Columbia, 1935. "Neighborhood Acquaintance and Association: A Study of Personal Neighborhoods." *Columbia*.
- Madeleine G. Sylvain, Licence-en-droit, Haiti, 1934; M.A. Bryn Mawr, 1938. "Haiti et ses femmes: une étude d'évolution culturelle." *Bryn Mawr*.
- J. Ellis Voss, B.S., M.A. Pennsylvania, 1925, 1927. "Summer Resort: An Ecological Analysis of a Satellite Community." *Pennsylvania*.
- Benjamin A. Ward, B.S. Tufts College, 1915; M.A. New York University, 1934. "The Educational Programs of Three Patriotic Societies in Their Relationship to Public Secondary Education." *School of Education, New York University*.
- Hugh Jeremiah Williams, B.S. Union College, 1917; M.A. Columbia, 1925. "State Survey of the Organization of Week-Day Religious Education in the Rural Communities of New York State." *Cornell*.
- Melvin John Williams, B.A., B.D. Duke, 1936, 1939. "A Survey of Roman Catholic Sociology in the United States since 1900." *Duke*.
- Arthur Wood, B.A. Dartmouth, 1935; M.A. Michigan, 1936. "Social Organization and Crime: A Study of the Etiology of the Criminal in Selected Rural Wisconsin Communities." *Wisconsin*.
- Mattie Lloyd Wooten, B.A., M.A. Texas, 1928, 1929. "The Status of Women in Texas." *Texas*.

MASTERS' DEGREES

- Estle Gordon Ammons, B.S. A. & M. College of Texas, 1937. "A Study of Rural Youth Migration in the Kurten Community, Brazos County, Texas." *A. & M. College of Texas*.
- Leonard Quentin Allen, B.S. Northeast Texas State Teachers College, 1926. "Practices and Results in the Parole of Prisoners with Special Reference to Texas." *A. & M. College of Texas*.
- Dorothy Louise Arnold, B.A. Smith, 1940. "Socio-economic Background as Related to the University Achievements of 1,625 Women at Indiana University 1939-40." *Indiana*.
- Robert Freed Bales, B.S. Oregon, 1938. "The Concept 'Situation' as a Sociological Tool." *Oregon*.

- Katherine Humphrey Barbour, B.A. Mount Holyoke, 1932. "Trade Union Policy in Regard to the Introduction of Labor Saving Devices." *Columbia*.
- Martin Carl Bauman. "An Analysis of a Socio-religious Rural Neighborhood." *Nebraska*.
- Joseph Allen Beegle, B.S. Pennsylvania State, 1939. "Music and Drama Participation of Iowa State Alumni." *Iowa State*.
- Hugh William Benfer, B.S. Idaho, 1935. "Social Values of the National Youth Administration in Idaho." *Colorado*.
- Alvin Bertrand, B.S. Louisiana State, 1940. "Selected Attitude of Land-Use Planning Community Committee Men and Non-committee Men in Grant County, Kentucky." *Kentucky*.
- N. Margaret Blankenship, B.A. Southern California, 1938. "Situational and Ideological Bases." *Columbia*.
- Imogene Jones Bond, B.A. Denver, 1932. "A Sociological Survey of a Western Village—La Salle, Colorado." *Colorado*.
- Charles Emert Bowerman, B.A. Denison, 1935. "The Relationship between Home Ownership and the Size of the Family." *Chicago*.
- Joyce Bradfield, B.A. Oklahoma, 1928. "Social Development of Kay County, Oklahoma." *Colorado*.
- Esther R. Eradley, B.A. Pomona, 1939. "A Study of the Coordinating Council Movement in Los Angeles County, with Particular Emphasis upon Its Sociological and Educational Implications." *Claremont Colleges*.
- Emerson D. Bragg, B.A. Otterbein, 1928; B.D. Bonebrake Theological Seminary, 1929. "The Ecumenical Movement." *Miami University*.
- Bernice Shirley Bretbart, B.A. "Socialized Procedure in the Treatment of Juvenile Delinquents in Manhattan Children's Court." *Columbia*.
- Kenneth Browell, B.A. Chapman College, 1937. "Social Implications of Defense Program in Three Los Angeles County Areas." *Claremont Colleges*.
- John Allen Buggs, B.A. Dillard, 1939. "Racial Legislation in Tennessee: A Contribution to the Natural History of Laws Affecting Race and Social Status." *Fisk*.
- Loren William Burch, B.A. Kalamazoo, 1927; B.D. Colgate-Rochester, 1932. "Some Factors Affecting Church Attendance in Rural Oswego County." *Cornell*.
- Joel Tillman Campbell, B.A. Florida, 1940. "Religious Horizons of Florida and the Southeast." *Florida*.
- William Alexander Cann, B.A. Dillard, 1939. "A Study of Negro Tenant Farmers in Pulaski County, Arkansas." *Fisk*.
- Theodore Caplow, B.A. Chicago, 1939. "Evaluation Order of Farm Placement." *Minnesota*.
- Sadye Edna Carter, B.S. Fordham, 1939. "Intra-racial Prejudices Based upon a Study of the Conflicts between the British West Indian Negro and the Native Born American Negro in the Harlem Area, 1940-1941." *Graduate School of Art and Sciences, New York University*.

- Milford Grant Chandler, B.A. Bowdoin, 1940; B.D. Bangor Theological Seminary, 1940. "The Social Experiences and Subsequent Behavior of a Group of Civilian Conservation Corps Adolescents." *Columbia*.
- Douglass Carr Chavis, B.A. Fisk, 1932. "The 'Underworld' of Nashville, Its Character and Function as Based on Records of Personal Experiences of Negro Prisoners in the Tennessee State Penitentiary." *Fisk*.
- Joseph Cohen, B.S. Northwestern, 1939. "Family Stability and Juvenile Delinquency." *Northwestern*.
- James Joseph Comerford, B.S. "Adjustment of Labor Unions to Civil Service." *Columbia*.
- Everett E. Cox, B.A. William and Mary, 1926. "Life in a Typical Rural Community." *Virginia*.
- Clara B. Cowan, B.S. Springfield State Teachers College, 1925. "The Acculturation of the Cherokee Indians." *Missouri*.
- James Ernest Crimi, B.A. Aurora College, 1938. "The Social Status of the Negro in Pasadena, California." *Southern California*.
- David Harold Crosby, B.A. Juniata, 1940. "Social Values of the Credit-Union Movement in the United States." *Southern California*.
- Sidney J. Cutler, B.S. City College of New York, 1938. "Indices in Social Science." *Columbia*.
- Mildred Mary d'Annunzio, B.S. St. Joseph's, 1939. "Certain Environmental Factors in Functioning of Boys' Clubs." *Columbia*.
- John George Daukas, B.A. Dartmouth, 1937. "An Estimate of the Public Health Facilities of Keene, New Hampshire." *New Hampshire*.
- Richard Gray Davis, B.A. Pennsylvania State, 1939. "Differential Conformity to Legal Norms in American Culture." *Pennsylvania State*.
- Owen R. Davison, B.A. DePauw, 1937. "Laurel Homes: A Critical Study." *Cincinnati*.
- Walter Phillips Davison, B.A. Princeton, 1939. "German-American Social Structure in New York City." *Columbia*.
- William A. DeHart, B.S. Brigham Young, 1937. "Relation between Religious Affiliation and Population Fertility in Selected Counties of Utah and Adjoining States." *Minnesota*.
- Gertrude Anne Donohue, B.A. Mount St. Vincent, 1940. "The Power of Sinn Féin in Ireland." *Columbia*.
- Joseph Henry Douglass, B.A. Fisk, 1937. "The Cape Colored Minority and Race Relations in South Africa." *Fisk*.
- Jean Elvins, B.A. Texas, 1937. "Social Stratification of Radio Audiences in Texas." *Texas*.
- Shirley P. Englisle, B.A. Texas, 1938. "Theories of the Universal State." *Texas*.
- Gerald Allan Estep, B.A. Occidental, 1938. "Social Placement of the Portuguese in Hawaii as Indicated by Factors in Assimilation." *Southern California*.

- Harriet Alberta Estes, B.A. Kentucky, 1939. "Social Analysis of Funeral Costs." *Kentucky*.
- Alfred Friedli, B.A. Washington University, 1941. "Mobility and High School Success." *Washington University*.
- Carl Martin Frisen, B.A. College of the Pacific, 1939. "An Analysis of Predictions of Population Growth and Change." *Northwestern*.
- John B. Gerberich, B.S. Kent State, 1939. "A Study in Consistency of Questionnaire Responses." *Kent State*.
- Dorothy Helen Goldstein, B.A. Mount Holyoke, 1939. "The 'Disproportionate' Occupational Distribution of Jews and Their Individual and Organized Reaction." *Columbia*.
- Ruth Gallagher Goodenough, B.S. Cornell, 1939. "Recent Trends in Social Psychology." *Cornell*.
- Ernest Clement Grady, B.A. Iowa, 1939. "Case Studies of Twelve Delinquent Negro Boys." *Iowa*.
- George W. Graham, B.A. Texas, 1937. "One Hundred Burglars and One Hundred Robbers." *Texas*.
- Morris Loeb Haimowitz, B.A. Florida, 1941. "Florida Population, 1830-1940." *Florida*.
- Audrey Baer Harter, B.A. University of California at Los Angeles, 1937. "The Contributions of the Literature on Psychoanalysis to Sociological Theory." *Southern California*.
- Mary Louise Harter, B.A. Barnard, 1941. "The Shifting Front of Medical Reform." *Columbia*.
- Neva Heath, Ph.B. Hamline, 1914. "A Comparison of the Unpublished Folk Games of the Negroes of Chicago with the Published Games of the British Isles as Recorded by Alice B. Gomme." *Northwestern*.
- Helen E. Hill, B.A. Seton Hill, 1940. "Some Aspects of Liquor Control." *Clark*.
- Margaret Holloran, B.N. Yale, 1932. "The Care and Education of the Visually Handicapped Child." *School of Education, New York University*.
- Vernon L. Hoyt, B.A. New York University, 1939. "The Occupational and Social Adjustment of the British West Indian Immigrant in Manhattan." *Graduate School of Arts and Sciences, New York University*.
- William Brayton Jones, Jr., B.A. New Hampshire, 1940. "The Indian Stream Republic." *New Hampshire*.
- Kiyoshi Kaneshiro, B.A. Hawaii, 1939. "The Hawaiian Student: A Question of Marginality." *Michigan*.
- Anna Adelson Klepak, B.A. California, 1926. "A Study of the Attitudes of High School Teachers of Vocational Subjects toward Vocational Education and Its Social Values." *Southern California*.
- Amos Richard Lasley, B.A. Kentucky State Industrial College, 1935. "Institutional Separation of Negroes and Whites." *Indiana*.
- Milton Anderson Lawson, B.A. Philander-Smith College, 1938. "The Influence of the Migration Northward upon Negro Newspapers." *Fisk*.

- Irene Christine Linder, B.S. Drake, 1937. "A Study of the Birth Rate of the Amana Society." *Iowa*.
- Frederick B. Lindstrom, B.A. Chicago, 1938. "The Negro Invasion of the West Woodlawn Area." *Chicago*.
- Jewel Ragsdale Lubovich, B.A. Texas, 1937. "A Sociological Study of Public Health in the Five Small Cities of Colorado." *Colorado*.
- Kathryn Lyon, B.S. Kentucky Wesleyan, 1935. "Juvenile Delinquency in Clark County, Kentucky." *Kentucky*.
- Jeannie McCormick, B.A. University of California at Los Angeles, 1930. "A Comparative Study of the Problems of Social Maladjustments of Children of Superior and Subnormal Intelligence in the Los Angeles Public Schools." *Southern California*.
- Floyd Christopher Mann, B.A. Iowa, 1940. "An Analysis of Village Attitudes: A Study of an Iowan Village." *Iowa*.
- Simon Marcson, B.A. Chicago, 1936. "The Role of Voluntary Segregated Education in an Ethnic Group." *Chicago*.
- Ina Ruth Melenek, B.A. American International College, 1939. "Delinquency Areas of Durham, North Carolina." *Duke*.
- Jacob Meyerowitz, B.A. New York University, 1938. "Contemporary Aspects of Collective Security." *Graduate School of Arts and Sciences, New York University*.
- Carrol M. Mickey, B.A. Kansas, 1936. "Development of Collective Enterprise in Property Insurance in the United States." *Kansas*.
- Ernest I. Miller, B.A. Maryville College, 1932. "Some Tennessee Utopias." *Tennessee*.
- James E. Montgomery, B.A. Mayville, 1940. "Two Resettlement Communities on the Cumberland Plateau: An Introductory Study of Recent Utopian Reform." *Vanderbilt*.
- John William Moore, B.S. A. & M. College of Texas, 1940. "A Social and Economic Study of the Italian Settlement, Steele's Store, Texas." *A. & M. College of Texas*.
- Robert Cobb Myers, B.S. Boston University, 1940. "The Transient Girl: A Psychological Study." *Stanford*.
- Phillipina Martina Naude, B.S. Pacific Union, 1937. "The Hospital as a Social Institution." *Colorado*.
- Elizabeth Day Nunnally, B.A. Wesleyan College, 1919. "The History of the Development of a Negro Dental Clinic in DeKalb County, Georgia." *Emory*.
- Dorothy Mary Orr, B.S. Syracuse, 1928. "Occupational Class as a Basis for Grouping." *Columbia*.
- Alfred P. Parsell, B.A. Syracuse, 1938. "Population and Environment of a Northern California Indian Community." *Syracuse*.
- Bernard Peck, B.A. Indiana, 1939. "Symbolism and Organization in General Motors Public Relations Policy." *Columbia*.

- Helen Ruth Pointexter, B.A. Marshall College, 1934. "A Survey of the Federal Industrial Institution for Women, Alderson, West Virginia." *Iowa*.
- Ethelyn B. A. Ratcliff, B.A. Virginia Union, 1939. "The Socio-economic Factors Associated with Negro Infant Mortality Rates in Nashville, Tennessee, 1939." *Fisk*.
- Earl H. Regnier, B.S. Kansas State College, 1932. "Social Participation of Farm Bureau or Non-farm Bureau Families in Formal Organizations." *Cornell*.
- Alice Cornelia Reid, B.A. Virginia Union, 1939. "Gees Bend, Alabama: A Rural Negro Community in Transition." *Fisk*.
- Charles Donald Roberts, B.S. Oklahoma A. & M. 1938. "A Study of the Levels of Living of the Households of Farm Operators in the Stillwater Creek Watershed." *Oklahoma A. & M.*
- Joan Rockwood, B.A. Bennington College, 1939. "Analysis of an Interracial Program: Abraham Lincoln Community Center." *Chicago*.
- Joseph Rosenstein, B.A. Chicago, 1939. "The Interrelation of Political Institutions with the Social Structure of the Local Community." *Chicago*.
- Aileen Ross, B.S. University of London, 1939. "The French and English Social Elites of Montreal: A Comparison of 'La Ligue de la jeunesse' with the Junior League." *Chicago*.
- Roy W. Russell, B.A. Florida, 1935. "Individual Factors in Juvenile Delinquency." *Florida*.
- Rene Sanford, B.A. Scripps College, 1939. "The Relation of Culture to Concepts of Social Control, as Suggested by a Comparative Study of Three Pre-literate Societies." *Claremont Colleges*.
- David M. Schneider, B.S. Cornell, 1940. "Aboriginal Dreams." *Cornell*.
- Meinte Schuurmans, B.A. Hope College, 1922. "The Church and Assimilation in an Isolated Nationality Group: A Study of the Role of the Christian Reformed Church in the Dutch Community of Manhattan, Montana." *Michigan State*.
- Mary Gamble Shannon, B.A. Southern Methodist, 1938. "An Occupational Study of Negro Maids in Dallas." *Southern Methodist*.
- Evelyn Christine Sloat, B.A. Montclair State Teachers College, 1935. "The Story of the Township of Teaneck, New Jersey." *New Hampshire*.
- Evelyn Charlotte Smith, B.A. New York University, 1937. "Consumer Credit: A Study of Three Fields of Personal Financial Loans." *Graduate School of Arts and Sciences, New York University*.
- Charalembos Stephoros Stephanides, B.S. Cornell, 1932. "A Sociological Sketch of the Village of Megali Vrissi, Macedonia, Greece." *Cornell*.
- Millard Sundin, B.S. Minnesota, 1934. "Trends of Periodical Literature of City Planning." *Minnesota*.
- Morris T. Vogelhaar, B.A. Central College, 1930. "A Sociological Study of Green Hollow, Iowa." *Colorado*.
- Pearl Lee Walker, B.A. Howard, 1937. "Bus Transportation Facilities and Metropolitan Regions in Tennessee." *Fisk*.

- Melville Jay Weiss, B.S.S. City College of New York, 1939. "*Don't Buy Where You Can't Work: An Analysis of Consumer Action against Employment Discrimination in Harlem 1934-40.*" *Columbia*.
- Albert Nathaniel Whiting, B.A. Amherst, 1938. "Some Problems of Social Adjustment Associated with Disease." *Fisk*.
- Wendell W. Williams, B.A. Emporia, 1938. "Factors Influencing the Development of Social Welfare Institutions as Collective Enterprises." *Kansas*.
- Shau-Lam Wong, B.A. Lingnan University, 1939. "The Co-operative Movement in China." *Southern California*.
- John Paul Yoder, B.A. Goshen College, 1932. "Social Isolation Devices in an Amish-Mennonite Community." *Pennsylvania State*.

STUDENTS' DISSERTATIONS IN SOCIOLOGY

The following list of doctoral dissertations and Masters' theses in preparation in universities and colleges in the United States and Canada is a compilation of the returns from letters sent by the editors of the *Journal* to departments of sociology. The name of the college or university in italics designates the institution where the research is in progress. The list does not include names which have formerly been printed in the *Journal*, except where the research problem has been changed. The number now working for doctoral degrees is 101, and the number working for Master's degrees is 167.

DOCTORAL DISSERTATIONS

Kingsley Birge, B.A. Dartmouth, 1938. "Social Status of Political Personnel." *Yale*.

Cleo W. Blackburn, B.A. Butler, 1932; M.A. Fisk, 1936. "Impact of Urban Culture on Rural Patterns of Southern Negroes in Indianapolis." *Indiana*.

Don Joseph Bogue, B.A. Iowa, 1939; M.A. Washington State, 1940. "The Changing Structure of the Metropolitan Community." *Michigan*.

Barbara Klose Bowdery, B.A. North Central College, 1939; M.A. Illinois, 1940. "Career Patterns of 19th Century British and French Scientists." *Illinois*.

Charles Emert Bowerman, B.A. Denison, 1935; M.A. Chicago, 1941. "Refined Criteria of Marital Success." *Chicago*.

Philips Bently Boyer, Ph.B. Denison, 1924. "Analysis of Some Social Correlatives of Land Differences." *Louisiana State*.

George K. Erown, B.A. Alabama, 1934; M.A. Virginia, 1936. "Sociological Interpretation of the Habitual Criminal in Terms of His Definition and Treatment." *Pennsylvania*.

Julia Saparoff Brown, B.A. Radcliffe, 1936; M.A. Wisconsin, 1938. "Factors Affecting Union Strength." *Yale*.

Carl F. Butts, B.S. Northwestern, 1935. "The Shakers: A Case Study in Social Variation." *Yale*.

Theodore Caplow, B.A. Chicago, 1939; M.A. Minnesota, 1941. "Trends in the Growth Curves and Diffusion Curves of Social Mass Movements." *Minnesota*.

Clifford Marion Carey, B.A. Lake Forest, 1930; M.A. Northwestern, 1933. "Trends in Social Group Work." *Southern California*.

David Bailey Carpenter, B.A., M.A. Washington University, 1937, 1938. "Migration into Cut-over Areas of Western Washington." *Washington*.

- Hsi-Ku Chang, B.S., M.S. Iowa State, 1930, 1931. "An Agricultural Extension Program in China." *Wisconsin*.
- Stanley Hastings Chapman, B.A. Yale, 1933. "New Haven Churches: A Study of Their Structure and Function in the Community." *Yale*.
- Cheng Cheng-K'un, B.A. Yenching, 1931; M.A. Washington, 1937. "The Role of Women in Chinese Society." *Washington*.
- Charles Churchill, B.A. Dana College, 1934; M.A. New York University, 1940. "The Italian Community of Newark, New Jersey." *Graduate School of Arts and Sciences, New York University*.
- Pearl Elizabeth Clark, B.A., M.A. Montana, 1916, 1917. "Social Adjustment Problems of Junior College Girls." *Southern California*.
- Bernard Cohen, B.A. Pittsburgh, 1928. "The Development of the Jewish Community in Los Angeles." *Southern California*.
- Walter E. Conrad, Jr., B.A. Duke, 1935; M.A. North Carolina, 1938. "A Documentary History of Education in the South." *North Carolina*.
- Jerry Daniel, B.A. Antioch, 1936; M.A. North Carolina, 1941. "A Study of Differential Fertility in North Carolina." *North Carolina*.
- Vernon Davies, B.S. Brigham Young, 1936; M.S. Utah, 1938. "The Construction of a Scale To Measure Rural Community Morale." *Minnesota*.
- Doris Cushman Dietrich, Ph.D. Wisconsin, 1926. "A Study in Birth Control, Philadelphia, 1928-1939." *Pennsylvania*.
- Harold Djourj, B.S. New York University, 1931; M.A. Columbia, 1933. "The Relationship between Physical Education and Personality Adjustment." *School of Education, New York University*.
- William Fries Doering, B.A. Washington College, 1938; M.A. Vanderbilt, 1939. "Selective Factors in Cyclical Migration in Tennessee." *Vanderbilt*.
- Hugh Dalziel Duncan, B.A. Drake, 1931; M.A. Chicago, 1933. "The Social Structure of a Literary Center: Chicago 1880-1900." *Chicago*.
- Minna Enselber, B.A. Hunter, 1929; M.A. Columbia, 1932. "The Historical Development of the American Cook Book: The Influence of Social and Economic Factors." *School of Education, New York University*.
- Maurice Floch, B.A. Michigan, 1930. "The Feasibility of a Socio-psychiatric Treatment of Alcoholics in a Prison-Farm Environment." *Michigan*.
- Byron Fox, B.A. Ohio State, 1934. "Evaluation of the Work Program of N.Y.A. Students in Akron High School." *Ohio State*.
- David Martin Fulcomer, B.A. Macalester, 1932; M.A. Minnesota, 1937. "Behavior Patterns of Some Recently Bereaved Spouses: A Psycho-sociological Study." *Northwestern*.
- J. Benton Gillingham, B.A. State College of Washington, 1939. "The Modern Corporation as a Focal Center of Socio-psychological Integration and Control: A Study in Structural Social Psychology." *Wisconsin*.
- William Josiah Goods, B.A., M.A. Texas, 1938, 1939. "Sociology of Primitive Religion." *Pennsylvania State*.

- Frank Goodwin, B.A., M.A. Vanderbilt, 1929, 1930. "The Eastern Shore of Maryland—a Definitive Survey." *Pennsylvania*.
- Patria Gosnell, B.A. Hunter, 1929; M.A. Columbia, 1930. "The Puerto Ricans in New York City." *Graduate School of Arts and Sciences, New York University*.
- Llewellyn Z. Gross, B.A., M.A. Minnesota, 1936, 1939. "Construction and Partial Standardizations of a Scale for Measuring Self-insight." *Minnesota*.
- Gordon Grosvenor, B.A. Bryn Mawr, 1939. "Public Control of Internal Migration in the United States." *Yale*.
- Ellen Elizabeth Guillot, B.S. Simmons College, 1930; M.A. Pennsylvania, 1938. "Causes of Crime: Social Theories in the Post Civil War Period of the United States." *Pennsylvania*.
- Wanda Newsum Gun, B.Ed. Illinois State Teachers College, 1937; M.A. Washington University, 1939. "Guidance of Older Adolescents." *School of Education, New York University*.
- Dawson Haes, B.S., M.S. Utah State College, 1936, 1937. "A Reconsideration of the Principle of Local Control in American Education." *Teachers College, Columbia*.
- Walter Richard Harrison, B.S. Howard, 1930; M.S. Cornell, 1931. "The Role of the Church in Negro Rural Life." *Cornell*.
- Richard Ripley Hasbrouck, B.A. Williams, 1928; M.A. Columbia, 1939. "American Educators and Plans for an Improved Social Order, 1797 to 1840." *Teachers College, Columbia*.
- William Cecil Headrick, B.A. Southwestern, 1926. "A Study of Social Stratification with Reference to Social Class Barriers and Social Class Rigidity." *Graduate School of Arts and Sciences, New York University*.
- Myron Heidingsfield, B.S. City College of New York, 1937; M.A. New York University, 1939. "Social Engineering as Exemplified by Public Health." *Graduate School of Arts and Sciences, New York University*.
- Lester E. Hewitt, B.A. Hillsdale, 1937; M.A. Michigan, 1939. "Situational Analysis of Juvenile Behavior Problems." *Michigan*.
- W. Howard H. Higman, B.F.A. Colorado, 1937. "The Cultural Etiology of Some Theories of the Uses of War." *Colorado*.
- Richard S. Hill, B.S. Utah State, 1940. "The Rurban Community." *Wisconsin*.
- Oscar F. Hoffman, B.A. Mission House College, 1924; M.A. Wisconsin, 1929. "Culture of the Centerville-Mosel Germans in Manitowoc and Sheboygan Counties, Wisconsin." *Wisconsin*.
- Florence Hollis, B.A. Wellesley, 1928; M.S. Smith, 1931. "A Study of Factors in Marital Conflict." *Bryn Mawr*.
- Elbert L. Hooker, B.A., M.A. Southern Methodist, 1936, 1937. "A Study of Social Participation in Urban Communities." *Washington University*.
- Paul Houser, B.A., M.A. Tennessee, 1935, 1936. "A Study of the Factors Associated with Participation in Religious Organizations and Activities in a College Community." *Michigan State*.

- Norman Humphrey, B.A., M.A., Michigan, 1935, 1938. "The Adjustment of the Mexican Family to the Conditions of American Urban Life." *Michigan*.
- Robert William James, B.A., M.A. Chicago, 1938, 1939. "Collective Action and Social Planning Involved in the Relocation of Shawneetown." *Illinois*.
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LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

In the interest of encouraging presentation of divergent views, the editor invites comments on the articles and the book reviews appearing in the *Journal*.

NUPTIAL REPRODUCTION RATES

In a paper entitled "Use of Nuptial Reproduction Rates in Population Analysis" in the March number of this *Journal* Dr. Karpinos criticizes the method used by Kuczynski and Charles for computing nuptial gross reproduction rates. Although this method has been described at some length, it is evident that there is still room for quite elementary misunderstanding. If we leave on one side illegitimate fertility as of minor importance, the gross reproduction rate of a given year can be related to marital status in at least two ways, both in use.

1. The legitimate fertility rates of the given year can be related to the marital status of the population in the given year. This is what Dr. Karpinos prefers. The nuptiality table used summarizes the previous marital history of the women living in the given year. The procedure leads to the same result as the ordinary gross reproduction rate, as Dr. Karpinos points out.

2. The legitimate fertility rates of the given year can be related to the marital status of the population that would result from the operation of the marriage rates of the given year. The nuptiality table used is that of the given year, and this is the only nuptiality table used, since the computation of legitimate fertility rates does not involve any computation of the probability of marriage. A nuptial gross reproduction rate for 1931, computed in this way, would thus describe the fertility of a group of women whose probability of marriage was that given by the marriage rates of 1931, and who, when married, had children at the same rate as the married women of 1931. To describe the differences between the nuptial and the ordinary gross reproduction rate as "due to a misstep in the process of computing" is, to say the least, an unfortunate use of language, since these rates have been defined as describing two different sets of events. Inability to grasp this distinction is the main substance of Dr. Karpinos' article and evidently springs from a misunderstanding of the whole reproduction rate technique. The nuptial gross reproduction rate is precisely analogous to the ordinary net reproduction rate. The latter rate associates the fertility of a given year, e.g., 1931, with the mortality of that year; although the fertility of a group of women who have been subjected throughout their lives to the mortality rates of 1931 is not known and would almost certainly be different from that actually

¹ This *Journal*, XLVII (March, 1942), 702-8.

found in 1931. No doubt in his next paper, Dr. Karpinos will reveal that all the net reproduction rates hitherto computed by numerous workers are wrong and should be recalculated on the basis of the mortality of the previous fifty years.

When freed from some of Dr. Karpinos' more irrelevant misinterpretations, the real methodological issue becomes one of the value of any particular modification of the ordinary reproduction rates. This should be judged in the light of the objective desired. In general, while all scientific studies should have as their ultimate goal the prescription of a future course of action, the immediate aims of population studies can be described as either predictive or analytical. Under the former heading comes the earliest body of knowledge which concerned itself mainly with the effect of current trends in fertility and mortality on population growth. Of later years more emphasis has been placed on the attempt to find a socioeconomic explanation of human reproductive behavior. Reverting to the indices under discussion, the nuptial gross reproduction rate belongs to the group of predictive studies, since it examines the effect of current changes in nuptiality on total fertility. For an analysis of existing differences in fertility we need to know what part of these differences are due to differences in probability of marriage and age at marriage and what part to differences in fertility within marriage. For this purpose it appears that no single index hitherto devised is adequate. Only a many-angled approach, using several relevant indices, will suffice to reveal the pattern.

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REJOINDER

Dr. Charles's rejoinder seems to indicate that the statements made in my paper were obviously too general and that they consequently need further elucidation. The central point of the paper will therefore be restated here formally: Whatever nuptiality table is used—whether the table is constructed on the basis of the marital status of the female population in a given year or on the basis of marriages contracted in that year—fertility rates derived by relating births to married, widowed, and divorced women cannot be applied directly to the nuptiality table, since a yearly fertility rate per married, widowed, and divorced woman is not identical with a rate per year of married life. To show it is so, additional data are introduced here. The data deal with the white women of the city of Chicago and are given in three tables, each presenting a few simple values.

Table 1 shows, in columns 2-5, the distribution of the white women of Chicago by marital status as in 1930. This distribution, given by single years for the first two five-year age groups, is based on an unpublished report which was supplied by the United States Bureau of the Census. On the basis of these data, the values for columns 6-8 were derived, showing the number of single, married,

widowed, and divorced women among one hundred thousand women at each single year of age, between the ages of fifteen and twenty-four inclusive. In other words, these values represent the marital status of one hundred thousand women followed through the fifteen to twenty-four age interval, assuming that none of these women dies while passing through this age interval.

TABLE 1
DISTRIBUTION OF THE WHITE WOMEN OF THE CITY OF CHICAGO
BY MARITAL STATUS, 1930

AGE <i>t</i>	FEMALE POPULATION CLASSIFIED BY MARITAL STATUS*				NUMBER PER 100,000 FEMALES OF EACH AGE†		
	Total, <i>F_t</i>	Single <i>S_t</i>	Married <i>M_t</i>	Widowed and Divorced <i>D_t</i>	Single <i>S_t</i>	Married <i>M_t</i>	Widowed and Divorced <i>D_t</i>
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
15.....	26,841	26,795	45	1	99,828	168	4
16.....	27,408	27,137	261	10	99,012	952	36
17.....	28,246	27,285	945	16	96,598	3,346	56
18.....	30,121	27,145	2,912	60	90,134	9,667	199
19.....	29,166	23,801	5,265	100	81,605	18,052	343
Total.....	141,782	132,167	9,428	187	93,218	6,650	132
20.....	30,072	21,541	8,347	184	71,631	27,757	612
21.....	30,602	19,033	11,264	305	62,195	36,808	997
22.....	31,660	16,795	14,437	428	53,048	45,600	1,352
23.....	30,742	13,801	16,368	573	44,893	53,243	1,864
24.....	30,529	11,711	18,169	649	38,360	59,514	2,126
Total.....	153,605	82,881	68,585	2,139	53,957	44,650	1,393

* The data by single years are from a special unpublished report furnished by the Bureau of the Census.

† The distribution of 100,000 women by marital status was computed by relating the number of women of each marital status in each age to the total of that age given in col. 1.

By an identical procedure, such values to a radix of one hundred thousand women were computed for the other age groups within the child-bearing period, as given in Table 2. (See footnote to Table 2 for the method used in subtabulating the data to single-year values.) The data presented in this table are basic for constructing a nuptiality table. It might be well to emphasize here that a nuptiality table would show the number of years of married life to which a cohort of women would be exposed passing through life. In this case, the age range is limited to fifteen to forty-four, and the present nuptiality table assumes no mortality. (The assumption of no mortality is necessary for our discussion, as we are to deal here with gross reproduction rates in which this assumption is implicit.)

Since the age-specific fertility rates are given here in five-year age groups, the nuptiality table is to be so constructed as to show the years of married life lived by the cohort of women within each five-year age interval. It can be easily shown that, under somewhat simplified assumptions, the number of years lived

TABLE 2*

DISTRIBUTION OF 100,000 WHITE WOMEN, AGED FIFTEEN TO FORTY-FOUR, OF THE CITY OF CHICAGO BY MARITAL STATUS AS IN 1930

AGE t	SINGLE S_t	MARRIED M_t	WIDOWED AND DIVORCED D_t	AGE t	SINGLE S_t	MARRIED M_t	WIDOWED AND DIVORCED D_t
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
15.....	99,828	168	4	30.....	18,181	77,552	4,267
16.....	99,012	952	36	31.....	17,288	78,147	4,565
17.....	95,598	3,346	56	32.....	16,279	78,793	4,928
18.....	90,134	9,667	199	33.....	15,428	79,233	5,359
19.....	81,605	18,052	343	34.....	14,547	79,663	5,790
20.....	71,631	27,757	612	35.....	13,702	80,087	6,211
21.....	62,195	36,808	997	36.....	12,799	80,596	6,605
22.....	53,048	45,600	1,352	37.....	12,143	80,837	7,020
23.....	44,893	53,243	1,864	38.....	11,665	80,817	7,518
24.....	38,360	59,514	2,126	39.....	11,347	80,616	8,037
25.....	36,065	61,260	2,675	40.....	11,089	80,236	8,675
26.....	29,639	67,322	3,039	41.....	10,901	79,770	9,329
27.....	24,827	71,811	3,362	42.....	10,694	79,217	10,089
28.....	21,551	74,780	3,669	43.....	10,541	78,608	10,851
29.....	19,580	76,486	3,934	44.....	10,408	77,956	11,636

* The distribution by single years of the first two five-year age groups is based on a special unpublished report from the Bureau of the Census (see Table 1, n. *). The other five-year age groups (Table 3, col. 3) were subtabulated to single-year values by a smooth function formula. For general reference, see Max Sasuly, *Trend Analysis of Statistics* (Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution, 1934), pp. 108-16. The given values assume no mortality.

by a cohort of women passing through a given five-year age interval is expressed by the following formula:

$$0.5(M_{t-1} - D_{t-1}) + \sum_t^{t+3} M_t + 0.5(M_{t+4} + D_{t+4})$$

where t signifies age, M_t signifies the number of married women of the cohort at age t , and D_t signifies the number of dissolved marriages, namely, the number of widowed and divorced women of the cohort at age t (see Table 3, n. ||, for a complete explanation of the symbols and method of computation). The respective number of years of married life for the women of Chicago as in 1930 are given in Table 3, column 8.

Should Kuczynski's procedure be followed here, a "nuptial" gross reproduction rate of 768.0 will be obtained for Chicago (col. 9), against an "ordinary" gross reproduction rate of 854.5 (bottom of col. 6). (For the sake of simplicity,

TABLE 3
"ORDINARY" AND "NUPTIAL" REPRODUCTION RATES OF
THE WHITE WOMEN IN CHICAGO, 1930

AGE GROUPS	FEMALE POPULATION			FEMALE BIRTHS [§]	AGE SPECIFIC FERTILITY RATES PER 1,000 FEMALES		YEARS OF MARRIED LIFE LIVED BY 1,000 WOMEN PASSING THROUGH A GIVEN 5-YEAR AGE INTERVAL||	NUPTIAL REPRODUCTION RATE
	Total*	Married, Widowed, and Divorced†	Per Cent Married, Widowed, and Divorced‡		Total	Married, Widowed, and Divorced		
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4) = (3)/(2)	(5)	(6) = (5)/(2)¶	(7) = (5)/(3)**	(8)	(9) = (7) × (8)††
15-19.....	141,782	9,615	6.8	1,833	12.93	190.64	233	44.42
20-24.....	153,605	70,724	46.0	7,344	47.81	103.84	2,031	210.90
25-29.....	146,697	107,923	73.6	7,135	48.64	66.11	3,438	227.29
30-34.....	137,904	115,350	83.6	4,678	33.92	40.55	3,927	159.24
35-39.....	138,686	121,562	87.7	2,871	20.70	23.62	4,036	95.33
40-44.....	113,978	101,733	89.3	786	6.90	7.73	3,989	30.83
Total.....	832,652	526,907	63.3	24,647	170.90 ×5 854.50††		17,654	768.01

* Excludes women of unknown marital status. (Based on Table 26, *United States Fifteenth Census, 1930*, Vol. II, chap. xi, "Marital Condition.")

† Based on Table 26 (see n. *).

‡ Computed by relating col. 3 to col. 2.

§ Based on data taken from P. M. Hauser, "Differential Fertility, Mortality, and Net Reproduction Rate in Chicago, 1930" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Chicago, 1938), Table 4.

|| For computing the years of married life lived by 1,000 women passing through a given five-year age interval, the following formula was used: $0.5(M_{t-1} - D_{t-1}) + \sum_{t=2}^{t+3} M_t + 0.5(M_{t+4} + D_{t+4})$, where t is the

initial age of each five-year age interval (for the fifteen to nineteen age interval it is age fifteen; for the twenty to twenty-four age interval it is age twenty, etc.); M_t is the number of married women at the different ages as given in Table 2, col. 3; D_t is the number of dissolved marriages, i.e., the number of widowed and divorced women at different ages as given in Table 2, col. 4. Age $(t-1)$ in the formula refers to the terminating age of the preceding age interval; for instance, for the fifteen to nineteen age interval it is age fourteen, whereas for the twenty to twenty-four age interval it is age nineteen, etc. Thus, the number of years of married life lived by 1,000 women passing through, say, the twenty to twenty-four age interval is equal to 0.5 of the difference between the number of women married at age nineteen and the corresponding number of widowed and divorced women, i.e., $0.5(180.52 - 3.43)$, plus the sum of all married women (M_t) from age twenty to age twenty-three (inclusive), i.e., $277.57 + 368.08 + \dots$, plus 0.5 of the sum of the number of married, widowed, and divorced women at age twenty-four, i.e., $0.5(595.14 + 21.26)$. The result is 2,031 years of married life. For the fifteen to nineteen age group, there are no values for $(t-1)$, since no marriages are assumed prior to age fifteen. All given values assume no mortality.

¶ Obtained by relating the births (col. 5) to the total population (col. 2).

** Obtained by relating the births (col. 5) to the married, widowed, and divorced population (col. 3).

†† Obtained by multiplying col. 7 by col. 8.

‡‡ Represents the "ordinary" gross reproduction rate.

the calculations are based on all births—both legitimate and illegitimate births. The reported illegitimate births for Chicago constituted 1.3 per cent of all births, indeed a negligible percentage.) These rates indicate a much greater difference

than the "nuptial" and "ordinary" gross reproduction rates for Denmark. (The present difference is -11.1 per cent, against Kuczynski's difference of 0.8 per cent for Denmark.)

It should be clearly noted that in calculating the nuptial gross reproduction rate for Chicago, the distribution of the women by marital status as in 1930 was used for constructing the nuptiality table, and, according to Dr. Charles, the procedure should have led to the same result as the ordinary gross reproduction. But the result derived on the basis of this procedure is different. It is due to the fact that fertility rates per married, widowed, and divorced women (Table 3, col. 7) were applied to years of married life (col. 8).

As shown in column 6, Table 3, the age-specific fertility rate per 1,000 females for the fifteen to nineteen age group was 12.93. This means that 1,000 women passing through this age interval will give birth to 12.93 daughters each year, or 64.65 daughters, while passing through this age interval. But 1,000 women passing through this age interval would live 233 years of married life (Table 3, col. 8); consequently, the rate per year of married life for 1,000 women within this age interval would be 277.47, i.e. $(64.65/233 \times 1,000)$, and not 190.64, as given in column 7, Table 3. The latter rate is based on percentage of married, widowed, and divorced women, which was 6.8 for this age group (col. 4, Table 3). In computing a rate on this basis, one actually assumes that 1,000 women would live 340 years of married life (68×5) within this age interval, against 233. This holds true for the other age groups, involving similar discrepancies, and these discrepancies are responsible for the different results. Had the births been related directly to the years of married life there would have been, of course, no difference between the "nuptial" and ordinary gross reproduction rates.

Suppose now that instead of the preceding data by marital status as reported for 1930 (Table 2), the marriages that occurred in Chicago during the year 1930—were such data available—had been utilized for constructing a nuptiality table. (The procedure for constructing such a table would be, of course, different from that followed here.) Then two ways would be open for utilizing this new nuptiality table: (a) one might relate—and quite logically—the births of 1930 directly to the new nuptiality table, and this would obviously lead to the same result as the gross reproduction rate shown in column 6, Table 3, or (b) one may apply the rates per year of married life obtained from the first nuptiality table to the second nuptiality table. In the latter case, a gross reproduction rate somewhat different from the one reported in Table 3 might be obtained. But here, again, the rates per year of married life based on the first nuptiality table would be used in the computation, and not the rates per married, widowed, or divorced woman. Thus, whatever nuptiality table is applied, there exists a misstep in Kuczynski's procedure.

Dr. Charles rightly emphasizes the importance of "predictive" studies. Reproductivity of a population, however, is influenced not only by marital status, but also by many other social factors. For instance, the gross reproduction rate

of the United States which was 1,219 in 1930 on 55:45 urban-rural ratio would be 1,171 on 65:35 urban-rural ratio, assuming no changes in the specific fertility rates of the urban and rural populations. But the latter rate, obtained under the new conditions, still remains an "ordinary" gross reproduction rate, with all the underlying assumptions of constancy of factors, in the same manner as the gross reproduction rate of 1940 is still a gross reproduction rate in spite of the fact that it differs from the 1930 rate due to probable changes in urban-rural ratio, or marital status, or ethnic composition, or socioeconomic makeup. A net reproduction rate is still a net reproduction rate, whether it is computed on the basis of a current life-table, or a generation life-table, or some hypothetical life-table.

It might be added that the distribution of women by marital status (Table 2) could be readily utilized for computing an index of nuptial fertility. The procedure would consist of relating the gross reproduction rate to the proportion of married, widowed, and divorced women in the terminating age of the child-bearing period. In the case of Chicago it means dividing the given reproduction rate of 854.5 by .89592, the latter value being the proportion of married, widowed, and divorced women at age forty-four. The index would be 953.8, and it would show the number of children that would be borne by 1,000 women who will eventually get married before the end of the child-bearing period. (It actually means starting with 1,116 women at age fifteen, instead of 1,000, as the former number of women would lead in this case to 1,000 women married, widowed, or divorced at age forty-four.) Like the gross reproduction rate, it would assume no mortality. (Some refinements, if desired, could be introduced by limiting the fertility rates to legitimate births.) Together with the other available indices of nuptial fertility, this index might fulfil an important role in comparative analyses.

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NEWS AND NOTES

RESEARCH NEWS

University of Chicago.—The University of Chicago announces the formation of two new programs of study and research. The first of these is a program in "Communications and Public Opinion," which began in the Spring Quarter of 1942. This program is directed by a committee of faculty members from the various departments of the University, under the chairmanship of Robert Redfield, dean of the Division of Social Sciences. The committee undertakes to initiate and co-ordinate studies in local communications and local attitudes with reference to problems of public policy. The training program undertakes to qualify students (especially women and men deferred under the Selective Service Act) for professional service with federal and other agencies concerned with problems of national morale, analysis of enemy propaganda, the sampling of public opinions, and the social effects of promotional activities. College graduates with basic training in social science and languages may enrol in the Summer Quarter and any quarter thereafter.

In general, the committee recognizes four major purposes: (1) to conduct fundamental research in the functions, processes, techniques, content, values, effects, and other elements of public communications in their social setting; (2) to utilize the University's resources of men and source materials toward the clarification of current problems in the field; (3) to prepare candidates for professional service; and (4) to offer instruction in the field for other students who desire it.

The program of instruction represents five groups of courses, namely: "Nature and Process of Communication"; "Present Structure and Functions of the Media of Communication"; "Sources of Content and Opinion"; "Organization and Control of Opinion"; "Measurement of Content and Opinion."

Herbert Blumer, William Fielding Ogburn, W. Lloyd Warner, and Louis Wirth are among the sociologists who are acting as members of the Committee on Communications. Courses under the auspices of the committee will be given by these members of the Department of Sociology as well as by Ernest W. Burgess, Everett C. Hughes, and Samuel A.

Stouffer; and by various instructors in political science, economics, psychology, education, library science, and philosophy.

The second program announced by the University is a training program for government service. This program, which will be under the direction of Leonard D. White, professor of public administration and former United States civil service commissioner, is designed to prepare men and women as rapidly as possible for work in junior administrative positions in the federal service. It is expected that those who complete this training will be prepared to fill positions as student aid, junior professional assistant, and principal personnel assistants in the various federal agencies. Training under the program is available to recent junior college and college graduates. Women and men with deferred military status are especially urged to apply. Persons interested in securing further information are asked to communicate with the Director, Summer Quarter, University of Chicago.

New School for Social Research.—The graduate faculty of political and social science of the New School for Social Research has announced its courses for the summer session, July 6–August 14. In addition to a general seminar on "Social Science and Political Action in Relation to the Present Situation," which will be offered by the faculty as a whole, courses will be given in the "Sociology of Knowledge and the History of Ideas," by Albert Salomon; "Social Sciences and Natural Sciences," by Felix Kaufman; and "Economics and Sociology," by Adolph Lowe. Persons interested in further information are asked to communicate with the Secretary, Graduate Faculty, New School for Social Research, 66 West Twelfth Street, New York City.

Julius Rosenwald Fund.—The Fund has announced the awarding of fifty-six fellowships totaling \$90,000 and sixteen scholarships totaling \$10,000. The fellows include thirty-five Negroes and twenty-one white southerners. Among the awards of special interest to our readers are the following:

Florence Beatty Brown, State Teachers College, Fayetteville, North Carolina; for a study of a middle-class Negro family from 1870 to the present.

William Oscar Brown, Howard University, Washington, D.C.; to study the racial situation in Puerto Rico, Santo Domingo, Cuba, and the Virgin Islands; reappointment.

Lewis Campbell Copeland, Fisk University, Nashville, Tennessee; for a study of racial attitudes and ideologies.

Mary Huff Diggs, Howard University, Washington, D.C.; for studies of the behavior of delinquent Negro children; at Bryn Mawr College.

Emmett Edward Dorsey, Howard University, Washington, D.C.; for a study of the federal government's employment and promotional policies as they relate to Negroes; at American University.

William Thomas Fontaine, Southern University, Scotlandville, Louisiana; to study the mind and thought of the Negro as revealed in imaginative literature from 1870 to date; at the University of Pennsylvania and Fisk University.

Manet Helen Fowler, New York City; for studies in social anthropology; at Columbia University; reappointment.

Clifton Ralph Jones, Nanticoke, Maryland; to study the social stratification of Negroes; at the University of Iowa; reappointment.

Charles Radford Lawrence, Jr., Atlanta, Georgia; for a study of the racial-radical social movements among Negroes in Harlem; at Columbia University.

James Elmer Montgomery, Nashville, Tennessee; for studies in population and balanced exploitation of natural resources; at Vanderbilt University.

Ellen Hull Neff, Abingdon, Virginia; for studies in sociology; at the University of North Carolina.

Harry Joseph Walker, Howard University, Washington, D.C.; for a study of race conflict in a southern community; at the University of Chicago.

Social Science Research Council.—The Social Science Research Council has announced the following grant-in-aid appointments in sociology for the year 1942-43.

Brewton Berry, associate professor of sociology, University of Missouri; for the completion of a study of the Indians of Missouri, with special reference to the period 1673-1840.

Robert Graham Caldwell, assistant professor of sociology, University of Delaware; for a study of corporal punishment in Delaware.

Donald Clemmer, senior assistant research sociologist, Illinois State Prisons, Joliet, Illinois; for a study of gambling behavior of conventional criminals.

Homer L. Hitt, assistant professor of sociology, Louisiana State University; for a study of the impact of the war on the redistribution of population in Louisiana.

Charles Price Loomis, visiting lecturer, département of sociology, Harvard University; for a study of the social structure of Las Vegas, N.M., with its "Old Town" of Spanish-Americans and its "New-Town" of Anglo-Americans.

Otto Pollak, reader in political science, Bryn Mawr College; for a study of the criminality of old age, its etiology, causation, and treatment.

Edgar Zilsel, research associate, Institute of Social Research; for an analysis of society, technology, and economy of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

No appointments to sociologists were made at the postdoctoral level, but there were several appointments in the predoctoral category. At the time of the *Journal's* going to press, however, these appointments had not been finally verified.

NOTES

American Psychological Association.—The Fiftieth Anniversary Meeting of the Association and the centennial of William James will be celebrated September 2-5, 1942. The headquarters of the Association will be at the Hotel Statler, Boston, and Harvard University.

American Youth Commission.—Paul T. David has resigned as associate director for research and chief economist of the American Youth Commission of the American Council on Education to accept a position as a chief statistical analyst in the Fiscal Division of the United States Bureau of the Budget. Dr. David was formerly secretary of the President's Advisory Committee on Education.

Conference for Teachers of the Social Sciences in Secondary Schools and Junior Colleges.—The Second Conference for Teachers of the Social Sciences in Secondary Schools and Junior Colleges will be held at the University of Chicago, June 30-July 2. The theme of the Conference is "Education, Democracy, and War: The Social Sciences and the Problem of Freedom and Restraint in War and Peace." Inquiries concerning the program should be addressed to Earl S. Johnson, Box 51, Social Science Building, University of Chicago.

Cornell University.—Cornell University will hold a summer workshop on Latin America, the Far East, and the British Commonwealth of Nations from June 29 to August 7. This workshop is designed primarily to develop instructional aids for high-school teachers. The workshop will

be under the directorship of Howard Anderson, professor of education at Cornell, who will be assisted by experts in the three fields of study.

Institute for Education by Radio.—The Thirteenth Annual Institute for Education by Radio met May 3-6 at Columbus, Ohio. The Institute, under the leadership of W. W. Charters, honorary director, I. Keith Tyler, director, and M. Margariete Ralls, secretary, annually brings together outstanding authorities and leaders in the field of education by radio. The sessions of the Institute were of considerable interest to sociologists. They included discussion of "Radio and Wartime Morale" and "Radio News Reports and Comments in Wartime." A number of work-study groups were held in addition to the general sessions.

Institute on the Exceptional Child.—The Eighth Institute on the Exceptional Child was held at the Woods Schools, Langhorne, Pennsylvania, on May 26. The Institute was devoted to the topic of "The Wartime Adjustment of the Exceptional Child." Lawrence K. Frank presided at the morning sessions of the meeting, and Ordway Tead was in charge of the afternoon meeting. Among the papers of special interest to sociologists was one by James H. S. Bossard on "The Impact of War on the Family."

Mid-west Sociological Society.—The Sixth Annual Meeting of the Mid-west Sociological Society was held in Des Moines, April 16-18. Carroll D. Clark, University of Kansas, presided at the dinner meeting at which addresses were given by Louis Wirth, University of Chicago, and Leonard S. Cottrell, Cornell University. The officers of the Society for the year 1942-43 are: James M. Reinhardt, University of Nebraska, president; Charles N. Burrows, Simpson College, first vice-president; George W. Hill, University of Wisconsin, second vice-president; and J. Howell Atwood, Knox College, secretary-treasurer. The following were elected members of the Executive Committee: Clarence W. Schroeder, Bradley Polytechnic Institute; L. E. Garwood, Coe College, Cedar Rapids, Iowa; M. Wesley Roper, Kansas State Teachers College, Emporia; E. T. Jacobson, Cokato, Minnesota; Ernest Manheim, University of Kansas City. Clyde W. Hart, of the State University of Iowa, was chosen to represent the Society on the Executive Committee of the American Sociological Society.

Mills College.—A six-week summer workshop on marriage and the family will be held at Mills College, June 29-August 8. The workshop, which

will be open to men and women, will be under the direction of Ray E. Baber.

National Conference of Social Work.—The annual meeting of the National Conference of Social Work was held at New Orleans, May 10-16. Charles E. Johnson, director of the department of social science at Fisk University, was among the sociologists who addressed general sessions of the Conference.

New England Conference on Tomorrow's Children.—The Third Annual Meeting of the New England Conference on Tomorrow's Children will be held at Harvard University in connection with the summer school, July 8-10.

Office of the Coordinator of Information.—Peter Klassen, formerly of the staff of Pennsylvania State College, has been appointed to the staff of the Coordinator of Information. Mr. Klassen spent last year in completing his work for the Doctor's degree at the University of Chicago.

Office of Facts and Figures.—Leonard S. Cottrell, Jr., chairman of the department of sociology at Cornell University, is now acting as a consultant to the Office of Facts and Figures.

Ohio Valley Sociological Society.—The annual spring meeting of the Ohio Valley Sociological Society was held at Ohio State University, April 24-25. The following officers were elected for the year 1942-43: G. W. Sarvis, Ohio Wesleyan University, president; W. T. Harris, University of West Virginia, vice-president; I. V. Shannon, Ohio University, secretary-treasurer; and F. E. Lumley, Ohio State University, editor.

Edwin H. Sutherland, Indiana University, retiring president of the society, gave his presidential address at the annual dinner. Warren S. Thompson, Scripps Foundation, delivered a paper at the same meeting.

Pacific Sociological Society.—The *Proceedings* of the Thirteenth Annual Meeting of the Pacific Sociological Society have been published as Volume X, Number 1, of the *Research Studies of the State College of Washington*. The *Proceedings* were edited by Paul H. Landis, of the State College of Washington. Copies of the *Proceedings* are on sale for \$1.00.

Planned Parenthood Federation of America.—The Board of Directors of the Birth Control Federation of America announces the change of its corporate name to the Planned Parenthood Federation of America.

Population Association of America.—The Tenth Annual Meeting of the Population Association of America was held at Atlantic City, May 1 and 2. The papers at this meeting covered a number of topics of interest to sociologists. One of the sessions was devoted to the discussion of "Problems of a Central Registration System in the United States." Lowell J. Reed, of Johns Hopkins University, presided as chairman, and the discussants included: Halbert L. Dunn, Bureau of the Census; I. S. Falk, Social Security Board; A. W. Hedrich, Maryland State Health Department; Richard O. Lang, War Department; Charles S. Newcomb, Immigration and Naturalization Service; Thomas Rhodes, Office of Price Administration; and Elbridge Sibley, Bureau of the Budget. The new officers of the Association are Lowell J. Reed, Johns Hopkins University, president; General Frederick Osborn, first vice-president; Dorothy S. Thomas, University of California, second vice-president; Halbert L. Dunn, Bureau of the Census, treasurer; and Philip M. Hauser, Bureau of the Census, secretary. The new members of the Board of Directors are: Carter Goodrich, Margaret J. Hagood, Preston James, and Elbridge Sibley. The Association voted to accept the invitation of the American Council of Learned Societies to become a constituent member. Lowell J. Reed and Frank H. Hankins were appointed delegates for terms expiring December 31, 1942, and December 31, 1944, respectively.

Society for Social Research.—The Twenty-first Annual Institute of the Society for Social Research will be held at the University of Chicago, August 14-15. The general topic of the Institute will be "The Impact of War on American Society." It is expected that this annual institute, like those in the past, will be widely attended. Inquiries in regard to the meetings should be addressed to Shirley Star, Program Chairman, Society for Social Research, Social Science Building, University of Chicago.

Southern Sociological Society.—The Seventh Annual Meeting of the Southern Sociological Society was held at Chattanooga, Tennessee. The following officers were elected for 1942-43: Katharine Jocher, University of North Carolina, president; Howard W. Beers, University of Kentucky, first vice-president; Arthur E. Fink, Federal Security Agency, Birmingham, Alabama, second vice-president; and Coyle E. Moore, Florida State College for Women, secretary-treasurer. W. L. Leap, American Red Cross, Richmond, Virginia, and Frank D. Alexander, National Resources Planning Board, Atlanta, Georgia, were selected as members of the Executive Committee.

Southwestern Sociological Society.—The annual meeting of the Southwestern Sociological Society was held at Dallas, April 3 and 4, in conjunction with the meetings of the Southwestern Social Science Association. Round-table discussion followed the presentation of the papers read at the meetings. The Society voted for affiliation with the American Sociological Society and elected its retiring president, William H. Sewell, to represent it on the National Executive Committee. J. K. Johnson, East Texas State Teachers' College, is the new president of the Society; T. G. Standing, Bureau of Agricultural Economics, vice-president; and Austin Van der Slice, University of Arkansas, secretary-treasurer.

United States Bureau of the Census.—Calvert L. Dedrick, of the Bureau, is serving as chief of the statistical branch of the Wartime Civil Control Administration in San Francisco.

American University of Beirut.—Stuart C. Dodd, professor of sociology at American University, has been serving as visiting professor of psychology at the University of New Mexico during the spring semester. Professor Dodd also lectured at the University of Minnesota. As yet it is unknown whether Professor Dodd will be able to return to the American University or whether he will be in the United States for the duration of the war.

University of Arizona.—Elzer D. Tetreau, professor of rural sociology, participated in the meeting of Section K of the American Association for the Advancement of Science at Dallas in December, 1941. His paper was entitled "Population Patterns and Trends in Arizona." Frederick A. Conrad, professor of sociology, gave a paper on changing trends in the growth of metropolitan communities at the December meeting of the Pacific Sociological Society. Recent publications of the department include a bulletin entitled "Volume and Characteristics of Migration to Arizona 1930-39." Varden Fuller and other members of the Division of Farm Population, Bureau of Agricultural Economics, participated in preparing this bulletin. Among the courses of special interest offered by the department are two in the College of Agriculture on "Rural Sociology" and "Agrarian Movements."

Columbia University.—Georges Gurvitch, former professor of sociology at the University of Strasbourg, has been appointed visiting lecturer in the department of philosophy, Columbia University. Dr. Gurvitch will teach philosophy and the sociology of law.

Grinnell College.—John H. Burma, formerly of the University of Nebraska, has been appointed head of the department of sociology in place of G. P. Wychoff, who has retired.

Indiana University.—Albert K. Cohen, teaching assistant in the department of sociology, is now in the classification division of the State School for Boys at Plainfield, Indiana. Raymond A. Mulligan, teaching assistant, has accepted a similar position in the state prison at Michigan City. John Russell, formerly a graduate student in the department of sociology, has been transferred to the state reformatory at Pendleton, where he is to be classification supervisor.

University of Kansas City.—Clarence Senior, formerly director of the Inter-American Institute of the University of Kansas City, is now with the Board of Economic Warfare in Washington, D.C. Mr. Senior is in charge of analysis of economic policies affecting Mexico and Guatemala.

Ernest Manheim has been promoted to the rank of associate professor.

Mrs. Marguerita Hersberg has been added to the staff as research assistant.

Kent State University.—Robert Harper has been appointed instructor in sociology.

University of Michigan.—Theodore C. Newcomb, now on leave from the university, is acting as a consultant in social psychology in the Foreign Broadcast Monitoring Division of the Federal Communications Commission.

University of Omaha.—Ira Jones, who is completing his work for his doctorate, has been appointed extension instructor in sociology.

Purdue University.—Theodore K. Noss has resigned his position as instructor of sociology to accept a commission in the United States Navy.

Smith College.—Ruth Inglis, who is completing her work for the Ph.D. degree at Bryn Mawr, has accepted an appointment as instructor in sociology. She replaces Dorothy Fosdick, who is transferring to the department of government. Neal B. DeNood, assistant professor, will give courses in the School of Social Work during the summer. Frank H. Hankins will be on sabbatical leave during the first semester of the coming year.

University of Toledo.—Charles Bushnell, of the department of sociology, has been appointed to the Board of Editors of the *Dictionary of Sociology*, which is being published with H. P. Fairchild, of New York University, as editor-in-chief. Professor Bushnell, as director of the university program in this field, is also preparing material for the University of Toledo bulletin on *Program of Public Service Training Offered by the Social Studies*.

University of Washington.—Jesse F. Steiner will be at Stanford University for the summer session and will teach courses in "Human Ecology" and the "Rural Community." Calvin F. Schmid is now on leave of absence from the university and is serving as principal research analyst with the Wartime Civil Control Administration in San Francisco. David Carpenter, associate in the department, is now serving as associate statistician with the Wartime Civil Control Administration. Cheng Cheng-k'un has been appointed an associate in the department and will have charge of the introductory course during the year 1942-43.

Wayne University.—Alfred McClung Lee has been appointed professor and chairman of the department of sociology effective the fall term, 1942. Dr. Lee, who is executive director of the Institute for Propaganda Analysis, has been a member of the New York University faculty since 1938 and before that time was at the University of Kansas and at Yale University.

PERSONAL

Bronislaw K. Malinowski, eminent anthropologist, died suddenly on May 16 at the age of fifty-eight. At the time of his death, Dr. Malinowski was visiting professor of anthropology at Yale University. He was one of the outstanding exponents of the "functional" school in anthropology.

Dr. Ernest R. Groves, president last year of the National Conference on Family Relations and director of the Conference on the Conservation of Marriage and the Family, received the degree of Litt.D. at the convocation of the Florida Southern College on May 7. The confirming of the degree came at the close of a series of lectures entitled "The Family's Contribution to Christianity."

BOOK REVIEWS

Jews in a Gentile World: The Problem of Anti-Semitism. Edited by ISAQUE GRAEBER and STEUART HENDERSON BRITT. New York: Macmillan Co., 1942. Pp. x+436. \$4.00.

This book, composed of eighteen articles written by eighteen different authors prominent in their respective fields, may be considered a kind of encyclopaedia on the Jewish question, with the emphasis laid upon the present age. After an introduction (not very fortunate) by Carl J. Friedrich, the following main aspects of the problem are considered: "The Problem of the Race," by Carleton St. Coon and M. Jacobs; "The History and Sociology of Antisemitism," by J. O. Hertzler and Talcott Parsons; "The Psychology of Antisemitism," by J. F. Brown and Ellis Freeman; "The American Scene," by Leonard Bloom, Samuel Koenig, "Anonymous," and Jessie Bernard; "The Rhythm of the Two Worlds," by Everett V. Stonequist, Carl Mayer, and Joseph W. Cohen; "The Mirage of the Economic Jew," by Miriam Beard and Jacob Lestchinsky; and "The Perspective of the Future," by Raymond Kennedy.

Undoubtedly, all the authors strive hard to maintain an objective attitude toward this explosive theme. However, in approaching complex social phenomena of this kind it is not enough to maintain a factual attitude and to avoid an explicit bias. What matters more and is more decisive is the ability to perceive the facts in their true perspective, thus eliminating the danger of all those misleading questions which inevitably arise out of a distorted perspective. If, therefore, we apply this highest criterion of objectivity, which consists in viewing the phenomena in an adequate perspective, then, if I am not mistaken, only one author deserves to be praised without any proviso for having achieved this highest standard—not only by having approached the whole problem in the true perspective but also by having made this perspective entirely explicit. It is a characteristic symptom of our confused age that the only author who deserves to be praised without reserve is also the only one who has considered it necessary to sign his contribution as "Anonymous."

The plain fact is that there is far less "mystery" in the relationships between the Gentiles and the Jews, and thus in the phenomenon of anti-Semitism, than many authors are inclined to believe—provided that we

do not approach the facts in question with utopian concepts in our mind about social reality and if our approach is not vitiated by a distorted perspective. Anti-Semitism is a prejudice, a myth? Certainly. But almost the whole of social life is based upon or, at least, permeated by prejudices and myths of every description. The trouble is that we tend to perceive and be irritated only by those prejudices and myths which hurt our emotions, interests, or habits of thinking. Otherwise, we either ignore them altogether or confirm by our attitude toward their consequences the truth of the saying by La Rochefoucauld, according to which "we all are very brave in enduring the suffering of the others." The (anti-Semitic) Gentile has a distorted, stereotyped image of the Jew in his mind, which does not correspond to the reality? Certainly. But so have the Russians about the Germans, the Germans about the English, the English about the Americans, the Protestants about the Catholics, the Christians about the Mohammedans—not to forget the Jews about the Gentiles and different groups of Jews about one another (the German Jews about the Polish Jews, the Polish Jews about the Lithuanian Jews, etc.). The anti-Semitic prejudice leads to cruel consequences, to pogroms and persecutions? Without any doubt. But the same applies to all other collective prejudices which different national or religious groups have about each other; only that, in the latter case, the reciprocal pogroms and persecutions have a different name—they are called wars. The Jews are unable to see themselves as they are seen by others, or, as they "really are," respectively? Certainly. But the same applies to the Germans, the Frenchmen, the Americans. Many anti-Semitic Gentiles have never seen a Jew face to face and thus dislike or hate something which they do not know? But this, too, applies to many members of different groups which hate and fight each other.

Many things, therefore—not everything—in the relations between the Gentiles and the Jews are by no means "peculiar" and do not require any specific explanation. What appears to be strange and specific is largely due to two basic factors: (a) The Jews, being an intensely ethnocentric group and not being aware of their own ethnocentrism, do not live in a territory of their own where they could indulge at will in their own mythology without irritating other people; they live among other groups possessed by their own, no less intense, ethnocentrism. And (b) the fact, emphasized by Professor Hertzler in his excellent article "The Sociology of Anti-Semitism through History" (pp. 62-100), that the Jew "is a widely dispersed, alien minority. The antipathy to him can be expressed in an emotional *lingua franca* of great extent. There are many people in many lands with whom it strikes a chord of response if not complete accord."

"Anonymous" formulates the whole issue in the following way:

Because it is natural and normal for cultures to be perfectly unconscious of themselves in order to function smoothly, the presence within their midst of a different and strange culture is irritating and arouses inner conflict. It is a constant challenge. . . . Most cultures, therefore, tend to set up protective barriers against too violent assault from outside in the form of antipathies, taboos, and prejudices of various sorts. These do not, of course, prevent cultural infiltrations and cross-fertilization, but they serve to temper and moderate them [p. 247]. . . . Actually, from a nonmilitary point of view, every culture is the natural enemy of every other in the sense that the wholesale acceptance by one culture of the alien traits of another, instead of allowing them to filter through its own medium, will tend to shatter its integrity. Each must, therefore, protect itself [p. 228]. . . . Normally, each culture is at home upon its land, strongly identified with it. The fact of a certain degree of local or spatial isolation makes possible the operation of the protective devices against too disintegrating contacts with outside cultures. The very knowledge that there exist in the world cultures different from our own tends in itself to be slightly disintegrating because it forces us to become vaguely conscious of the relativity of our own. Our naïve reaction is hatred toward those foreign cultures which disturb our assurance in the ultimate correctness of our own. If we feel our own culture threatened in any way, if we feel another group's success is going to mean that our culture will suffer, this hatred may become very intense. In 1914 it led to war. We were willing to destroy half the world's wealth to prevent, as we thought, a strange culture from wiping out our own. And war, though horrible, destructive, and basically indecisive, is at least for the time being a satisfying outlet for the inner conflict which the threat to one's culture produces. When cultures are fixed upon the soil they may hate one another; but if worst comes to the worst, they may fight and get some of their blocking straightened out, for the moment at any rate. . . . In the case of the Jews, however, the situation is different. They remain, in spite of themselves, a culture-within-a-culture no matter where they are. The normal reaction of their cultural hosts, since all cultures strain after consistency, is revulsion. If Jewish culture were identified with a particular land, this cultural irritation—supposing Jewish influence on other cultures to remain as great as at present—might conceivably lead to war. But the cultural host feels frustrated, baffled at this culture-within-a-culture, with no local habitation. To the host culture the Jewish culture seems like a parasitical growth interfering with its own normal functioning. Historically the reaction to the anomalous situation has taken the familiar forms of expulsion, pogroms, restriction, and violence of various sorts—domestic equivalents of war. . . . To the Jews themselves, unconscious of their cultural strangeness or the cultural peculiarities of their personalities, these reactions have seemed bitterly unjust persecutions of their religion or their race or their economic success [pp. 249 and 250].

This all does not mean that there are no specific problems at all in the

field of the relations between the Gentiles and the Jews and that they do not require any specific explanation. It means, however, that the more specific problems can be explained only after having taken into account those general features of the whole situation, presented so clearly by "Anonymous." As far as the more specific questions are concerned, many penetrating remarks may be found in the articles by Hertzler, J. F. Brown, Jessie Bernard, Carl Mayer, and Miriam Beard. They refer especially to such facts as these: the dualism of Jewish interests (Hertzler); the biculturalism of the Jews (Jessie Bernard in an excellent article dealing with the more intimate features of the Jewish situation); the strange and uncanny impression of the Jews because they are incapable of being classified—anti-Semitism as a kind of "fear of spectres" (C. Mayer); the Jews as a symbol of the sinister, invisible financial power (M. Beard).

One serves neither the cause of truth nor the cause of the Jews by not seeing the Jewish problem in the true perspective and in fighting the myths of anti-Semitism by inventing equally mythological theories about anti-Semitism. The fact that the Jews themselves do not understand the most obvious causes of anti-Semitism does not ease the difficult situation in which they are placed but rather aggravates and complicates it still more. And here again "Anonymous," in seeing the whole issue in the true perspective, is also the only one who is able to suggest a realistic therapy.

Concretely the first step in such a program for the Jew would be an earnest attempt to carry out Socrates' injunction—Know thyself. In violation of the normal tendency to judge everything from the point of view of one's own culture, the Jew would have to learn to judge himself from the point of view of the host culture. Instead of raising the automatic defenses which prevent him from accepting even the friendliest of criticism, the Jew would have to make a conscious effort to understand and interpret this criticism. This is how Jews look to non-Jews. Even the subtlest propaganda will not change this picture unless they themselves actually change too. Therefore they must learn wherein their picture of themselves differs from other's picture of them. They can do this only if they accept sympathetically, without fighting back, the criticism offered. If they refuse to listen to well-intentioned criticisms, they will have to hear malicious and malevolent ones. When they have learned to accept sincere and honest criticism without feeling personally injured, without resentment, without attempting to justify or exonerate themselves, without accusations of anti-Semitism, without vindictive retaliation and vituperation—when they have learned this, they will have taken the first great step in tailoring their culture to fit that of their host [p. 261].

GUSTAV ICHHEISER

Chicago

What Is Democracy? By CHARLES E. MERRIAM. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1941. Pp. xi+115. \$1.00.

This is a first-class job of popular education, full of robust common sense and eminently readable—an admirable “tract for the times.” The author deals in turn with what democracy is, what it is not, its relationship to equality and liberty, and how to make it work. He restates the classic democratic faith, but emphatically in the context of the modern world.

At the outset he insists that democracy can never be finally destroyed: “The common good in the long run will be determined by the community.” Even the dictators dare not abolish the vote and must profess to be acting in the name of “true” democracy.

Democracy rests on the basic assumptions that all men must be treated as persons; that all have latent possibilities capable of continuous development; that the gains of civilization belong to the whole people; that the consent of the governed is the foundation of order, liberty, and justice; and that political decisions should be arrived at by “rational processes, by common counsel,” with, normally, “tolerance and freedom of discussion.” Democracy is not bound up with any particular area, race, culture, or economic system, though of course all these have their bearing upon it. It is essentially flexible and adaptable. That is why, in the long run, democracy alone is compatible with the demands of a swiftly moving technological civilization.

Mr. Merriam analyzes acutely the confusions of thought involved in the familiar criticisms of democracy: that it is indecisive and inefficient; that it lacks power. He is impatient of the suggestion that it is responsible for the “decadence of modern youth.” There is no decadence; and, he reminds us, “the older generation grows old, but the throngs that sweep on are eternally young. This is today, not yesterday, and it is becoming tomorrow.”

Democracy involves equality: equality before the law, equal rights to vote and hold office, equal legal freedom to choose one’s calling, and some approach toward economic equality. “Aristocracy” is simply not within the bounds of practical politics; and, whatever excuse for inequality there may have been in the past, the economy of abundance has destroyed it. Democracy involves liberty, a series of liberties, individual and group, all “in the complex, whirling social equilibrium.” There is always a “struggle for priorities in liberty,” and the state has to “prevent an anarchy of liberties.” Civil and political liberty we have largely achieved. Modern democracy is especially concerned with the struggle for economic liberty:

the right to a job, to economic security, to a fair share in the gains of civilization, and with the harmonizing of liberty and equality. This involves planning. It also involves giving our democratic government "enough power to go through the motions that are necessary to save the life of the democracy"; the alternative is "suicide."

Mr. Merriam concludes with a short but trenchant discussion of democracy, particularly American democracy, and international affairs. "Isolation is not a national policy; it is a declaration of bankruptcy, leading to national suicide . . . the kiss of death." American democracy must defend itself and must take its part in building and preserving a democratic world.

A brief review can indicate the author's conclusions; it necessarily fails to do justice to the insight and penetration of the arguments by which they are supported. For that, the reader must turn to the work itself. He will not go unrewarded.

EUGENE FORSEY

Cambridge, Massachusetts

English Political Pluralism. By HENRY MEYER MAGID. New York: Columbia University Press, 1941. Pp. 100. \$1.25.

This is a careful, scholarly analysis of the political ideas of Figgis, Cole, and Laski and an attempt to work out, on the basis of that analysis, a more positive solution of the problems with which they have dealt. The argument is too detailed and closely knit to be adequately summarized within the limits of this review; but certain indications of its general trend can be given.

Mr. Magid starts from the assumption (questionable) that the increasing power of the state means that "familiar liberties are being threatened." Pluralism may be viewed as "an attempt to analyze the problem of freedom in the light of modern world conditions . . . and . . . to define and organize the plurality of powers and pressure groups . . . in society."

Figgis failed in his attempt because there were two irreconcilable strains in his thought: the idea of the *communitas communitatum* and "an ascending hierarchy of groups," which is not really pluralistic at all; and the doctrine of "the real personality and freedom of groups." The practical problem of a "free church in a free state" is "insoluble" on the basis of Figgis' distinction between the internal and external aspects of the church's life. But, Mr. Magid thinks, Figgis "by his very failure . . . succeeded in making clear just what the problem of the modern state is. The

demand for absolute freedom is as indefensible as the demand for absolute sovereignty."

In his discussion of Cole, however, Mr. Magid admits that all the pluralists recognized that absolute freedom was impossible; that what they were concerned with was "freedom from some central irresponsible body." Cole insisted that "if one man represents you for all your interests, some of his views may not coincide with yours, and on these points you will not be . . . free." Hence, he would "limit each body in society to one function and . . . make them all responsible to the bodies or individuals which they represent." Like all the pluralists, Cole made his analysis in social, rather than in purely political, terms. Figgis brought in the churches, Cole brings in the economic groups. But "What does become a mystery . . . is the nature of the political." For Cole, the answer seems to be "the regulation of matters of purely personal relationships."

Like all other critics of Laski, Mr. Magid notes the very marked "shifts of emphasis" in his thought from his earlier works to his later. He finds the explanation in Laski's membership in the British Labour party and in "changes in the current political situation." Laski's earlier theory is concisely summed up as: "Power becomes authoritative when it recognizes its two limitations: (1) It must act in accordance with the state-purpose. (2) It must recognize rights. . . . The violation of the second is *prima facie* evidence of the violation of the first. It is the individual who judges." What happened to this theory in "The State in Theory and Practice"? It did not simply disappear. Mr. Magid thinks Laski had found that the essence of the state was force—force in the hands of the economically powerful—and that

this class becomes the enemy of government by consent because it controls the government in its own interest. Laski shifts from the view that history shows that no group can be sovereign . . . to the view that one group is as a matter of fact effectively sovereign. . . . The insistence on the real personality and ultimate significance of other groups becomes of importance only for the more distant future. The immediate need is for the overthrow of the small controlling group by some . . . more inclusive group . . . the workers.

The ultimate aim is the same; but the basic premise, the moral autonomy of the individual, has given way to the subordination of the individual to the class and to the "inevitability of the class struggle."

This may be true; but, on the other hand, it is at least possible (though the question is too large to be argued here) to work out a reconciliation of Laski's earlier and later views on the basis that his earlier work was in the main a negative, agnostic criticism of classical theory and that more re-

cently he has been working out a positive complement. The still more recent shift "back toward parliamentarism," which Mr. Magid detects, some readers may question.

In his concluding chapter Mr. Magid undertakes a criticism of traditional theory more fundamental than the pluralists'. He rejects successively the notions of a common good, a general will, the social contract, the essence of the state as the power to coerce, and the "Balfour doctrine" that the state rests on our being "fundamentally at one." He concludes that "our other interests keep our tendency to go to extremes for any one interest in check. . . . It is in the multiplicity of interrelated interests and the plurality of overlapping groups that the unity of a peaceful democratic community is found." He proceeds to develop this in relation to the functions of government and of political parties, which last he considers crucial. The chapter as a whole is a fitting climax to a fruitful, stimulating, and often provocative book.

EUGENE FORSEY

Cambridge, Massachusetts

John Locke and the Doctrine of Majority-Rule. By WILLMOORE KENDALL. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1941. Pp. 141. Cloth, \$2.00; paper, \$1.50.

This is a highly important, perhaps a revolutionary, book. Mr. Kendall started out with the usual ideas about what Locke said. Careful examination of the text has convinced him that the usual ideas are wrong; that Locke meant something very different, often the very opposite of what we have been led to suppose; and (though this he does not state in so many words) that a good many of the commentators have been content to repeat one another's mistakes. The evidence presented is impressive. Only a further study as detailed and careful as Mr. Kendall's own could possibly challenge his conclusion. What no one can challenge is the admirable scholarship, the profound learning, the meticulous respect for the text, which the author has shown. Even if subsequent investigation and discussion should lead to some modification of the conclusions, the book is bound to remain a landmark in the study of Locke's political philosophy.

Only one very minor criticism suggests itself: a regret that Mr. Kendall should have set what are perhaps unnecessary hurdles in his readers' way and narrowed his public, by his use of such words as "indagatory," "propugned," "implicate" (adjective), "debarrass," and "politicist," and his

frequent (and often elaborate) quotations in French, German, and Italian. It is very flattering to have it assumed that one is equally at home in four languages; but there are surely readers who could profit greatly by this book of whom that assumption is certainly not true. Fortunately, most of the quotations are in the introductory chapters, or in footnotes, so that even those who are not so accomplished linguists as Mr. Kendall will have no trouble following his main argument.

Mr. Kendall begins with an analysis of what the doctrine of majority-rule means: a highly necessary and fruitful piece of work. He then discusses the foreshadowings of the doctrine of majority-rule before Locke, explains why he has chosen to discuss Locke's views on the subject, and asks that his very unorthodox conclusions be judged not according to fixed preconceptions but on the basis of the evidence.

After these preliminaries, he proceeds to the main body of his work: the analysis of Locke's opinions on the doctrine of majority-rule. Successive chapters are devoted to "The Prince of Individualists," "The Doctrine of Inalienable Rights," "The Law of Nature," "Popular Sovereignty," "The Right of the Majority," "Political Equality," and "The Problem of Popular Consultation," followed by an examination of "The Latent Premise." Mr. Kendall does more than simply analyze; he criticizes acutely. He does not try to explain away apparent inconsistencies; he does not play the clairvoyant who knows what Locke meant in spite of what he said; he does not try to ram Locke into a pigeonhole of his own construction, at the cost of a series of amputations. He takes the text as he finds it, and as a whole. And he concludes that Locke was *not* "the prince of individualists," that he did *not* believe in "inalienable natural rights," and that he was in fact the forthright and uncompromising champion of "popular sovereignty" and "the right of the majority." The greatest weakness in Locke's theory, he considers, is its failure to deal adequately with the question of "popular consultation." Locke's "latent premise" he finds in a belief that, though moral standards are not relative (and hence the opinion of the majority does not *make* right), the majority can, on the whole, and in the long run, be relied on to arrive at a right conclusion and "impose a *right* will."

Mr. Kendall promises us a number of further monographs on the question of majority-rule. If they maintain the high standard of this one, they will constitute a major contribution to the history of democratic political theory.

EUGENE FORSEY

Cambridge, Massachusetts

Strategy for Democracy. By J. DONALD KINGSLEY and DAVID W. PETEGORSKY. With chapters by PIERRE COT, MAX WERNER, ALBERT GUÉRARD, OSCAR I. JANOWSKY, MORDECAI EZEKIEL. New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1942. Pp. ix+342. \$3.00.

On a circular advertising this book the publishers point out that the average age of the two main authors, who are responsible for about four-fifths of the book, is under thirty. At an average age under twenty the authors, teachers at Antioch College and pupils of Harold Laski, would have a better alibi. It certainly takes youthful naïveté to propagandize the Rosa Luxembourg-Lenin type of imperialism theory under such labels as "democracy" and to write almost three hundred pages of verbose prophesying without offering as much as an attempt to analyze the underlying industrial, social, and political problems. Nor are the authors aware of the source of this ideology, which proposes to substitute "production for want" in the place of "production for profit"—bolshevism in the place of capitalism—and to abolish "privilege and inequality" at home, so that there should be "no inner compulsion . . . to engage in a feverish search for markets abroad," etc.

As to practical application, the authors rely on the contribution of Dr. M. Ezekiel (Department of Agriculture), included in the present volume. The planned economy proposed by Ezekiel (pp. 148-68) is a curious mixture of capitalistic incentives, inflationary measures, and socialistic credos. He suggests modification of taxes "so as to increase the funds available to consumers for expenditure" and "so as to encourage or stimulate investment." Who then is going to pay taxes at all, or out of what income, if neither the income for consumption nor the income for investment should be burdened? Dr. Ezekiel's answer is apparently that the government will raise the necessary funds by three methods: direct issue of obligations without interest, selling bonds to the banks on the Irving Fisher plan of "100 per cent money," and "direct issue of fiat money." Needless to go into further details of such a wild inflation program—which are meager anyway.

The best parts of the book are a few additional articles. Pierre Cot, known for his failure as minister of aviation in the defunct French Republic, argues for an international organization of the superstate kind, a request heartily embraced by the chief authors of the book. The problem of nationalities and minorities is discussed in two short contributions by Albert Guérard and Oscar I. Janowsky. The latter's article, especially, is an excellent factual analysis, free of the wishful thinking characteristic of the book as a whole.

MELCHIOR PALYI

Chicago and Madison

Color, Class, and Personality. By ROBERT L. SUTHERLAND. Washington, D.C.: American Council on Education, 1942. Pp. xxiii+135. Cloth, \$1.25; paper, \$0.75.

The research centering on the personality of Negro youth, in the American Youth Commission series, is here discussed and summarized. The studies were carried on by competent and experienced research men, and their contributions were enriched by the advice and suggestions of a larger number of experts. The results are therefore fairly representative of modern sociological knowledge of Negro-white relations.

The most sound and original of the contributions are to be found in the details of some of the research volumes. It is not to be expected that the summary and conclusions would be particularly original, in view of the large amount of fundamental research already available on this subject. The summary statements, however, contain so many qualifications, ambiguities, and apparent contradictions that it seems doubtful that the knowledge is yet sufficiently advanced to justify a full set of recommendations to remedy the problems.

The recommendations do not appear to have a very close relation to the research and in fact do not have a sociological ring. Although one of the conclusions is that nothing can be done to help the Negro child without a very general economic, political, and educational reform, the recommendations are mostly for such devices as discussion groups, demonstrations of interest and solidarity, gestures by community leaders, conferences, institutes, seminars, special schools and special courses, pamphlets, motion pictures, and other propaganda devices. It is hard to believe that the necessary fundamental change could result from such measures. It may even be that some of the proposals could do more damage than benefit to interracial harmony.

The assignment given to this group was not one that could be expected to lead to neat conclusions. Research in the Negro personality, apart from research in personality in general, constitutes an artificial separation, as does research in youth problems and Negro youth problems. The studies make it very clear that Negroes have all sorts of personalities and that Negro youth and other youth have various kinds of problems which are intertwined with many forms of social pathology. Some of the aspects of the "Negro problem" apparently are not race problems at all, but problems of social classes, of low-income groups, of slum dwellers. The general science of personality will tell us much more than specially aimed studies of Negro youth personality. General research in race relations will provide a sounder basis for recommendations. Such knowledge accumulates gradually

as does all science. It is an unreasonable expectation if the American Youth Commission conceived that we could reach our goals so swiftly.

The research done in the course of this project takes its place in the fund of organized knowledge and does its part to advance science. The conclusions and recommendations could not be other than premature in the present state of sociology.

ROBERT E. L. FARIS

Bryn Mawr College

Life, Liberty, and Property. By ALFRED WINSLOW JONES. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Co., 1941. Pp. 397. \$3.50.

The appearance of a young sociologist of unusual power is indicated by this book. Jones has found a significant question and has attacked it with the best of modern skills. The question concerns the attitudes of a series of different groups in Akron, Ohio, on the "rights of corporate property."

The technique is simple and novel. Jones presented a series of eight "cases" to the individuals interviewed. The following, which was No. V in his list, will serve as a sample:

In 1937 there was a sitdown strike against the Fansteel Metallurgical Corporation, in North Chicago. After warning the workers who had occupied the plant, and ordering them to leave, police and deputies threw tear-gas bombs into the building. This succeeded in dislodging the strikers. Tear-gas, as you know, is unpleasant, but not fatal in its effects.

What do you think of the action of the local authorities, such as the chief of police, in ordering that tear-gas be used?

The response of each individual interviewed was then rated on a 0-4 scale, where a rating of 4 indicated greatest favor to property rights and a rating of 0 indicated least favor. The least favorable score for the eight questions would then be 0 and the highest, 32. It will be noted that the rating was done by the researcher and not by the person who uttered the sentences on which the rating was based.

Quite consistent scores were found for different groups in the population. Industrial executives and business leaders scored high. Workers, and especially organized workers, showed the consistently low scores. The scores of the "middle groups" in the population were scattered throughout the range with some tendency to group in the middle. Plotted, the data fall into the form of a rough W with cusps at the two ends and in the middle. The possibilities of social change inherent in this distribution of opinion is discriminately discussed by the author. Jones did not find in his sample (of 1,700) any convincing evidence for a trend toward political

dominance by labor. He found in Akron that extremism of the left seemed considerably weaker than the "compulsive morality" of the middle.

Jones is an excellent example of a sociologist who has fought off the tendency to use only such statistics as are already provided by the United States census. He has imaginatively created his data by the use of significant hypotheses. The result is an active rather than a merely passive use of quantitative methods. It is possible—though I am not at all sure—that the work could have been slightly improved by using social class groups, rather than occupational groups, as his units for sampling. Those who follow Mr. Jones in this kind of enterprise—and many will—should cast a thought in this direction.

JOHN DOLLARD

Yale University

German Psychological Warfare. Edited by LADISLAUS FARAGO. Summary by KIMBALL YOUNG. New York: Committee for National Morale, 1941. Pp. 133. \$2.50.

If nothing were known about methods of sociological analysis, developments in Germany since 1918 would call for their invention. Moreover, a systematic inquiry into such problems as the abrupt shift in orientation patterns, the clash between institutional and factional norms of conduct, the superimposition on rational capitalistic organization of a chiliastic myth in Germany today seem indispensable for the purpose of effectively combating totalitarianism. The book on German psychological warfare can be regarded as a first attempt at gaining a broader understanding of a complex and most menacing issue, or at least of some of its aspects.

Psychology of warfare is a field difficult of delimitation. The book offers both more and less than the title would seem to indicate. It is not confined to an analysis of the "offensive" psychology of propaganda, or even of the general psychological categories applicable to the conduct of "total war." Instead, it endeavors to give a condensed description of the development of German militarism since 1918, with emphasis on its inner organization and on the utilization for such ends of psychology. The wide range of the investigation, what with all the social implications of militarism and totalitarianism, not to mention their psychology, renders impossible the finding of any principle of classification that would make the disparate units into elements of an intelligible process. It must be admitted that the editors do not claim to offer such a framework. Their survey is based on abstractions from several hundred German titles comprised in an annexed bibliography. This device is a dubious one. Apart

from the fact that most of the appraisals given of books and articles abound in judgments of value, it ought to be clear that a broad socio-psychological configuration cannot and will not result from the mere compilation of bibliographical items.

Small wonder, then, that Kimball Young's summary, designed to point out what can be learned from the survey, remains rather vague and academic. Though defending American morale, it does not teach American propagandists, military tacticians, and statesmen just how to deal with German psychological warfare. As for the simple student of society, he who would like to know more about the baffling process of mass identification with a scoundrel disguised as a savior or about the readiness on the part of millions of class-conscious workmen to fight against Russia or about the psychology of middle-class people afraid of proletarianization or about the sacrifice of life as a means to gain industrial profits. I am certain he would deplore not finding any allusion to such vital phenomena either in Professor Young's summary or in the entire book.

In spite of such shortcomings, and of an apparent tendency on the part of the editors to term "mystical" psychological patterns and methods unfamiliar to them, the outline should be widely read. Its main merit lies in the careful collection of bibliographical references, two hundred of which are annotated. The following authors and works seem to deserve being included in the next edition: Hans Blueher, Moeller van den Bruck, Carl Schmitt, Kurt Hielscher, Hans Freyer, on the general aspect of German totalitarianism; Wilhelm Hische, W. Nieuwenhuysen, and Alfred Krueger, on the *Arbeitsdienst* (labor service) organization, which is barely mentioned; Julius Ruhl and Anton Sassmann, whose book on *Die deutsche Reichswehr* is quite important; the various regulations for infantry and the other weapons; the *Schulungsbrieife* of the National Socialist party and the periodicals of its suborganizations. Also, it might be desirable to refer to some outstanding works on the subject by anti-Fascist authors, e.g., Wilhelm Reich's *Massenpsychologie des Faschismus* or Erich Fromm's *Escape from Freedom*. May I remark to the translator, that "*erziehlich*" is not educable, but educative; "*Quellenkunde*" not sources of information, but the knowledge and analysis of such sources; and, finally, "*Gemeinschaftserlebnis*," the key word of national socialism, borrowed from the former youth movement, is not just the plainly rational community of experience, but experience of community, bearing an irrational connotation and with a vengeance.

ERICH FRANZEN

Miami University

Foundations for a Science of Personality. By ANDRAS ANGYAL. New York: Commonwealth Fund, 1941. Pp. xi+383. \$2.25.

According to the author, psychology, human physiology, and sociology "deal with artificially separated single aspects of the human organism," and, since knowledge of the existing segmental studies "cannot result in a science of the total person," he is therefore proposing a "holistic approach" to such a science. By "holism," which the author borrowed from F. C. Smuts, *Holism and Evolution*, he means "totality" or "Gestalt." The Aristotelian conception of the "holistic approach" made inroads into the biological sciences, especially in some outstanding organismic theories, in the psychobiology of Adolph Meyer, in Gestalt psychology, in the personalisms of William Stern, and in the theory of emergent evolution and the sociological system of Spann.

Briefly, the author's holistic theory implies: the organism is a dynamic organization, a process. The "life process" takes place between the organism and the environment and is the resultant of two forces: "the autonomous determination of the organism and the heteronomous influences of the environment." The dynamic character of this process is expressed symbolically by the ratio $(a/h)_1 \leftrightarrow (a/h)_2$, signifying that "the organism tends to go from a state of lesser autonomy to a state of greater autonomy." In this tendency toward greater autonomy, which is "closely related to the concept of 'aggression,'" the person tends also toward "homonomy," in that he becomes part of a meaningful social order. These two trends are manifested in "specific expressions." In the trend toward autonomy are included: the drive for action, for superiority, for acquisition and possession, for exploration, and for integrity. In the trend toward homonomy are: social participation, desire for social status, wish to be noticed and yet to conform, and certain forms of emotional attachment to the environment. Subsidiary tendencies are: wish for security, wish for orientation, and a tendency toward integration. In his analysis of personality integration, the author introduces what he terms "the basic category of a holistic logic, the concept of system," which he defines as certain types of order determined by unifying principles. Thus the total personality organization is described as a hierarchy of systems. In the light of these concepts the author interprets the stimulus-response pattern, the problem of conditioning, and pathological disturbances of integration. He considers also the "person's evolution in the time dimension" according to Gestalt principles. He regards the life-history "as a temporally extended whole which follows laws that are characteristic of wholes in general, such as the laws of *Pregnanz*, the law of *Closure*, and

the succession of stages of differentiation." Dr. Angyal attempts a unification of the data of personality studies and suggests problems for empirical research.

The critical observations of the reviewer are not intended to detract from the significance of Dr. Angyal's valuable contribution. The author fails to demonstrate how the organism acquires the capacity of self-consciousness, reflective thinking, abstract reasoning, purposive behavior, and how to bridge the gap between impulse and rationality. For instance, when he speaks of the factors contained in emotion as "proprioception of neuromuscular and neurovegetative processes" and when he points to the specific components of emotion as "the feeling tones of pleasantness and unpleasantness," he does not show how these feeling tones are related to what he terms the "aspect of value." There is a distinct gap between the processes of autonomy and homonomy of the organism, which appears to stem from an incomplete treatment of the problems of meaning and of language development. While the author neglected wide areas of knowledge in the fields of sociology and social psychology, his book contains highly useful notions for the study of personality.

SAMUEL M. STRONG

University of Minnesota

Fundamentals of Social Psychology. By EMORY S. BOGARDUS. 3d ed. New York and London: D. Appleton-Century Co., 1941. Pp. xii+538. \$3.50.

This second revision of Bogardus' popular book, the only American textbook in the field of social psychology to go into so many editions, involves no major changes from the previous version, published in 1931. The main parts have been given new titles, as have several of the chapters. One chapter has been given a new focus and moved from the fourth to the third part. A list of books called "A Social Psychology Library" has been appended for the use of teachers and students. Some of the chapters have been very well brought up to date, while others have remained almost unchanged. One good example of the first sort is the chapter on fashion and fad, which extends to 1941 the earlier reports on fad behavior in the United States. Another is the final chapter on recent changes in the field. Several of the newer textbooks are commented on and experimental studies receive some attention. However, there is no reference to the recent sociometric contributions or to the field theoretical approach. Bibliographical lists at ends of chapters have been thoroughly revised.

The first edition of this book was published in the same year as F. H. Allport's *Social Psychology*, 1924. Its continued success speaks well for its ability to meet the needs of a large number of courses in sociology departments. One of the reasons is its emphasis on the social situation and on a psychological analysis of the chief forms and processes of interstimulation and interresponse. Another is that Bogardus uses a true sociological approach to social psychology, marked by giving precedence to the social group. This approach, together with his frank, but not extreme, employment of introspective analysis, also puts him in the excellent company of Cooley, Mead, Dewey, Thomas, and Faris.

MAPHEUS SMITH

University of Kansas

Introduction to Social Psychology. By MAURICE H. KROUT. New York: Harper & Bros., 1942. Pp. xv+823. \$4.00.

It is not clear why this volume is called an introduction to social psychology. In the first four chapters, under the headings of "Environment," "Heredity," "The Organism," and "The Group," the author draws mainly from a remarkably wide area of experimental studies in general psychology but provides no framework for orienting the student to the subject matter of social psychology. Thus his treatment of the "group" deals largely with a review of the psychological studies of the relation of I.Q. to "similar" and "different social environments," as well as a discussion of the controversies over this problem. But he devotes only the remaining sixteen pages of this chapter to a presentation of different theories of the group by merely touching on the viewpoints of Cooley, Park and Burgess, Chapin, LeBon, McDougall, F. H. Allport, C. M. Child, Dewey, Durkheim, Gestalt, and Wheeler's eight organismic laws, Lewin and the "topological studies of intragroup behavior," with a concluding few paragraphs on the sociometric studies by Moreno and Lundberg. It is here that the author declares, without demonstration: "Thus the sociometrists have proved that we can predict individual behavior from the study of the group, though not the opposite, of course" (p. 238). It should be noted, however, as it is generally acknowledged, that statistical method deals with averages and probabilities and cannot predict the course of an individual instance.

In the remaining eight chapters, under the heading of "Culture," "Symbolism," "Patterning," "Survivals," "Change," "Conflict," "Leadership," and "Followership," the author brings together an enormous amount of material from cultural anthropology, ethnology, sociology,

social psychology, social history, etc. Throughout this treatment the discussion shifts between a number of perspectives so that it is not quite apparent what the author considers his approach to social psychology. Since the entire treatise, while inclined to a behavioristic interpretation, is, nevertheless, upon occasion, tempered by the viewpoints of other schools of psychology and social psychology, the result is a somewhat confusing eclecticism.

Despite its serious shortcomings, this volume is an interesting compendium of materials, thoroughly annotated, with well-conceived questions at the end of each chapter which would make it very useful for beginning students in sociology.

SAMUEL M. STRONG

University of Minnesota

The Social Self. By VICTOR E. HELLEBERG. Lawrence, Kan.: Victor E. Helleberg, 1941. Pp. x+116.

The author starts his discussion with animal evolution and then traces the development of biological man, the emergence of human intelligence out of co-operative human activities, and the function of meaning in guiding human conduct. As the culminating point in human development, scientific method is shown to be, as Mead put it, "the process of evolution become self-conscious." The author states that this work stems from his efforts "to assimilate and translate the ideas of George Herbert Mead and John Dewey" in order that his students "might understand and use them to guide their lives."

It is regrettable that Helleberg did not attempt a theoretically systematic treatment of either one of these authors but merely high-lighted some of their concepts dealing with the process of socialization of the biological individual. Within the span of one hundred and sixteen sparsely written pages the author covers virtually the entire vista of evolution, through its various stages, including the socialized individual in a society characterized by science and democracy. Notwithstanding the already too repetitious manner of presentation, this book is concluded with a six-page chapter entitled "A Final Flashback over the Development of Civilization and of the Human Individual Imbedded in It." The entire treatment is poorly documented and revolves around lengthy quotations from Mead and Dewey.

It is apparent that, in his devotion to these two great minds in American thought, Helleberg was sidetracked from presenting with clarity and

thoroughness their respective systems of thought. Despite the serious shortcomings of this book, it will, nevertheless, introduce the beginning student in social psychology to some significant notions of Mead's and Dewey's philosophy, thereby stimulating him to further study.

SAMUEL M. STRONG

University of Minnesota

The Roots of National Socialism. By ROHAN D'O. BUTLER. New York: Dutton & Co., 1942. Pp. 304. \$3.00.

The author offers a survey of German political history and thought in order to show that naziism is the climax of one hundred and fifty years of persistent theory. German thought has "come round full circle, unbroken in its continuity, unchanged in its appeal. The first and the latest prophets [Herder and Moeller van der Bruck] were of one inspiration." But was not Herder an individualist and cosmopolitan? "*Vaterlaender*," he said, "will never go to war against one another. They lie quietly side by side and help one another like families." Herder's *Volkegeist* is not Hitler's, unfortunately. To prove his thesis, the author needs a considerable amount of violence in the selection and interpretation of his facts and quotations. His thesis guides selection and interpretation. Facts that do not fit into the straight line are either disregarded or are a "deceptive interlude." A dubious method leads to a tissue of half-truth and error, in which the best cosmopolitans, democrats, and liberals line up as fore-runners of naziism. This procedure promotes suspicion even in instances where the author has an excellent case. If he had tried to prove less, he would have proved more. In the history of ideas this method could be applied with some success for and against any thesis.

Whether the content of the book is or is not misleading, the title certainly is. The author traces some elements of the confused ideology of naziism. But this is neither national socialism nor its roots. It is dangerous to think of naziism as the result of a Germanic confusion of thought. The book contains nothing about the dynamism, the nature, and the origin of the forces, the breakdown of the social structure, the industrial revolution, the aftermath of World War I, the mechanized masses and their emotional lability in times of distress—a danger and possibility inherent in the age. The real roots of national socialism are something much more formidable than any Germanic confusion of thought. The time for this kind of reasoning should be over. We are in the midst of a war that is total in both extension and intensity. If we face the problem of the after-

math in the spirit of the author, Hitler might turn out to have been only the first of a series of unknown soldiers who will destroy our future and re-write the history of our past ideas.

KURT RIEZLER

New School for Social Research

Words That Won the War. By JAMES R. MOCK and CEDRIC LARSON. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1939. Pp. xvi+372. \$3.75.

This is an excellent account of the formation, structure, and activities of the Committee on Public Information during World War I. The authors had the privilege of examining a large portion of the documents and records of this committee which have hitherto been inaccessible. Their well-documented historical account should serve to dispel the mythical and fabulous ideas about the work of this committee that have grown up in lay and academic thought. Of particular interest is their sympathetic depiction of the chairman, George Creel. Their presentation of facts makes it clear that he conducted his work with an intelligence, sobriety, and insight of high order. This volume is of particular importance in view of the present war, with its inevitable problems of maintaining a public that is well informed, united, and determined.

HERBERT BLUMER

University of Chicago

History of Agriculture in the Northern United States, 1620-1860. By PERCY WELLS BIDWELL and JOHN I. FALCONER. New York: Peter Smith, 1941. Pp. xii+512. (Reprinted with the permission of the Carnegie Institution of Washington.) \$7.50.

This book is a reprint, without change or addition, of one of the "Contributions to American Economic History" supervised by a representative board of economists and sponsored by the Carnegie Institution of Washington. Although this study was not issued until 1925, it was planned early in the century by Kenyon L. Butterfield and Henry C. Taylor, pioneers in the application of sociology and economics to rural life and welfare. The organization and proportion reflect this pioneer origin. The emphasis is upon cultivation and husbandry with summary treatments of markets and marketing systems. Perhaps the most significant contribution is Professor Bidwell's brief but highly suggestive discussion of the transition from self-sufficient to commercialized farming. Contemporary writings are quoted so freely as to make the book in considerable part a

source collection. There are numerous maps, graphs, and statistical tables of production and marketing and illustrations of agricultural implements. The Bibliography is in the main representative and reasonably full.

Rural folkways and social institutions are glimpsed here and there in accounts of pioneer farming and in brief and conventional summaries of the beginnings of agricultural societies, journals, and educational efforts.

Recent tendencies in historical reinterpretations and re-evaluations that should contribute to a more adequate writing of the history of American agriculture are the concept of regionalism, the fuller investigation of the "frontier hypothesis," especially in relation to land disposal and utilization, the basis and early manifestations of agrarianism, and the serious study of administrative history, and of the history of social institutions.

Due mainly to the efforts of a few land-grant colleges, the Agricultural History Society, and the Columbia University Studies in the History of American Agriculture, definite, if small, beginnings have been made in the investigation and interpretation of this neglected part of national history. Essential source materials are being edited and introductory monographs written on the agricultural fair, the agricultural press, the land-grant college, and farmers' organizations and movements as well as biographies of representative agricultural leaders. The factual information provided and the conclusions reached by these studies would seem to have direct and essential pertinence for economic and social historians, economists, sociologists, and political scientists. But thus far there is little evidence of the serious demand for such findings by any of these groups.

EARLE D. ROSS

Iowa State College

Women in Crime. By FLORENCE MONAHAN. New York: Ives Washburn, Inc., 1941. Pp. xvi+306. \$2.75.

After an account of her childhood and of her early interest in the suffrage movement, Miss Monahan describes how she was introduced to practical penology by being asked to take charge of the new reformatory at Shakopee. She was well trained for this work, having taken a normal-school course, and having also passed the bar examinations. Even more was she suited by temperament, being blessed with unlimited health and energy; and from her Phelan and Monahan ancestry she was able both to see a joke and to survive a fight.

The chapters of the book are devoted to such problems as the parole system; politics; repeaters, drugs, vice, and crimes of violence; medical

care; and recreational outlets. All these and other matters of similar importance are discussed from the point of view of a practical realist—understanding, but neither sentimental nor pedantic.

Anyone who has dealt with the types of which she writes recognizes the authenticity of her experiences by such side comments as "No prisons can be really good." "Few innocent are convicted, few who are pretty, and none who are rich." "Whatever the affidavit may state as the cause of arrest, the women almost invariably have a bad sex history, and as such, are almost always both intemperate and lazy." On the pleasanter side, they are usually very fond of children and respect fairness and sympathy even though they present a sullen exterior. And, as everyone who deals with them has discovered, the murderers are far easier to handle than the prostitutes, since they are more likely to have had some motive for their act other than the prostitute's universal dislike of work. The curious fact that in interracial sex affairs the white girls are the aggressors is recognized by an experienced reader as true, as well as the fact that there would be far fewer murders if it were not so easy to buy guns.

The author gropes, as do all workers with delinquents, for some adequate motive to make women want to change habits which they have been years in acquiring. She suggests that she has observed the desire to be attractive with pretty clothes, the wish to marry well, and the religious motive to be the most potent. She also observes that the quickest way to get any institution in an uproar is to provide poor food.

From these and similar comments it is clear that Miss Monahan is well schooled in experience and that anyone who has any idea of running an institution should read her book and take careful notes.

ELEANOR R. WEMBRIDGE

Los Angeles, California.

America's Own Refugees: Our 4,000,000 Homeless Migrants. By HENRY HILL COLLINS, JR. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1941. Pp. 323. \$3.00.

John Steinbeck made everybody listen to the story of Okies who flee to California for refuge. The pages of the hearings before the La Follette Civil Liberties Committee made plain the reasons why western industrialized agriculture affords them a refuge—and why it is no better refuge than they find it to be. The Tolan Committee on Migration spread on the record for all to see the national character of migration in agriculture. It showed the reasons within the agricultural structure itself for creation and

spread of a class of workers so disturbing to the United States Industrial Commission of 1901 that it was described as "a low order of farm labor, if worthy to be classed with it at all, and an excrescence upon its fair face." Next the Tolan Committee turned to examine the urban and industrial migration between states, which is even greater in volume than agricultural migration. In the midst of the Committee's labors have come defense and war. The Tolan Committee promptly swung its attention to the migrants sucked into defense activities and already is giving half an eye to the wave of the future migration when war shall cease.

Collins, who served for a time on the staff of the Tolan Committee, has taken these materials as they fill the government record, made his selections, and woven them into a single volume. He is a journalist, with a feeling for language and with his heart in his subject. It will make good reading for his fellow-alumni of Princeton and of other colleges—gripping our interest even when it is the kind of thing we instinctively turn our backs upon. We cannot turn our backs, for the problems he presents will confront us when peace comes.

PAUL S. TAYLOR

University of California

The Schoolma'am. By FRANCES R. DONOVAN. New York: Frederick A. Stokes Co., 1938. Pp. xii+356. \$2.50.

Sociologists largely slight two areas of study, practically and theoretically important, which this book discusses—the occupational group and adjustment to old age. The occupations and professions are social institutions of significance. They are both matrixes and resultants of personality development and selection and of ruling attitudes; the literature upon them which shows sociological insight is meager. Some professions represent institutions we have seen grow up largely within our own lifetimes and on which all needed information for study is at hand. Life-history material from such a group can be revealing. The evolution of personality and patterns of action during the years to adulthood has been much studied; the reorganization and devolution of these during the occupational life and in old age deserve study. Hence the peculiar interest of a book like this. Further, most sociologists are teachers, whether they recognize it or not; successful teachers are practicing social psychologists.

Chapters of interest cover types of women teachers, why the woman teacher will not or cannot get married; the married teacher (and who her husband is); the queer teacher; social backgrounds; private life; place of

the teacher in her community; why she teaches, and the pros and cons of teaching; economic position, tenure and income, and old age; homemaking and dependents; professional organizations; and a highly optimistic view of "The Schoolma'am of Tomorrow." Personal case summaries range from a few lines to chapter length.

The author aims to portray the real persons behind the popular stereotype. In teaching, the primary task is difficult—to be at once a stimulator and an inhibitor, to unleash the inner forces of the child as progressive thought demands, yet at the same time to discipline and enforce the restraints on child restlessness which the community requires. To some women, teaching is a stopgap till marriage; to others, it is a permanent occupation accepted willingly or unwillingly. The well-balanced section on organizations of teachers is illustrated by an account of the unification of teachers' organizations in Chicago into the teachers' union.

JORDAN T. CAVAN

Rockford College

Social Aspects of Crime in England between the Wars. By HERMANN MANNHEIM. London: George Allen & Unwin, 1940. Pp. 382. \$5.00.

The effect of World War I upon crime in England is the point of departure in this book. The number of indictable crimes known to the police, which is one index of crime, increased more than 100 per cent in the subsequent twenty-year period; the number of persons tried for indictable crimes, which is the second principal index of crime, increased less than 10 per cent. The author makes a good case for the superiority of the former index and thus demonstrates with a fair degree of certainty that crime did increase greatly after the war. He has no organized body of data with which to explain the increase but suggests that the variables include such things as the monotony of peace after the war fever ended, the decrease in funds with which to satisfy wants, the loss of respect for public property which had developed during the war in practices known as "scrounging" or "scrumping," and the subsequent extension of this attitude toward the property of railways, corporations, and other impersonal agencies.

The remainder of the book is related loosely or not at all to World War I. It is a series of studies of alcoholism, gambling, prostitution, and juvenile delinquency, and of certain factors such as unemployment, strikes, and the development of the automobile in relation to general crime rates.

The chapter on unemployment should disabuse any reader of the idea

that there is a clear-cut relation between unemployment and crime. In certain periods the unemployment index and the crime index rose in close association, but in other periods, especially from 1934 to 1938, the unemployment index dropped sharply while the crime index continued on a steep ascent. In some regions the unemployment index and the crime index had a positive association and in others a negative association. When juvenile delinquents were excluded, the two indexes had a more consistent association. The author concludes guardedly that unemployment generally causes crime and that when this effect does not appear it is because of the intrusion of other factors.

The chapters on juvenile delinquency are an analysis of a thousand case records of ex-Borstal boys and girls. This analysis shows a large number of factors associated in some manner or other with delinquent behavior but provides no explicit principle of explanation.

A chapter on recidivism contains interesting information regarding habitual and professional crime. It is an analysis of the records of 1,274 persons who had at least four convictions each. The number first convicted in the age period seventeen to twenty-one was greater than in any other age period; some who were first convicted after the age of forty developed into habitual criminals. Few of the recidivists confined their crimes to one type, although many of them showed concentration on one type.

EDWIN H. SUTHERLAND

Indiana University

Crime and Its Treatment: Social and Legal Aspects of Criminology. By ARTHUR EVANS WOOD and JOHN BARKER WAITE. New York: American Book Co., 1941. Pp. 742. \$3.50.

Should a criminology include the legal aspects of crime? The query sounds somewhat absurd, since, to a certain extent at least, we have always done so without avowing it. Crime in modern society is a legal notion, code-made, and formal. We may say that rough sociological bearings are at the root of our legal distinctions; criminal law, however, has a psychology and sociology of its own, unperplexed, slow-gaited, and generalizing in such a measure that it is often brought to the brink of failure.

Some concepts of crime (for instance, the witch trials) have left our view of life long before they vacated our legal systems. Other ideas, although accepted by sociology as grave forms of disorganization, are still seeking juristic materiality. In this changing world social science precedes the tardy march of law. Yet it remains true that crime is only an object of

sociology in so far as it has received the sanction and check of criminal law. We should get lost otherwise in scientific boundlessness.

In discussing the causes of crime we certainly do trace the phenomenon of crime back to its sources in the domain of group life and group conflicts. Yet crime itself cannot be detached from the delimitating legal distinctions.

Furthermore, crime does not strike us by simple external symptoms, as does a physical disability or a cold. Human actions are equivocal matters. Their import can be ascertained only by a mental process. Many agencies are involved in this investigating and discriminative procedure. All the transactions of these agencies from arrest to the electric chair rest upon strict legal rules.

The reviewer welcomes the new method as an attempt to rebridge the gulf which has been created between two kindred sciences. Their techniques differ widely, but they are both aiming at the same goal—the protection of society. Our extreme division of labor may necessitate a far-reaching isolation of the scientific approach. However, in teaching we should try to give to our students a round and complete picture of the phenomenon of crime. This picture should represent true life and not our diverging inquisitive methods which have torn the cohesive reality into pieces.

Mr. Wood has given ample room to crime-breeding community situations and political factors in relation to delinquency, less to the problems of age, sex, race, and migration. A large chapter deals with juvenile delinquency. There are two excellent parts on probation and parole. Mr. Waite's section on the legal aspects of crime is a model of conciseness and lucidity.

This new textbook is a welcome addition to the literature on crime and its treatment.

HANS VON HENTIG

University of Colorado

Creative Group Work on the Campus: A Developmental Study of Certain Aspects of Student Life. By LOUISE PRICE. New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1941. Pp. xvi+437. \$3.25.

This study is an appraisal from the point of view of a professional in group work of the various attempts that have been made, during several decades, at Stephens College and Stanford University to solve campus problems through the "conference method." Seemingly these institutions were chosen because of their experimental bent in this direction. After reviewing "creative group work" in the fields of social service and recreation, government, and industry, the au-

thor lays the foundation for her analysis by a sympathetic review of the work of Dewey, Lewin, Moreno, Sherif, Simpson, Pigors, and others. She then treats in detail the experience of Stephens and Stanford with student government, guidance and counseling, faculty-student panels, and the like. She finds that many of the programs undertaken fit in with the objective of group work on the campus, which she defines as "the guidance of students and faculty in the rational adaptation of community arrangements and personal adjustments to changing conditions by democratic methods" (p. 363).

The author is to be criticized for what she omits rather than for anything she commits. Progressive education and social work combine to make her see the college merely as a place of mutual adjustment among students and faculty. There is no emphasis on the principal task, that of fitting students to participate in a complex society by transmitting to them a rich social heritage. If half the attention given to problems of dating, grooming, and extra-curricular activities were turned to helping students understand the importance of what they are learning, more confidence could be felt in the movement for group work on the campus.

ROBERT C. ANGELL

University of Michigan

Youth in a Catholic Parish. By BROTHER AUGUSTINE McCaffrey. Washington: Catholic University of America Press, 1941. Pp. xxviii+310. \$2.00.

The importance of this work lies essentially in its uniqueness. Surveys of Catholic parishes in this country are rare. This one, based upon interviews with practically all the Catholic young people in the territory of what appears to be a lower-middle-class parish, covers a wide range of problems. It gives a quite full account of the relations of the young people to their parish church, of its incidental activities, and even of their thoughts and opinions concerning religious and moral matters. The author gives every evidence of having skilfully overcome whatever lack of frankness may be expected of Catholic youngsters when talking to a religious.

Of particular interest is the chapter entitled "Youth and Leisure," for it shows some of the problems met by the parish church in trying to elaborate its associational system to include young people of various interests and social ranks. The evidence suggests that the young people who consider themselves the social élite tend to form social sororities and fraternities which, although Catholic in membership, are not of parish sponsorship.

The many tabulations of information given are not definitive enough for significant statistical analysis but serve well as a basis for the author's own discussion of what he found these young people to be like.

Such works are a good beginning of something much needed—a thorough description and analysis of Catholic society in the United States.

EVERETT C. HUGHES

University of Chicago

A Social and Economic Study of the New Orleans Jewish Community. By JULIAN B. FEIBELMAN. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1941. Pp. xviii+157.

It may be, as the author says, that "the study of the community today requires no justification," provided the student has in mind some problem which will be as well or better elucidated by studying a community than by some other means. In this particular study the purpose is stated as merely that of examining the Jewish community of New Orleans. The result is a somewhat haphazard compendium of information which comes closest to having some focal point in a part which deals with the rise and interrelations of the institutions of the New Orleans Jewish community. As a lagniappe, the reader gets some chapters on Jewish communal organization in the United States at large, whose relation to the rest of the book is not stated. Since most of the tables are neither adapted to nor used for purposes of analysis, one is glad to find them tucked safely away in the Appendix.

EVERETT C. HUGHES

University of Chicago

Post-defense Readjustments. By DAVID C. PRINCE. Washington, D.C.: Construction and Civic Development Department, Chamber of Commerce of the United States, 1941. Pp. 15.

It is heartening to note that the executives of some of the major industrial enterprises in the United States are giving serious thought to post-war problems that can be foreseen as arising in connection with their particular industries and as affecting our whole economy. This pamphlet is such a forward look by a vice-president of General Electric Company. His analysis shows that "it should be possible by keeping the country busy and employed, to make full use of our expanded productive machinery and provide a high standard of living for all America. The only way we can fall short of that goal is to sit down and not arrange to have work for those people to do."

LOUIS WIRTH

University of Chicago

A Nickel and a Prayer. By JANE EDNA HUNTER. Cleveland: Elli Kani Publishing Co., 1940. Pp. 198. \$2.50.

The author tells, in simple style and with generosity to all, the story of her life from plantation, through a hard career as a pioneer among Negro trained nurses, to headship of the Phyllis Wheatley Association. The Association, under her leadership, has grown from a modest home for working girls to a large institution of the type of the Y.W.C.A. The story will be interesting to students of Negro careers as well as to those interested in the peculiar race relations which develop in institutions financed by white philanthropists for service to Negroes.

EVERETT C. HUGHES

University of Chicago

Opinion Conflict and School Support. By FREDERICK T. ROPE. New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1941. Pp. viii+164. \$2.00.

In this book Dr. Rope, apparently an educator connected with the Pittsburgh public schools, reports the results of a survey of public opinion in Pittsburgh as it concerns the schools. As Dr. Rope sees it: "There is need to provide educational leaders with a technique whereby they may assess the expressed desires of all community groups concerning educational policies and functions." He finds such a technique in the methods of public opinion polling, particularly those used by Gallup and the American Institute of Public Opinion, and he then suggests that continuous public opinion polls be made by school public relations officers. In his own study, the results of the Pittsburgh poll show the majority of those polled in favor of broader educational services.

There are a number of criticisms that may be raised about this publication. First, there is considerable doubt whether other educators in other school systems will have the funds or the staff available to carry on these types of studies. Then, too, the making of continuous public opinion polls requires a degree of sophistication with reference to polling techniques that most educators at the present time probably do not possess. With reference to the results of the Pittsburgh poll itself, all the conclusions drawn by the author from his data would not seem to be justified by his materials. For example, conclusions such as "The people of Pittsburgh want and are willing to pay for broader educational services" do not seem to be in accordance with the replies presented in Table 112 in which only 35.7 per cent of the white group are in favor of increasing taxes to maintain present services and, of the same group, 32.7 per cent have no opinion on the topic.

Further, the careful reader is disturbed by a constant reference to the authors of the *Minnesota Scale for the Survey of Opinions* as Rundquist and Sletts. Dr. Sletto would probably appreciate a correct spelling of his name, at least in the Bibliography.

ETHEL SHANAS

Chicago

The Sociology of Races, Cultures and Human Progress. By BENOY KUMAR SARKAR. Calcutta: Chuckervetty, Chatterjee & Co., 1939. Pp. x+399. R. 7.

This collection of essays is an acid criticism of a prejudiced Western concept of the Orient and an attack on occidental "albinocracy and colonialism." A highly sophisticated connoisseur of Euro-American culture, the author is a determined spokesman of Asiatic self-determination and resistance against Euro-American penetration. Although the promise of a sociological discourse implied in the title may be discounted, the publication is of unquestionable interest to the student of sociology as well as to the observer of world-politics and of Asiatic developments in particular.

Considerable space is given to a demonstration of Asiatic—notably Indian

influence on Western technology—art and science. The comparative treatment of certain aspects of oriental and occidental culture is designed to deflate Western ethnocentrism. Details of the analysis remind the reader of the Spenglerian style of interpretation. The five chapters of the book on Young Asia, Asia and Euro-America, the Chinese Revolution, trends in Hindu culture, and Young India cover a wide array of subjects, such as comparative aesthetics, Indian pedagogy, the treatment of Orientals in America, Confucianism, Buddhism, and Christianity, and literature, science, and foreign policy in contemporary India. Allowing for the militant character of the book and its avowed Asiatic point of view, it is well worth reading both as a source of information and as a learned interpretation of an all-Asiatic Swarajism.

ERNEST MANHEIM

University of Kansas City

Regensburg and Augsburg. By RAPHAEL STRAUS. Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America, 1939. Pp. x+261. \$2.25.

Jews in the Province of Posen. By MICHAEL M. ZARCHIN. Philadelphia: Dropsie College for Hebrew and Cognate Learning, 1939. Pp. 115. \$2.00.

Straus's book represents a detailed social, economic, and intellectual history of two Jewish communities in the Bavarian cities of Regensburg and Augsburg up to the early nineteenth century. A major portion of the study deals with the position of the Jews in the growing conflict between the local patriciate and the territorial sovereign, on the one hand, and the urban middle classes, on the other. A detailed account is given of the subsequent popular uprising and expulsion of the Jews from the two cities in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Aside from its historical objectives the study makes a valuable contribution to the subject of minority self-government. The firsthand use of extensive source material enhances the merit of the publication.

Zarchin's study, too, is based on firsthand sources, and it is even more closely related to the subject of Jewish self-government, covering the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The data presented illustrate the activities of various Jewish organizations—economic, educational, charitable, and religious. A brief account of the organization and policies of a Jewish tailors guild and of a series of protective measures against outside competition is of comparative interest.

ERNEST MANHEIM

University of Kansas City

Judaism in a Changing World. Edited by LEO JUNG. New York: Oxford University Press, 1939. Pp. x+294. \$3.00.

Fifteen authors present a symposium devoted to the interpretation of Jewish tradition, religious teaching and custom, and their meaning in the present world. The essays include such topics as education, Jewish-Christian relations, Zionism, biblical criticism, the conflict of science and religion, and marriage. The con-

tributions are, as the editor in his Preface remarks, concerned with the long-range objectives of Judaism as a religion and way of life and its potential contribution to present society rather than with the present plight of the Jews in Europe. These objectives are reviewed mainly in terms of Jewish history, scripture, and theology.

ERNEST MANHEIM

University of Kansas City

Slave Insurrections in the United States, 1800-1865. By JOSEPH C. CARROLL. Boston: Chapman & Grimes, Inc., 1938. Pp. 229. \$2.00.

Dr. Carroll's study may be, as he says in the Preface, "impartial," but it is impartial in favor of the Negro discontents of American history. The facts seem to be gathered, not so much to illuminate the past, as to inspire Negroes of the present by giving them a worthy view of their past. But the facts are there, and they are presented in abundance.

The sociologist would like to know what an insurrection is, but Dr. Carroll does not tell us. A slave insurrection was certainly much more than a personal disagreement between master and man. It was certainly more than a mere unplanned outbreak. An insurrection presumably involves a planned, definite organization having more or less definite objectives. It is an organized attack to break down a social system. The American slave insurrections having this character were very important and highly significant, but many of the cases presented by Dr. Carroll serve only to show that there were slaves who resisted the discipline of the slave system.

Negroes were brought to America as a collection of individuals. Only gradually did they come to have any sense of community of interest in this country. An important factor in this unification was the stories of uprisings which passed through the Negro slave world. Around these incidents sentiment and pathos gathered, heroes and leaders evolved, a sense of race unity developed, and a conception of racial progress began to be formed. The story of the slave insurrections is a chapter in the greater story of how the descendants of Africans from a variety of tribes were compounded, under the conditions of American life, into a single racially conscious group. The Negro is really an American, not an African.

EDGAR T. THOMPSON

Duke University

Mormon Recreation in Theory and Practice: A Study in Social Change. By REX A. SKIDMORE. Gettysburg, Pa.: Times & News Pub. Co., 1941. Pp. 137.

This is a history of recreation among the Mormons and a social examination of the events as they pass in review. It is a contribution to the subject and should interest recreation people. Mormons were ahead of other sects in blessing the dance, the drama, and other forms of play. They did not consign fiddlers to hell but took them to the frontier to make the isolation of pioneering more

tolerable. The author has handled this phase of the history of his people objectively, although tenderly. The reader should remember that recreation was a device used by the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints both to make life pleasant for the Saints and to socially exclude non-Mormons. While excluding the Gentiles, they built up unity at home. Skidmore tells this story less directly than he might have. More recently, church control over recreation has tightened. The several church auxiliaries have lately sponsored recreational work which is closely integrated with their religious teachings. It was less the case in pioneer times when localities were left to their own resourcefulness in planning their play. They did well, and that is the heart of this report.

NELS ANDERSON

Work Projects Administration
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The World's Need of Christ. By CHARLES A. ELLWOOD. New York: Abingdon-Cokesbury Press, 1940. Pp. 237. \$2.00.

Professor Ellwood is a distinguished sociologist. He is also a layman-preacher who has at times considered his public as a congregation not simply to be taught but to be converted to his teachings. In this volume it is predominantly the latter who is speaking, and even the frequent references to the work of Sorokin do not alter its character as primarily an exhortation. With his familiar main thesis there will be wide agreement: that ours is an unchristian society, failing to live up to the Christian social ideal not only in business, industry, politics, and international relations but also in the church itself; and that a dynamic program embodying those ideals is essential to the reconstruction of present-day civilization. His thesis, however, is confused by his failure to distinguish clearly between belief in the teachings of Jesus and belief in "Christ," which introduces a theological—not to say metaphysical—element diverting from the major theme. (Examples of this ambiguity are his emphasis on the "personality of Christ" on page 84, as well as the titles of several chapters and of the book itself.) Although the volume does not add to sociological analysis of Christianity, it is one which, in spite of an occasional tone of defensiveness, will be welcomed by socially minded churchmen.

EARLE EUBANK

University of Cincinnati

People, the Quantity and Quality of Population. By HENRY PRATT FAIRCHILD. New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1939. Pp. 315. \$2.25.

The author has prepared an inspiring popular presentation of the present knowledge and the unsolved problems in the field of population. This book is aimed at the intelligent layman and as such is useful to the college student as supplementary reading material rather than as a textbook. Included in the contents are discussions of Malthus, the factors in population growth, migration, optimum population, and eugenics. The author makes much use of the word "larithmics" to refer to the quantitative aspects of population, as contrasted with "eugenics," referring to the qualitative aspects.

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ABSTRACTS OF PERIODICAL LITERATURE¹

The persons who have aided in the preparation of the material for this issue are: Hubert Bonner, Gerald W. Breese, Ernest Ni, and Everett K. Wilson. The numerals and letters appearing after each abstract correspond to the items in the following scheme of classification:

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|---|--|
| <p>I. THEORETICAL SOCIOLOGY</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> a) Sociological Theory b) History of Sociology c) Methods of Research d) The Teaching of Sociology | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> e) The State and Political Process f) The School and Education g) Economic Institutions h) Voluntary Associations |
| <p>II. SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> a) Human Nature and Personality b) Collective Behavior | <p>IV. POPULATION AND HUMAN ECOLOGY</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> a) Demography b) Ecology c) The Rural and the Urban Community |
| <p>III. SOCIAL ORGANIZATION</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> a) The Family b) Ethnic and Racial Groups c) Social Stratification d) The Church and Religion | <p>V. DISORGANIZATION</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> a) Personal Disorganization b) Social Disorganization |

¹ Since the editors are trying to bring up to date the significant articles since the termination of the *Social Science Abstracts*, occasionally there will be abstracts of articles published several years ago.

446. Un Cas de "délire à deux" chez deux sœurs jumelles [Double Delirium in the Case of Twin Sisters].—Twin sisters were confined as the result of numerous letters and complaints to the authorities in which they evidenced a persecution complex. They claimed a band of political scoundrels watched and followed them, seeking to wrest their fortune from them on grounds that they were illegitimate daughters. The twins threatened suicide if protection were not accorded them. They were inseparable, physically alike, had identical education, traveled together, pledged each other not to marry, were afflicted with acne at the same time, engaged in amorous affairs and broke them off simultaneously, had identical tastes, and interested themselves in painting. Juliette seems, however, to have induced the double delirium, while Jeanne was found obedient and submissive. This is a classic example of double delirium. The question arises, "Is this a twin psychosis?" It is evident that identical twins, having identical hereditary potentials and living in the same environment, will have the same reactions. In a twin psychosis, however, a passive component should not be found. The twin relationship in this case, then, is only a predisposing factor and the picturesque aspect of the case. It is in the external conditions, the social environment, and in the paranoid character of Juliette and the passive character of Jeanne that one must see the actual causes of this psychosis.—MM. Laignel-Lavastine and Bendit, *Annales médico-psychologiques*, XCVIII (1940), 237-43. (IIa.) E. K. W.

447. Introduction à l'étude de la psychiatrie chez les Noirs [An Introduction to Psychiatric Work among the Blacks].—Tangible difficulties are involved in attempts at

psychiatric analysis among a people whose physiological constitution and ideational patterns are unknown to the investigator. Frazer's hypothetical explanation of dream revelations which are used to explain natural phenomena, endowed with spirits, posits a universal belief among primitives, since they are subject to inevitable psychological illusions creating such beliefs. Lévy-Bruhl denies such uniformity and suggests a radical differentiation between "civilized" and "noncivilized" mentalities. This investigation, based on studies of many cases of mental aberration observed among the Senegalese in the military hospital at Marseille, supports the contention of differential development of psychological processes. The primitive mentality is subject to collective representations which substitute affective elements, magical beliefs, for objective observation and logical reasoning. Thus the indifference of primitives to the contradictory evidence of experience. They do not seek the causes of natural events or attempt to order such events into a coherent system. Such feelings account for the systematic denial of the fact or nature of aberrant mental behavior. The primitive fears to speak of his derangement lest evil forces will return. To those who persist in inquiry he makes outright denials or fantastic evasions. It should be noted that even the contemporary public with persistent prejudices carries the impress of the magical conception as shown in recourse to "mediums" and incantations for removal of evil spirits manifest in mental illnesses. In the psychiatric examination of a black, slight reliance may be placed upon his co-operation; for, however lucid and frank he may ordinarily be, the feeling of danger-magic will prevent recollection of the aberrant period. Study of violent cases indicates that states of fury may be associated with a number of mental illnesses and are affected by certain accidental ethnic factors such as a characteristic incidence of intestinal parasites and malnourishment, or by peculiar sociological conditions, as a tradition of sadism or violence. With regard to terrifying dreams, the primitive subject is not influenced by them as much as the more "civilized" native with paranoid tendencies and long ruminant spells. Social factors are prominent in suicide among primitives as in the case of suicide committed to gain vengeance on an enemy in another world. It is not uncommon to find proof or presumptions of mental derangement among primitives in ethnological statements. Some have attempted to relate a paranoid type of thought and primitive mentality; but it is specifically the relatively evolved native subject whose paranoid tendencies are most pronounced. In these various states we find, among these hospitalized Senegalese, as with primitives, a predominance of the affective life and a failure to regulate behavior by logic or reason.—H. Aubin, *Annales médico-psychologiques*, XCVIII (1939), 1-29. (IIa, Va.) E. K. W.

448. **The Treatment of War Neurosis.**—The nature of the persons admitted to hospitals varies with the progress of the war and with the different types of strain that war from time to time imposes. Similar variations can be expected in the future. At times large numbers of cases will be seen in which there is semideliberate magnification of symptoms. Treatment has to be adapted to what is possible in a short space of time. It should not be aimed too high. Psychotherapy is faced with unusual difficulties in war-service cases. Both from the structural and from the therapeutic points of view these cases closely resemble, with specific differences, unsettled compensation cases of peacetime. Quick abreactive techniques have a special value. Social problems are offered by cases with aggressive tendencies and those arising after head injury. Medical first aid is of the utmost importance. Physical methods of treatment are very useful and should have as a principal aim restoration of normal metabolism. Overoptimism is to be avoided, and too much resistance should not be offered to invalidating the patient. The constitutionally unfit must be weeded out of the army; and for his own sake the unfit soldier should be returned to civilian life, fit for work, as early as possible.—G. Gebenham, W. Sargent, and others, *Lancet*, CCXL (1941), 107-9. (IIa, Va.) E. N.

449. **The Influence of the War on Mental Disease: A Psychiatric Study.**—The number of patients admitted to mental hospitals in 1940 shows a reduction in comparison with that of preceding years. The admission rate has been analyzed and discussed. Case histories were examined showing that war acted as a minor contributory factor in 29 out of 354 admissions. Family or constitutional taints were noticed in most relevant cases. Two cases of confusion following exposure to blast have been described. Reactions of patients in the mental hospital in wartime have been considered. It may be

stated that, up to the present time, the war has had little adverse effect on the mental health of the general population and has been of benefit to a certain type of individual, especially women.—R. E. Hemphill, *Journal of Mental Science*, LXXXVII (1941), 170-82. (IIa, Va.) E. N.

450. **The Misstatement of Women's Ages and the Vital Indices.**—This paper attempts to demonstrate empirically the understatement of women's ages in census enumerations, to present a method of determining the age specific error in age distributions of female populations, and to indicate some of the influences of these errors upon vital indices. Sex ratios by age were plotted from United States census data from 1890 to 1910. Native white and Negro populations were used to eliminate the immigration factor. The resulting curves for the five periods evidenced sex ratios abnormally low from approximately ages fifteen to thirty-four and abnormally high from ages thirty-five to fifty-four. Marked similarity in the S-shaped curves of several countries indicated errors of a constantly recurring nature in the data. To establish a norm for comparison, age specific death rates were applied to a cohort of white infants with sex ratio of 106.1, successive sex ratios being calculated at each age group for survivors of the cohort. The number of females expected in each age group was determined by dividing the enumerated number of males in each group by the calculated normal sex ratio for the corresponding age group. The difference between total years actually lived and total years reported having lived for each age group, divided by total years actually lived, yields the percentage error introduced by understatement of age. The average misstatement for females was found to be 0.66 year for native whites and 1.8 years for Negroes. Most pronounced discrepancies occurred in the age group thirty to thirty-four. That an important source of error is thus involved for demographic data in the United States is illustrated by the fact that errors of misstatement in the age group thirty to thirty-four increased the female death rate by 2.7 and 7.5 for native white and Negro females, respectively.—T. Lynn Smith and Homer L. Hitt, *Melron*, XIII (1939), 95-108. (Ic, IVa.) E. K. W.

451. **Studies on a Child Population: Definition of the Sample, Method of Ascertainment, and Analysis of the Results of a Group Intelligence Test.**—This article reports some first steps taken in the investigation of the relation of genetic and nongenetic factors and the investigation of the relation between mental and physical characteristics in children. Working in twenty schools in the city of Bath (England), a total of 3,500 children were given the Advanced Otis Group Intelligence Test. The subjects were children whose homes were in Bath on July 27, 1934, and whose dates of birth fell between September 1, 1921, and August 31, 1925, inclusive. The results of the testing indicate that boys and girls do not differ in mean score or in regression of score on age, although the boys are significantly more variable than the girls. A linear regression line accounts for most of the association between age and score, but deviations from linearity are significant. A better fit is obtained with two linear regression lines, one to age twelve and the other from age twelve upward. With this fit deviations are not significant. A table of norms is based on these lines. On the basis of a straight regression line representing increased variance of score with age, a correction is made that equalizes deviations from the norm at different ages. After correcting for association of scores with age, the distribution does not differ significantly from the normal.—J. A. Fraser Roberts, R. M. Norman, and Ruth Griffiths, *Annals of Eugenics*, VI (1934-35), 319-38. (Ic, IVa.) E. K. W.

452. **War and the Birth Rate.**—The birth rate in England and Wales has been falling for fifty years. One difference between World War I and World War II, regarding the size of the population, is that Germany is more than replacing its numbers, while England and Wales have a reproduction rate 25 per cent below replacement. Insufficient attention has been given to the population problem. In the last war the England and Wales crude birth rate fell suddenly and sharply from 24.1 to 17.7 per thousand population; the German, from 28.3 to 14.3. After a temporary rise at the end of the war, the birth rate in England and Wales resumed its downward trend to 15.1 in 1938, 14.9 in 1939, and 14.6 in 1940. Using the base line of 1921-30 as 100, the first sign of change

in the quarterly ratios for England and Wales, 1915-40, is the September, 1940, ratio of 78. The change is large (cf. June, ratio of 84) and significant. Births from June to September, 1940, are those conceived from September to December, 1939—the first three months of the war; there were about nine thousand fewer births in this quarter than in the average of the corresponding quarters of 1935-39. The September-December, 1940, ratio shows a smaller drop and a corresponding loss of roughly five thousand, these births being conceived during December-March, 1940, when the rush of anxiety due to the war had somewhat diminished and seminormality was resumed. The decline in the last six months of 1940 caused a drop from 14.9 (1939 annual rate) to 14.6. If no change had taken place from July to December a slight rise in the birth rate would have occurred. These data do not reflect the influence of the fall of France and the effect of heavy and sustained day and night raiding. The weight of these factors cannot be estimated, because of the nature of the "Weekly Returns of Births," population movements, and evacuations. Returns from Scotland to the end of 1940 show exactly the same pattern, producing the lowest annual birth rate ever recorded for that country.—Richard M. Titmuss, *Eugenics Review*, XXXIII (1941-42), 49-50. (IVa.) G. W. B.

453. **British Demographers' Opinions on Fertility, 1660-1760.**—This article surveys not generally accessible writings of early British demographers. The concern of these early writers with the contemporary problem of a population reproducing inadequately for replacement is indicated. It would also appear that there was long-standing recognition of differential fertility by rural-urban areas and social classes. In the century preceding the industrial revolution the discrepancy between fecundity and fertility was noted. Many causes were given for reduced fertility. Among these were plagues (Graunt) and cycles of sickly and healthy years (Short); birth control through abortions (Graunt); abstinence; long suckling of children (Petty); polygamy (Graunt, Arbuthnot, Short, and Wallace); promiscuous sexual intercourse (Graunt, King, D'Avenant); intemperate indulgence in food, drink, and intercourse (Graunt, King, and Short); obstacles to divorce (Wallace, Tucker); inequality of age at marriage (King); celibacy among monks and nuns, servants, soldiers, and the poor; wealth, luxurious living, and education (Morris, Wallace, Short); preferential treatment of the oldest son, preventing marriage among the younger (Wallace); promotion of bachelors as over against the married; lack of political liberty, preventing equitable distribution of property (D'Avenant); manufactures as contrasted with agricultural pursuits (Wallace); lack of public opinion in support of matrimony (D'Avenant, Wallace, Brakenridge, Bell); and religious prohibition of marriage (Petty, Short). Demographers of the period agree that sexual intercourse of unmarried women is less likely to lead to conception than intercourse between husbands and wives. Graunt, Petty, King, D'Avenant, Short, and other demographers also note the rural-urban differential in fertility. It was their opinion that the poor were more fruitful than the wealthy because regular habits and hard work make for increased fertility. Various devices were suggested for encouraging marriage and hindering licentiousness. Petty suggested that men between eighteen and fifty-one years of age and women sixteen to forty-one be required to marry unless "manifest impediment (were) allowed by the magistrate." Privileges for large families and taxes upon the general populace in support of mothers were urged. Perusal of these demographers' writings reveals little testimony on the practice of birth control save among unmarried women. Differential fertility of married women was attributed to physical disability rather than to deliberate action. To encourage matrimony and to hinder intemperance and licentiousness seemed to them the best and practically the only means of promoting fertility.—R. R. Kuczynski, *Annals of Eugenics*, VI (1934-35), 139-71. (IVa.) E. K. W.

454. **Rational Absurdity in Primitives.**—Anthropologists have been unable to explain the nature of the thought of primitive man in regard to cause and effect, death, magic, etc. This kind of thought can be satisfactorily explained if one assumes (1) that the mind is infallibly and unerringly logical and (2) that there is a law of affective identification. As Lévy-Bruhl recognized, native thought is of two forms: the first, in which rational contradiction is ignored but not deliberately sought after as such; the second, in which rational contradiction is not tolerated. The human mind perceives

by senses and emotions. If emotional apprehensions are accepted as valid, absurdity of thought may arise. Evidence seems to indicate that the mind is infallibly logical, but emotional observation is likely to be distorted, with the result that errors in thought are due to emotional apprehension of facts. Such emotional apprehension is closely associated with the fact that man is social. Important conclusions result from the fact that mind is infallibly logical, e.g., a logical basis for morality is inherent in this belief.—**Stuart Moore**, *Australasian Journal of Psychology and Philosophy*, XI (1933), 204-21. (IIa). G. W. B.

455. A Case of Apparent Dissimilarity of Monozygotic Twins.—The determination of monozygotic twins has rested upon a selection of manifest normal features considered least influenced by nonhereditary factors. Fallacy in selecting the initial determining features, however, will tend to vitiate identification of monozygotic twins. In the family here reported there was a pair of monozygotic twins with great disparity as to skeleton and general appearance, due to acromegaloid changes in one of them. The affection of the pituitary in the taller monozygotic twin is attributable in part to a cranial injury at age twelve. But it must be assumed, in view of the family history and the tall son of the affected twin, that his shorter monozygotic brother has the potentialities of tallness. In the normal process of development chemical influences may be presumed to be efficacious at almost all stages. In more differentiated stages of growth the endocrine glands, especially the pituitary, are the chief of these chemical intermediaries between genetic forces and their realization in growth. While it is impossible to say what environmental factors effect morbid functional changes in the anterior pituitary, it may be conjectured in such cases as the one cited that inherited determinants of stature may not be manifested unless certain unlikely requirements are met: in this instance, trauma to the endocrine gland which contributes to the regulation of growth.—**Aubrey Lewis**, *Annals of Eugenics*, VII (1936-37), 58-65. (IVa.) E. K. W.

CURRENT BOOKS

- AIKIN, WILFORD M. *The Story of the Eight-Year Study*. ("Adventure in American Education," Vol. I.) New York: Harper & Bros., 1942. Pp. 157. \$1.75. The results of an eight-year study of ways to improve secondary education by having high schools assume the responsibility of training students for colleges.
- ANDERSON, C. ARNOLD, and RYAN, BRYCE. *War Came to the Iowa Community*. Iowa Agricultural Experiment Station (Bull. P36 [new ser.] Iowa Agricultural Extension Service cooperating, Iowa State College.) Ames, Iowa: Iowa State College, 1942. Pp. 219-80. The bulletin tells the story of what took place in Iowa communities (mainly Des Moines) during the war of 1917-18. It covers community organization and collective behavior under the impact of war and on the basis of the programs and their shortcomings there; suggests certain improvements for the present.
- ANDERSON, NELS. *Desert Saints: The Mormon Frontier in Utah*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1942. Pp. xx+549. \$4.00.
- ANDERSON, W. A. *The Transmission of Farming as an Occupation*. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Agricultural Experiment Station, 1941. Pp. 29.
- ASSOCIATION OF LIFE INSURANCE PRESIDENTS. *Proceedings of the Thirty-fifth Annual Convention*. New York: Association of Life Insurance Presidents, 1942. Pp. 253. The papers deal mainly with the relation of insurance to defense and war.
- ATTEBERRY, GEORGE C.; AUBLE, JOHN L.; and HUNT, ELGIN F. *Introduction to Social Science*, Vol. II. New York: Macmillan Co., 1942. Pp. xix+800. Deals with the competitive system and social problems and government and social problems in twenty-four chapters. Intended for courses in social orientation.
- ATWATER, ELTON. *American Regulation of Arms Exports*. Washington: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 1941. Pp. x+287. \$2.00. A historical study of American policy and practice.
- BARR, A. S.; EWBANK, H. L.; and MCCORMICK, T. C. (eds.). *Radio in the Classroom: Experimental Studies in the Production and Classroom Use of Lessons Broadcast by Radio*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1942. Pp. 203. \$2.00.
- BEAGLEHOLE, ERNEST and PEARL. *Pangai: A Village in Tonga*. Wellington, New Zealand: Polynesian Society, 1941. Pp. iv+145. A monograph based on field work. Detailed descriptions of native life, with emphasis on blending of European and aboriginal culture.
- BIDWELL, PERCY WELLS, and FALCONER, JOHN I. *History of Agriculture in the Northern United States, 1620-1860*. New York: Peter Smith, 1941. Pp. xii+512. \$7.50. Reprint of a standard and exhaustive work. It is more than a study of crops and techniques—the major emphasis, in fact, being upon the nature of the farm enterprise and upon the institutional aspects, e.g., land tenure, farm management, organization and education of farmers, etc. Four periods are dealt with: the early settlements, the eighteenth century, the period of expansion and progress from 1800-1840 and a period of transformation from 1840-60.
- BITTINGER, DESMOND W. *An Educational Experiment in Northern Nigeria in Its Cultural Setting*. Elgin, Ill.: Brethern Publishing House, 1941. Pp. xvi+343. \$2.50. Discusses the peoples of the Sudan region in Africa, their historical backgrounds, their political control by European powers, and especially the various educational institutions set up among them.
- BRIGGS, THOMAS H. (ed.). *The Emotionalized Attitudes: The Contribution of Research to Teachers Concerned with Learning, Conduct, and Character*. New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1940. Pp. v+107. \$0.90. A series of five contributed articles on the measurement of attitudes, their causes, their effects on learning, character, and conduct, and their modification. Includes a selected bibliography.

- BROWN, MARTIN W.; CLARK, KATHARINE G.; and TAYLOR, PERRY R. *How To Organize Group Health Plans*. Camden, N.J.: Haddon Craftsmen, Inc., 1942. Pp. 72. \$0.25. A manual of rather specific information concerning the promotional, legal, and financial problems involved in organizing group health plans.
- BRYSON, LYMAN, and FINKELSTEIN, LOUIS (eds.). *Science, Philosophy and Religion: Second Symposium*. New York: Conference on Science, Philosophy and Religion in Their Relation to the Democratic Way of Life, Inc., 1942. Pp. xv+559.
- BUREAU OF RESEARCH IN THE SOCIAL SCIENCES. *Population Mobility in Austin, Texas, 1929-1931*. (University of Texas Pub. No. 4127.) Austin, Tex.: University Publications, University of Texas, 1941. Pp. 78. No charge.
- BURGESS, ERNEST W.; WARNER, W. LLOYD; ALEXANDER, FRANZ; and MEAD, MARGARET. *Environment and Education*. ("Supplementary Educational Monographs," No. 54.) Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1942. Pp. vi+66. \$1.00. Papers on the educative influences of urban environment, of social status, of personality factors in the environment, and of primitive societies.
- BUTLER, ROHAN D'O. *The Roots of National Socialism*. New York: E.P. Dutton & Co., Inc., 1942. Pp. 304. \$3.00. A survey of German thought from the close of the eighteenth century to the advent of National Socialism.
- CHASE, STUART. *The Road We Are Traveling, 1914-1942*. New York: Twentieth-Century Fund, 1942. Pp. 106. \$1.00. The first of six books being published by the Twentieth Century Fund under the heading "When the War Ends." Discusses the pattern of change and basic trends, 1914-42, and outlines a post-war economy.
- CHICAGO PLAN COMMISSION. *Population Facts for Planning Chicago*. Chicago: Chicago Plan Commission, 1942. Pp. viii+32. A manual, including text, charts, maps, and tables concerning population trends in Chicago from 1830 to 1940; age and sex distribution; racial and nationality groups; size of family; birth and death rates; the spatial distribution of the population now and in the future.
- CHICAGO PUBLIC LIBRARY OMNIBUS PROJECT, WORK PROJECTS ADMINISTRATION. *Bibliography of Foreign Language Newspapers and Periodicals Published in Chicago*. (O. P. No. 65-1-54-273 [3].) Chicago: Chicago Public Library, 1942. Pp. ix+150.
- CLARK, S. D. *The Social Development of Canada*. Toronto, Canada: University of Toronto Press, 1942. Pp. x+484. \$4.00. The Introduction develops a theory of the relation between the dominant economic enterprise on a frontier and its cycle of social development. The documents deal, in turn, with the fur trade, frontier in Quebec, the fishing and rural society of the Atlantic coast, the timber frontier in Ontario, and the mining frontier in British Columbia.
- CLINCHY, EVERETT ROSS (ed.). *The World We Want To Live In*. Garden City, N.Y.: Country Life Press, 1942. Pp. xi+98. \$1.00. Based on conferences at the Williamstown Institute. Deals with social change, economics, politics, education, and religion.
- COREY, LEWIS. *The Unfinished Task: Economic Reconstruction for Democracy*. New York: Viking Press, 1942. Pp. ix+314. \$3.00. Discusses the opportunities and obstacles to economic reconstruction in our democracy and the main lines of the reconstruction.
- DABNEY, VIRGINIUS. *Below the Potomac*. New York: D. Appleton-Century Co., 1942. Pp. x+332. \$3.00. A semipopular book on the progress of the South in matters of politics, labor, civil liberties, and the Negro question.
- DALE, EDGAR, and VERNON, NORMA. *Consumer Education: An Annotated Bibliography*. Columbus, Ohio: Bureau of Educational Research, Ohio State University, 1941. Pp. iii-35. \$0.25.
- DEFERRAEL, ROY J. *Essays on Catholic Education in the United States*. Paterson, N.J.: St. Anthony Guild Press, 1942. \$4.50.
- DYKES, EVA BEATRICE. *The Negro in English Romantic Thought*. Washington, D.C.: Associated Publishers, Inc., 1942. Pp. 197. \$2.00. Covers both well-known and obscure essayists, poets, and other literary figures of the seventeenth, eighteenth, and early nineteenth centuries, including some of the earlier Negro pleaders of the cause

of their race. Copious quotation of both prose and verse. Extensive bibliography of the works considered.

FARBER, MARVIN (ed.). *Symposium on the Significance of Max Scheler for Philosophy and Social Science (Philosophy and Phenomenological Research [a quarterly journal])*. Buffalo, N.Y.: University of Buffalo, 1942, p. 155. Contains a lengthy symposium of the significance of Max Scheler for philosophy and social science.

Freedom of Assembly and Anti-democratic Groups. Washington, D.C.: American Council on Public Affairs. Pp. 27.

GALLOWAY, GEORGE B. *Postwar Planning in the United States*. New York: Twentieth Century Fund, 1942. Pp. xi+158. \$0.60. A listing, with explanation, of the organization and agencies concerned with the problem of post-war planning.

GILLESPIE, R. D. *Psychological Effects of War on Citizen and Soldier*. New York: W. W. Norton & Co., Inc., 1942. Pp. 251. \$2.75. Firsthand observation on the psychological effects of modern warfare by one of England's foremost psychiatrists, connected with the R.A.F.

GINZBERG, ELL. *Grass on the Slog Heaps: The Story of the Welsh Miners*. New York: Harper & Bros., 1942. Pp. xiv+228. \$2.50. A survey of a depressed area, of the migrations of labor from the area, and of its state just prior to the war. The author gathered data in the region and in industrial cities to which many Welsh miners have migrated.

GOULD, KENNETH M. *They Got the Blame: The Story of Scapegoats in History*. New York: Association Press, 1942. Pp. 63.

GRANT, AMELIA HOWE. *Nursing: A Community Health Service*. Philadelphia: W. B. Saunders Co., 1942. Pp. xiii+277. \$2.50. Deals with the development of public health nursing, the preparation of the nurse for this work, and describes in detail the nurse's part in dealing with health problems of the family and the community.

GRAVES, ALONZO. *The Eclipse of a Mind*. New York: Medical Journal Press, 1942. Pp. xii+722. \$5.00. An extensive account in autobiographical form of the life and experience of a manic-depressive psychotic.

GROVES, ERNEST R. *Christianity and the Family*. New York: Macmillan Co., 1942. Pp. ix+229. \$2.00. This volume treats of the spiritual function of the family, its role in the development of Christian character, the church and education for family life, and the minister as a domestic counselor.

HENDRICKS, GEORGE D. *The Bad Man of the West*. San Antonio: Naylor Co., 1941. Pp. xv+310. \$3.50. This is a discussion of the western desperados, rich in historical and anecdotal detail. The author endeavors to explain the motives of the "bad men," their techniques, their philosophy, where they came from, the physical and character traits that they shared in common, and their respective fates.

HERON, ALEXANDER R. *Sharing Information with Employees*. Stanford University, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1942. Pp. ix+204. \$2.50. A nontechnical discussion of how to get desired information to the employee and establish understanding.

HERSKOVITS, MELVILLE J. *The Myth of the Negro Past*. New York: Harper & Bros., 1941. Pp. xiv+374. \$4.00. The author seeks to disprove two "myths": (1) that the American Negro is of childlike character and accepts easily unsatisfactory conditions, and (2) that in being transplanted to America they lost practically all of their African culture. Africanisms present in American Negro culture and evidences of the tribal origins of the Negro are adduced. Full references and an appendix of "Directives for Further Study."

HEYEL, CARL. *How To Create Job Enthusiasm*. New York: McGraw-Book Co., Inc., 1942. Pp. vii+248. \$2.00. A popular book on personnel problems.

HOBBS, ALBERT HOYT. *Differentials in Internal Migration*. Gettysburgh, Pa.: Times & News Publishing Co., 1941. Pp. xi+122. The study is of a Pennsylvania borough which has declined slowly with the anthracite mining industry. By various techniques in-migration, out-migration, and return-migration are related to age, sex, nativity, education, occupation, etc., and to social and economic conditions. An at-

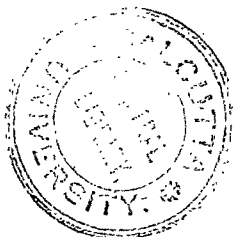
- tempt is made to substitute social and economic distance for mere miles in analyzing moves.
- HRONEK, JIŘÍ. *Volcano under Hitler: The Underground War in Czechoslovakia*. London: Unwin Bro. Ltd., Woking, 1941. Pp. 141. A statement of the various forms of resistance practiced by the Czechs against the Nazis.
- HUNTINGTON, EMILY H. *Doors to Jobs: A Study of the Organization of the Labor Market in California*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1942. Pp. xviii+454. \$3.50. This study shows that in spite of the existence of many organizations for bringing together jobs and workers there was no real organization of the market for labor in California, a situation obtaining in most other states.
- INTERNATIONAL LABOUR OFFICE. *Approaches to Social Security: An International Survey*. ("Studies and Reports," Ser. M, No. 18.) Montreal: McGill University, 1942. Pp. iii+100. \$0.50. A survey of social assistance and social insurance and their integration in a coherent system of social security.
- JAMES, ARTHUR W. *The State Becomes a Social Worker: An Administrative Interpretation*. Richmond, Va.: Garrett & Massie, Inc., 1942. Pp. xiv+368. \$3.00. A study of the Department of Public Welfare of the state of Virginia showing the growth of public welfare services as interpreted by the administrators and social service directors of the department.
- JESUIT PHILOSOPHICAL ASSOCIATION OF THE EASTERN STATES. *Phases of American Culture*. Worcester, Mass., Holy Cross College Press, 1942. Pp. 83. A symposium by the Jesuit Philosophical Association of the Eastern States, including analyses of the integration of American culture, the founding fathers and the Bill of Rights, and Justice Holmes's juristic philosophy.
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- KAHN, FRITZ. *Our Sex Life: A Guide and Counsellor for Everyone*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1942. Pp. xxxv+459. \$5.75. A second revised edition of a translation from the German. A comprehensive and scientific discussion of the sexual function, of the problems of sex life, and of sexual hygiene. Readable and nontechnical. Valuable particularly to the enlightened layman.
- KALLEN, H. M. *The Future of Peace*. ("Public Policy Pamphlet," No. 34, Harry D. Gideonse ed.) Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1941. Pp. iv+39. \$0.25.
- KINGSLEY, J. DONALD, and PETEGORSKY, DAVID W. *Strategy for Democracy*. New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1942. Pp. ix+342. \$3.00. An analysis of the principles of international economic, political, and military organization as a basis for victory in war and the subsequent peace.
- KRZESINSKI, ANDREW J. *Is Modern Culture Doomed?* New York: Devin-Adair Co., 1942. Pp. viii+158. \$2.00. The author differentiates materialistic culture now in a tragic condition in the present crisis of Western civilization from Christian culture to which men are turning because it meets their growing social needs.
- KUHLMAN, A. F. (ed.). *The Development of University Centers in the South*. (Papers presented at the dedication of the Joint University Library.) Nashville, Tenn.: Peabody Press and Vanderbilt University Press, 1942. Pp. 128.
- LAMBRECHT, FRANCIS. *The Mayawyaw Ritual: Go-betweens and Priests*. ("Publications of the Catholic Anthropological Conference," Vol. IV, No. 5.) Washington, D.C.: Catholic Anthropological Conference, c/o Catholic University of America, 1941. Pp. 713-54. \$1.00. The study concerns a tribe in northern Luzon, Philippine Islands. Describes the functions, candidacy, training, and procedures of the two kinds of functionaries.
- LONDON, FRED. *Western Ontario and the American Frontier*. Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1941. Pp. xviii+305. \$3.50. This volume of the "Canadian-American Relations"

series deals with a part of Canada close to the United States in several directions and settled in considerable part by Americans. The analysis includes politics, religious movements, the antislavery crusade, and the international complications engendered by the War of 1812, the Canadian rebellion of 1837, and the Civil War.

- LEONARD, OLEN, and LOOMIS, C. P. *Culture of a Contemporary Rural Community: El Cerrito, New Mexico*. ("U.S. Department of Agriculture, Bureau of Agricultural Economics, "Rural Life Studies," No. 1.) Washington, D.C.: Department of Agriculture, 1941. Pp. 72. El Cerrito is one of six rural communities—ranging from extremely stable to extremely unstable—studied by sociologists and anthropologists for the Department of Agriculture. It is a Spanish-speaking village. The study is focused on the relation of the economic basis of life to the social organization.
- MACIVER, R. M. *Social Causation*. Boston: Ginn & Co., 1942. Pp. x+414. \$3.00.
- MCNEMAR, QUINN, and MERRILL, MAUD A. (eds.). *Studies in Personality: Contributed in Honor of Lewis M. Terman*. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., Inc., 1942. Pp. x+333. \$3.50. A series of seventeen essays contributed in honor of Professor Lewis M. Terman. A wide range in topics is dealt with.
- MEANY, ANTHONY B. *America Handcuffed by Radio C-h-a-i-n-s*. New York: Daniel Ryerson, Inc., 1942. Pp. 132. \$2.00. Argument that the radio is responsible in part for economic depression and other social ills.
- MELROSE, JAMES A., and GRISWOLD, ELLEN M. *Reorientation to Religion*. ("Cooperative Books," Ser. II, No. 7) Norman, Okla.: Transcript Press, 1941. Pp. 44. \$0.50.
- MERRILL, FREDERICK T. *Japan and the Opium Menace*. New York: Institute of Pacific Relations, 1942. Pp. xv+170. \$1.50.
- MILITARY MOBILIZATION COMMITTEE OF THE AMERICAN PSYCHIATRIC ASSOCIATION. *Psychiatric Aspects of Civilian Morale*. New York: Family Welfare Association of America, 1942. Pp. 62. \$0.50. A pamphlet presenting the experience of the civilians in wartime in other countries and discussing anxiety, morale, and fatigue and their control.
- MILLER, JAMES GRIER. *Unconsciousness*. New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1942. Pp. vi+329. \$3.00. A critical analysis of the varieties of "unconsciousness" designated in psychology.
- NATIONAL RESOURCES PLANNING BOARD. *National Resources Development: Report for 1942*. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1942. Pp. v+227. \$0.55. Deals with wartime and post-war planning, public works planning, and the utilization of national resources.
- NATIONAL RESOURCES PLANNING BOARD. *Progress Report, 1940-1941*. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1942. Pp. v+81. \$0.25. A report on the work of the National Resources Planning Board for the two-year period ending June 30, 1941, recording the organization and progress of efforts in city, state, regional, and national planning in the United States. The report includes a statement on local planning for defense areas.
- NEGLEY, GLENN. *The Organization of Knowledge*. New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1942. Pp. xiii+373. A presentation of what is meant by philosophical analysis, its relation to scientific analysis, the methods of science, and the possibilities and ways of synthesizing knowledge.
- NEUMAN, ABRAHAM A. *Cyrus Adler: A Biographical Sketch*. Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1942. Pp. 233.
- NEUMANN, FRANZ. *Behemoth: The Structure and Practice of National Socialism*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1942. Pp. xvii+532. \$4.00. A serious attempt to analyze the forces underlying the National-Socialist movement and to trace the development of the Nazi state. Deals with the social, political, and economic structure of the totalitarian state, with special attentions to the relation of the party to the state. For scholarly and intelligent lay audience.
- NEW JERSEY STATE BAR ASSOCIATION, COMMITTEE ON W.P.A. *Survey of the Economic Status of the Legal Profession in New Jersey with Tables, Statistics and Conclusions: 1941 Report to the New Jersey State Bar Association*. Newark, N.J.: New Jersey

- State Bar Association Committee on W.P.A., 1941. Pp. 80. Based on questionnaires filled out by 2,353 of the approximately 7,000 lawyers in the state. Tabulations and text concerning years of practice, schooling, age, national origins, etc., and their relation to income. Also data on kinds of practice, fees, distribution of lawyers, etc.
- NEWMAN, SAMUEL CLAYTON. *Employment Problems of College Students*. Washington, D.C.: American Council on Public Affairs, 1942. Pp. xvi+158. Cloth ed. \$3.00; paper ed. \$2.50. The problem is that of employment while in college; statement of points of view, survey of studies of amount and kind of student employment, effects, recommendations.
- PAN AMERICAN UNION, COLUMBUS MEMORIAL LIBRARY OF THE. *Theses on Pan American Topics Prepared by Candidates for Degrees in Universities and Colleges in the United States*. Washington, D.C.: Columbus Memorial Library of the Pan American Union, 1941. Pp. 170. \$0.75.
- PELZER, KARL J. *Economic Survey of the Pacific Area, Part I: Population and Land Utilization*. New York: International Secretariat Institute of Pacific Relations, 1941. Pp. xv+215. \$2.00. A reference book presenting a great mass of information on the basic trends of population and land use in the Pacific.
- PETERSON, ELMER T. *Forward to the Land*. Norman, Okla.: University of Oklahoma Press, 1942. Pp. xvi+283. \$2.75. A plea for a better "adjustment to the soil" in American economy—including conservation of resources, return to "live-at-home-farming" with less foreign trade, less interest in money, less government control, and less national socialism.
- Proceedings of the Seventh Conference of Teachers of International Law and Related Subjects*. Washington: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 1941. Pp. xiii+210. \$1.00.
- RECKITT, MAURICE B., and CASSERLEY, J. V. LANGMEAD. *The Vocation of England*. New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1941. Pp. 173. \$1.75. Reviews—in essay fashion—"the prospects of a Christian England" in a Europe threatened by loss of Christian faith; with special attention to rural life, urban life, freedom, the English political tradition. Contains much vivid comment on international relations and the post-war world.
- RATNER, SIDNEY. *American Taxation: Its History as a Social Force in Democracy*. New York: W. W. Norton & Co., Inc., 1942. Pp. 561. \$4.50. The history of American taxation viewed as a product of the contending segments of American life and as a factor in shaping American society.
- ROBACK, A. A. *Psychorama: A Mental Outlook and Analysis*. Cambridge, Mass.: Scitart Publishers, 1942. Pp. 365. \$2.90. A series of casual and loosely connected discussions centering on the Jewish problem.
- ROSS, EARLE D. *Democracy's College: The Land-Grant Movement in the Formative State*. Ames: Iowa State College Press, 1942. Pp. 267. \$3.00. A history of the movements in education which led to the establishment of that typically American institution—the agricultural and engineering college—with federal aid. The book treats of the movement for industrial education, of the political moves leading to the land-grant legislation, and of the development of the land-grant institutions with respect to staff, organization, students, curriculums and their relations to other types of educational institutions. Extensive bibliography.
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THE POTENTIAL RATE OF INCREASE OF THE POPULATION OF THE UNITED STATES¹

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ABSTRACT

From 1930 to 1941 the net reproduction rate of the total population of the United States was at least sufficient to maintain a stationary and possibly a slowly increasing population. The rate for the white population was approximately 100, while that for the nonwhite population was definitely about the replacement level. The increase in the crude birth rate since 1933 has resulted almost entirely from an increase in the number of first and second births and does not represent an increase in the lifetime fertility of women in the childbearing ages.

On January 31, 1941, the Bureau of the Census issued a press release (Series P-5, No. 2) which stated in effect that the net reproduction rate had decreased from 111 per 100 women in 1930 to 96 per 100 women in 1940. In other words, while in 1930 the potential rate of increase of the population of the United States was 11 per cent per generation, by 1940 this potential increase had been transformed into a potential decrease of 4 per cent per generation.

This release was followed by another in August 23, 1941 (Series P-5, No. 13), which presented net reproduction rates by color and residence for the total country and for each of the forty-eight states. According to this release, the net reproduction rate of the white population decreased from 111 per 100 women in 1930 to 94 per 100 women in 1940, or a decrease of 15 per cent, while the corre-

¹ Revision of a paper presented before the annual meeting of the Population Association of America, May 1, 1942.

sponding rate for the nonwhite population decreased from 110 to 107, or only 3 per cent.

These rates were based upon births estimated from the number of children under five years of age at the censuses of 1930 and 1940. For both periods the reported number of children was corrected for underenumeration by multiplying the number of white children by 1.0460 and the number of nonwhite children by 1.1145. These were the factors used by the Scripps Foundation in preparing the 1930 ratios of children to women by states and size of community for the National Resources Committee.

Since, as the releases pointed out, the children under five years of age living on the date of the census in 1930 and 1940 were the survivors of births during 1925-29 and 1935-39, respectively, the net reproduction rates, strictly speaking, did not refer to 1930 and 1940; but the tables in the releases were labeled 1930 and 1940, and the implication seemed to be that these labels could be accepted by all except possibly the statistical purists.

But the men and women who bear the children, some if not all of whom subsequently appear as small black digits on the pages of census volumes, refused to have their personal relationships regulated by governmental press releases. As a result, the Division of Vital Statistics of the Bureau of the Census reported that the birth rate increased nearly 4 per cent during 1940 when compared with 1939; by the end of 1941 the birth rate—19 per 1,000 population—was almost 10 per cent higher than the rate for 1939.

The Metropolitan Life Insurance Company in its *Statistical Bulletin* for February, 1942, reported net reproduction rates for the white population of 108 and 102 per 100 women in 1930 and 1940, respectively. These rates differed somewhat from those published by the Bureau of the Census; moreover, the relative decrease during the decade was only 5 per cent as compared with 15 per cent reported in the Census release. The rates published by the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company presumably were based upon the births registered during the calendar years 1930 and 1940. The 1940 births were increased 8.5 per cent to allow for incomplete registration; the correction factor used for the 1930 births was not disclosed.

It should be noted that the report published in the February, 1942, *Statistical Bulletin* of the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company represented a definite change of opinion on the part of the statisticians of that organization, for in the April, 1939, *Bulletin* the net reproduction rate of the white population of the United States in 1936 was stated to be only 95, a figure in substantial agreement with that published in the Bureau of the Census release referred to above. However, the statisticians of the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company might point out that it was the effectiveness of the procreative activities of the American population and not their opinion which had changed between April, 1939, and February, 1942. Moreover, they merely had been keeping a sensitive finger upon the fluttering demographic pulse of the population as had been their custom for several years.

By this time the hypothetical John Q. Public may very well have been quite confused by the frequently appearing bulletins on the state of his demographic health and possibly may have felt that the ancient and rather derogatory characterization of statisticians as being among the less moral members of the population was well deserved. In August, 1941, he was doomed to become an ancestor without progeny, but in February, 1942, he could look forward to a long, but not numerous, line of descendants. During the early months of 1942, however, most of the citizens of our country were occupied with matters of more immediate personal consequence than the contemplation of the possibility that they might be only a withering branch of a decaying ancestral tree.

Nevertheless, before the present wholesale slaughter of the inhabitants of this world is ended, the loss of life is almost certain to be of such magnitude that the seeming insignificant difference between net reproduction rates of 102 and 94 per 100 women will undoubtedly be a matter of vital national concern. For this reason it is desirable to examine in some detail the changes in the birth rate during the past decade.

Figure 1 presents the annual birth rate for the total population of the birth registration area from 1926 to 1941; monthly birth rates from January, 1934, to February, 1942, inclusive; and linear trend

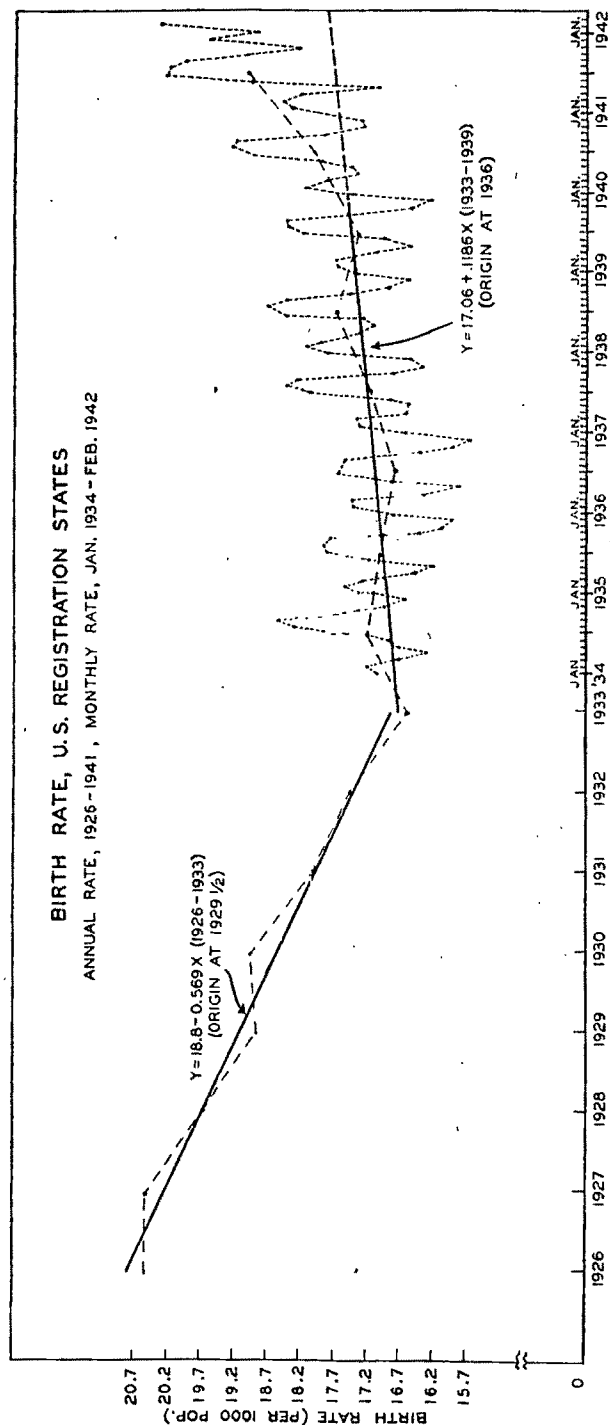


FIG. 1.—Number of births per 1,000 total population in the Birth Registration states; annual rate for 1926-41; monthly rate, January, 1934, through February, 1942; linear trend lines, 1926-33 and 1933-39.

lines fitted to the annual birth rates for 1926-33 and 1933-39. In 1926 the birth registration area included thirty-six states; beginning in 1933, it included the entire country.

From 1926 to 1933 inclusive the birth rate declined 19 per cent, or at the average rate of 1.1 per 1,000 population every two years; from 1933 to 1939 inclusive the birth rate increased 4.5 per cent, or at the average rate of 1.1 per 1,000 population every nine years. But the birth rate in 1941—19 per 1,000 population—was nearly 10 per cent higher than the rate for 1939, so that the total percentage increase from 1933 to 1941 inclusive was 14. The decrease in the num-

TABLE 1*
GROSS AND NET REPRODUCTION RATES PER 100 FEMALES
BY COLOR, 1929-31 AND 1939-41

COLOR	GROSS REPRODUCTION RATES		NET REPRODUCTION RATES	
	1929-31	1939-41	1929-31	1939-41
White.....	111	103	98	95
Negro.....	112	116†	86	98†
Total.....	111	104	97	95

* Not corrected for incomplete registration of births.

† Nonwhite population.

ber of births which resulted from the decline in the birth rate from 1926 to 1933 was not counterbalanced, however, by the increase in the birth rate from 1933 to 1941 to the extent that a comparison of the two percentage changes—19 and 14—might indicate, since most of the increase took place in 1940 and 1941.

If the net reproduction rate is computed from the births registered during a given period, it is obvious from Figure 1 that its magnitude will depend upon the period chosen so that the apparent inconsistency in the various reported net reproduction rates results from the fact that they were not based on the same set of fertility rates. Moreover, the adjustments for incomplete registration of births or underenumeration of children were not always the same.

Table 1 presents the gross and net reproduction rates for the total,

white, and Negro populations for the years 1929-31 and 1939-41. These rates are based upon the recorded births and have not been corrected for incomplete registration. The data for 1941 were preliminary, but this should have no appreciable effect upon the rates.

During the ten-year period from 1929-31 to 1939-41 the gross reproduction rate for the total population decreased from 111 to 104, or 6.5 per cent; and the net reproduction rate decreased from 97 to 95, or 2.1 per cent. The relative decline in the net reproduction rate was less than that in the gross reproduction because of a decrease in mortality rates among women of childbearing age.

The gross reproduction rate for white women decreased 6.5 per cent, but the rate for Negro women increased 3.6 per cent. The net reproduction rate for white women decreased 3.1 per cent, while the rate for Negro women increased 14 per cent. It is quite likely that the observed change in these rates has been affected by changes in the completeness of the registration of births. Although the percentage of unregistered births in 1930 is not known, it has been estimated to be about 8 per cent for whites and at least twice that for Negroes.

In 1934 and 1935 the Bureau of the Census, in co-operation with the Federal Emergency Relief Administration, organized birth-registration campaigns in a number of states where registration was believed to be incomplete. Subsequently, the Bureau of the Census employed a staff of field workers to assist states in improving their registration systems. Moreover, public attention was called to the desirability of having a birth certificate on file by the increasing use of this document for legal and administrative purposes. Although definite proof is not available, some improvement in the completeness of birth registration undoubtedly took place between 1934 and 1941. How much, of course, cannot be stated. Since the estimated proportion of unregistered births in 1930 was more than twice as great for Negroes as for whites, the possibility for improvement was correspondingly greater for Negroes. The reported increase in the gross reproduction rate for Negroes is such that it could be the result of more complete registration of births in 1940. Unfortunately, it is not possible to determine whether this is true.

By how much should the above gross and net reproduction rates

be increased to allow for incomplete registration of births? Concerning the answer to this question there is diversity of opinion and divergence of practice. The Metropolitan Life Insurance Company *Statistical Bulletin* stated that the 1940 fertility rates for the white population had been increased 8.5 per cent to allow for underregistration of births. The net reproduction rates published by the Bureau of the Census were based upon children under five years of age. However, to obtain a net reproduction rate of 96 for the period 1935-39 from the births of that period would necessitate an increase of about 8 per cent in the number of registered births. It should be noted that this applies to births undifferentiated by color.

The Bureau of the Census has not always been quite consistent in its estimates of the percentage underregistration of births, or perhaps it would be more correct to state that the members of the Bureau in charge of different computations have used different estimates of underregistration of births. Prior to 1940 the Bureau of the Census increased the number of registered births 8 per cent when preparing estimates of population. But when the estimated population in 1940 was compared with that enumerated during the census, it proved to be larger, so that the correction factor for births was changed from 8 to 5 per cent in order to make the estimates consistent with the population enumerated in 1930 and 1940.

A correction of 5 per cent also has been used in the preparation of population estimates since April, 1940. But the net reproduction rate published by the Bureau of the Census, although computed from the number of children under five years of age, involved an equivalent increase of between 8 and 9 per cent in the number of registered births for the years 1935-39.

If the net reproduction rate were not approximately 100 per 100 women, the above variation in correction factors would not be of much consequence. But the difference between two net reproduction rates of 99 and 101 per 100 women is the difference between the extinction and the survival of a population so that the choice of the correction factor becomes a matter of crucial importance.

In connection with the 1940 census of population, the Division of Vital Statistics of the Bureau of the Census undertook an investigation of the completeness of registration of births during the four

months' period immediately preceding the date of enumeration. Preliminary tabulation of the results yields a provisional estimate that 92.2 per cent of the infants born from December, 1939, through March, 1940, were registered. Using this correction factor, the net reproduction rate for the total population of the United States for the three-year period 1939-41 was 103.

Estimates of the completeness of registration of white and colored births separately are not yet available, but the estimate for the total population indicates that probably from 93 to 94 per cent of the white births and from 80 to 87 per cent of the colored births are registered. If this is true, the net reproduction rates of both the white and the nonwhite populations were above the bare replacement level during the last three years, the white rate being about 101 or 102, and the Negro being between 113 and 122.

Inspection of Figure 1, however, shows that the course of the birth rate during the past decade was roughly U-shaped, so that fertility rates computed for the beginning and the end of the period almost certainly are higher than a rate including data for the entire period. The net reproduction rate for the eleven-year period 1931-41, uncorrected for incomplete registration of births, was 91 per 100 women. This is less than the rates of 97 and 95 for 1929-31 and 1939-41.

As pointed out above, the completeness of registration of births almost certainly increased during the past decade. Unfortunately, the percentage completeness at the beginning of the decade is unknown. If the provisional estimate of the Division of Vital Statistics for 1940 is correct, and if the completeness increased during the decade, the various published estimates of the percentage completeness in 1930 are all too high. If no more than 90 per cent of the births were registered in 1930, the net reproduction rate for the eleven-year period 1931-41 was at least high enough to maintain a stationary population. The actual rate was probably slightly above this level.

Corresponding computations have not been made for the white and nonwhite population. The net reproduction rate for the nonwhite population unquestionably exceeded bare replacement needs. The rate for the white population must have been approximately 100 per 100 women, perhaps slightly less.

How much longer will the rise in the crude birth rate continue? Without even considering the possible reasons for the increase in the birth rate from 1934 to 1941, it may be stated with considerable confidence that the birth rate in 1943 and perhaps that for 1942 will be lower than the rate in 1941. Nevertheless, it may be desirable to indicate some of the possible reasons for the increase since 1934.

In one sense the reported increase is more apparent than real, for it merely represents a change in the spacing of childbearing during married life. If fertility is studied historically by utilizing the records of women who have completed their childbearing period, the spacing of their children throughout the childbearing ages has no effect upon the total number of children born. If a woman has three children before age fifty, her age at the time of their birth has no effect upon our estimate of her lifetime fertility.

But if fertility is studied currently by taking a cross-section of the annual fertility experience of a group of women whose ages range through the childbearing period, fluctuations in the spacing of children may materially effect the fertility rates based upon one year's record. If a sufficient proportion of the women postpone the births which they would normally have during a period of years and later all decide to bear the postponed births at about the same time, the gross and net reproduction rates computed from the records of the two periods of time may vary widely. However, the total number of children born by the end of the childbearing ages would remain unchanged.

This is essentially what happened between 1930 and 1940. Following the onset of the depression in 1929, both the marriage and the birth rates decreased rapidly. By the end of 1932 the birth rate was 8 per cent less, and the number of marriages was 13 per cent less, than in 1930. Although the annual number of marriages had increased about one-third of a million by 1935, the birth rate did not increase much until 1938, following an increase in business activity in 1937.

By the end of 1940 most of the deficit in marriages had been wiped out. From 1921 to 1930 the average annual number of marriages was 1,185,000; from 1931 to 1940 the corresponding number was 1,284,000. The total number of marriages was about 8 per cent greater during the past decade than during the decade 1921-30. But, since

the average population was about 10 per cent greater during the past decade, some postponed marriages probably still existed at the beginning of 1941. Complete reports for the past year are not yet available, but preliminary information indicates that the number of marriages in 1941 may exceed the record number of 1940.

Indeed, by the end of 1941 there may be an "excess" instead of a "deficit" in marriages. The enactment of the Selective Service Act in September, 1940, and the subsequent declaration of war in December, 1941, resulted not only in the marriage of couples who had postponed this event because of the depression but also undoubtedly hastened the marriage of couples who otherwise would not have married for several months or even years.

The number of marriages solemnized in 1940 (1,565,000) exceeded the largest previous number (1,438,000, in 1937) by 127,000 and surpassed the estimated number for 1939 by 190,000. A survey of thirty large cities including about one-quarter of the total population of the country made by the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company revealed that the number of marriage licenses issued during the first eleven months of 1941 exceeded those for the corresponding period of 1940 by 8.8 per cent.

The increase in the number of marriages in 1941 probably resulted largely from increased industrial activity, whereas the increase in 1940 occurred almost simultaneously with the passage of the Selective Service Act (Fig. 2). To be sure, the number of marriages in 1940 exceeded the corresponding number in 1939 from May through October based on reports from twenty-five states and the District of Columbia, but 81 per cent of the increase was recorded during August, September, and October. The Selective Service Act was signed on September 16, 1940, and registration for males twenty-one to thirty-five years of age took place on October 16, 1940.

The marriages contracted at the time of the enactment of the Selective Service Act would be especially likely to produce births within a year. Not only were the couples within the most fertile childbearing period but also deferment was granted to those with dependents, and there can be no question of the dependency of a newborn infant.

The birth rate in June, 1941, which was the result of October, 1940, conceptions increased 11 per cent over the rate for May, 1941.

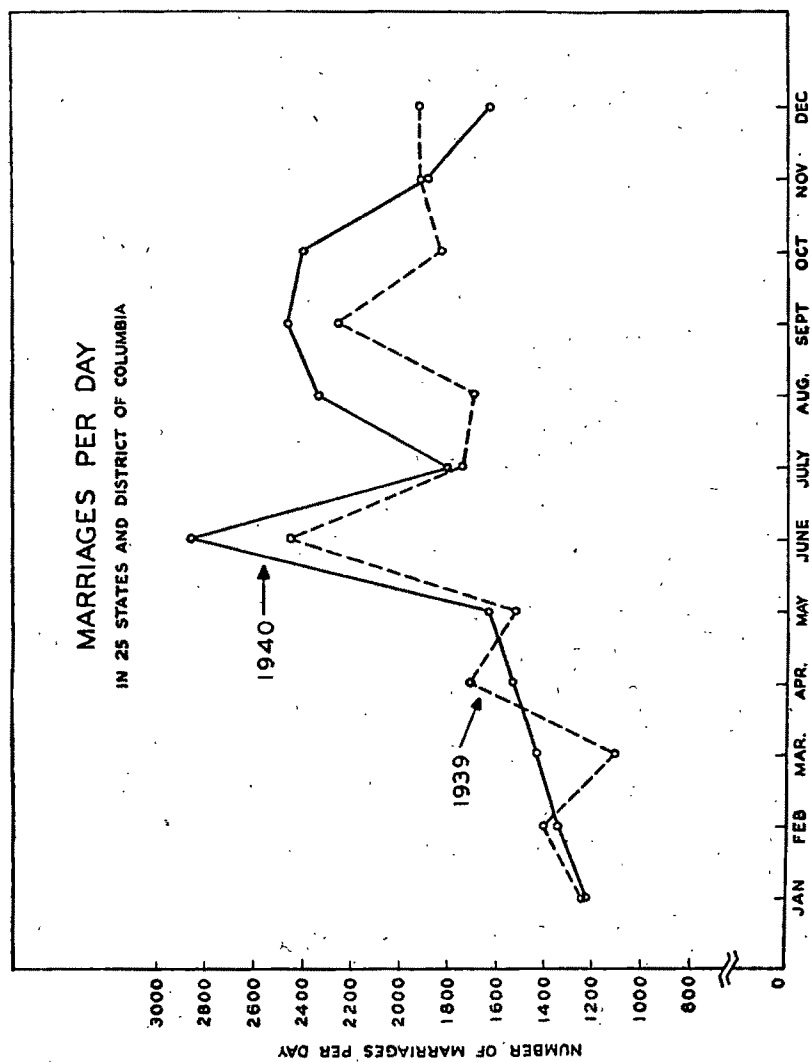


FIG. 2.—Average number of marriages per day per month in twenty-five states and the District of Columbia, 1939 and 1940.

Corresponding increases in previous years were 2.4 per cent in 1940, 2.7 per cent in 1939, and 1.1 per cent in 1938. Moreover, the July and August birth rates were nearly 7 per cent higher than the June rate. With the exception of May, the birth rate for each month during 1941 definitely exceeded the rate estimated by projecting the trend line fitted to data for the years 1933-39. The average for the year was about 8 per cent higher than the trend estimate.

It is too early to determine whether the high birth rate of 1941 will be continued during 1942, but, according to preliminary reports received by the Bureau of the Census, the birth rate for the first four months of 1942 (19.4 per 1,000 population) was 7.8 per cent higher than the corresponding rate for 1941.

The fillip given the birth rate in 1941 by the marriages stimulated by the Selective Service Act probably will not be repeated. It is true that there may be an increase in marriages resulting from the registration of the remaining males under sixty-five years of age, but these marriages cannot be expected to affect the birth rate to the same degree as the marriages of August, September, and October, 1940.

Before the end of 1942, moreover, the stringencies of war will have affected every person in the population. In the past the birth rate has decreased sharply during wartime. In World War I the birth rate decreased about 58 per cent in Bulgaria, 52 per cent in Hungary, 50 per cent in Germany, Belgium, and France, 27 per cent in England and Wales, and 12 per cent in the United States, as reported in the March, 1940, *Statistical Bulletin* of the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company.

According to preliminary reports, the birth rate in pre-1939 Germany decreased slightly during 1940 following the outbreak of the war in 1939. In England and Wales the decline began during the third quarter of 1940 and has continued uninterrupted since that time. The greatest decline in the birth rate in this country probably will not come until large expeditionary forces are sent overseas.

The explanation just given for the increase in the birth rate is supported by the trend in the birth rate at specific ages which indicates that the rise in the birth rate since 1933 represents a change in the distribution of births throughout the childbearing period rather than an increase in the average number of children born to each woman.

The birth rate of women aged fifteen to nineteen, twenty to twenty-four, and twenty-five to twenty-nine years decreased sharply from 1930 to 1933; from 1934 to 1940 the corresponding rates increased, but not sufficiently to make up for the previous decrease. The birth rate for women thirty to thirty-four years of age reached its lowest point in 1936; since then it has increased slightly. The birth rate for women thirty-five or more years old declined continuously throughout the past decade (Fig. 3).

For the white population the smallest number of births registered was in 1933; since then the number of registered births has slowly increased. Between 1933 and 1939, the last year for which data are available, the number of registered white births increased 188,725. The number of first births increased 180,161, the number of second births increased 82,747, the number of third births increased 5,007, while the number of births of fourth order or higher decreased 77,190. In other words, the increase in the birth rate resulted from an increase in first and second births.

The smallest number of nonwhite births registered was in 1936. The increase between 1936 and 1939 was 20,010, of which 7,330 were first births, 4,839 were second births, 3,562 were third births, 1,469 were fourth births, and 2,810 were of fifth order or higher. Although 61 per cent of the increase was the result of an increase in the number of first and second births, some increase also occurred in the number of births of fourth order and higher.

Corresponding figures by age and color of mother are given in Table 2. The increase in the birth rate of the white population is due solely to an increase in the number of first and second births. The figures for the nonwhite population are very confusing, but there is an indication of an increase in the number of births of order higher than three.

For the white population it is fair to conclude that the rise in the birth rate since 1933 does not indicate an increase in the lifetime fertility of the women now of childbearing age. It is not possible to permanently maintain a population by an increase in the number of first and second births alone, especially when the number of births of the fourth order and higher is decreasing. For this reason the computation of net reproduction rates based on the number of

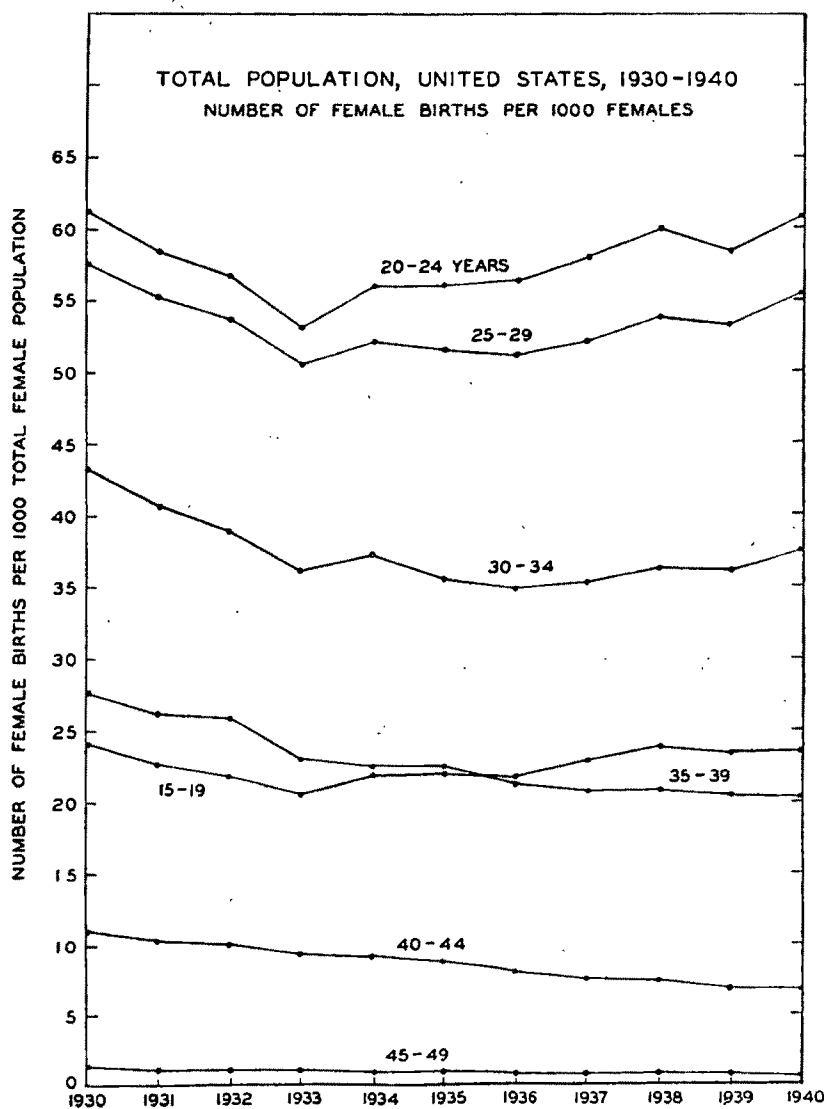


FIG. 3.—Number of female births per 1,000 total female population by age, United States, 1930-40.

births registered during one year not only is unwise but may also be misleading.

In summary, it can be stated that the available information shows the fertility and mortality of the population of the United States during the eleven-year period ending with 1941 was at least sufficient to maintain a stationary and possibly a slowly increasing population. For the white population the net reproduction rate was approximate-

TABLE 2
CHANGE IN THE NUMBER OF BIRTHS OF DIFFERENT ORDER
BY AGE AND COLOR OF MOTHER

ORDER OF BIRTH	WHITE				NONWHITE			
	15-19*	20-24*	25-29*	30-34†	15-19*	20-24*	25-29*	30-34†
First.	25,870	64,169	57,049	14,874	5,894	-774	886	396
Second.	5,871	20,735	28,689	14,077	3,618	-417	108	336
Third.	837	— 552	775	3,802	1,092	-216	-468	346
Fourth.	80	— 2,099	— 7,034	— 883	145	0	-617	370
Fifth or higher.	2	— 670	— 8,546	— 5,688	10	449	-824	723
Not stated...	462	546	285	— 2,561	263	24	— 56	67
Total. . .	33,122	82,129	71,218	23,621	11,022	-934	-971	2,238

* The figures for women aged 15-19, 20-24, and 25-29 years are the difference between the number of births registered in 1933 and 1939 exclusive of Massachusetts, Colorado, and New Hampshire.

† The figures for women aged 30-34 years are the difference between the number of births registered in 1936 and 1939 exclusive of Massachusetts and New Hampshire.

ly 100 or just sufficient to maintain a stationary population; for the nonwhite population the net reproduction rate was definitely above the replacement level.

The apparent increase in the birth rate since 1933 is the result of an increase in the number of first and second births and, consequently, does not represent an increase in the lifetime fertility of the women in the childbearing ages. It is doubtful that this increase will continue beyond 1942. After that date a decline seems inevitable, at least for the duration of the war. If such is the case, the potential decrease of the population, somewhat prematurely announced by the Bureau of the Census in 1941, will become a reality.

THEORY AND QUANTITATIVE ANALYSIS IN CRIMINOLOGICAL RESEARCH

SVEND RIEMER

ABSTRACT

In current criminological literature the concept "cause" is abandoned and replaced by the measurement of probabilities and crime risks attached to various attributes of the individual. This article stresses the need for theoretical guidance of empirical research entailing a network of hypothetical and verified statements pertaining to the level of cause-and-effect relationships. The correlation of random attributes or configuration of attributes with crime should be replaced by a conscious search for significant units which may be assumed as active in the process of causation. Assumptions are required as to the interaction between the various factors involved, containing an interpretation of the causal sequence. Statistical verification, to be sure, will have to be limited to the measurement of probabilities which gain sociological significance in their relation to a theoretical framework of causal relations.

To achieve close co-operation between theory and statistical verification, it is attempted to indicate the mutual relationship between the theoretical concept of the "ideal type," on the one hand, the "hypothetical average" and the "operational definition," on the other.

I. ISOLATED FACTORS AND CONFIGURATIONS

It is a growing practice in sociological and especially in criminological research to discuss probabilities and risks rather than causal relationships. The term "cause," wherever mentioned as a logical relationship in the discourse of a problem, is decorated by quotation marks. Objective validity, it is stated, implies the verification of the hypothesis in terms of numerical measurements which can be repeated by any number of scientific observers. Actual research in criminology, social psychology, etc., never presents the statement of "necessary consequences." Cause implies necessity. The regularities, then, which are observed, seem to be of a different order. They give us probability—numerically defined probabilities. Nobody, to be sure, wants to criticize the contention that the sociologist should guard against faulty interpretation of the validity of his findings. Unreflective caution, however, may unduly limit the field of scientific discussion.

In the field of sociological theory we have developed a framework of problems, hypotheses, and possibly even verified generalizations, which are the essential guide of research and which constitute soci-

ology as a specific discipline among the sciences. Within this field of discussion we are continuously pushing forward to the establishment of causal relationships. Two ways are leading onward in this direction: (a) The search for significant units to serve as "factors" in the process of crime causation and (b) statistical verifications which indicate whether and to what extent the hypothesis approximates an underlying causal relationship. It is the first of these which is left out of the methodological considerations of the advocates of "quantitative analysis" in its more narrow sense. They would relegate the discussion of social problems, as long as these are unrelated to actual measurement, to the field of prescientific speculation. Their belief is that science begins where measurement begins. Consequently, very often the hypothesis appears from nowhere, fished out of the mudhole of common sense, vaguely connected with other half-truths about society and the adjustment problems of its members. Under these conditions research lacks the guidance of a theoretical frame of reference.

This tendency is clearly reflected in current trends of research on crime causation. Prediction studies reveal crime risks, not causes of crime.¹ This conception is adequate enough in regard to the customary statistical investigations which correlate a multiplicity of isolated social or personal attributes with crime. We know that flap ears involve a risk of criminal behavior.² It would, of course, be fallacious to assume that flap ears cause crime. A considerable percentage of people with flap ears do not commit crimes. Many of those isolated factors which are correlated with criminal behavior—such as broken homes, housing conditions, personality traits, and physical characteristics—might not be related according to the logical order of cause and effect. They, as well as the criminal act itself, might be the result of a more basic phenomenon such as, for example, poverty or social disorganization, however these are defined. Both might be symptoms of the same background factors. To be sure, we can easily avoid the mistake of ascertaining a causal relationship

¹ See Walter C. Reckless, *Criminal Behavior* (New York, 1940), esp. chap. ix: "The Search for Causes."

² Edwin H. Sutherland, *Principles of Criminology* (New York, 1939), pp. 92-93, quoting a study by T. W. Kilmer.

wherever we restrict ourselves to the statement of numerical regularities. The statement of these regularities is not an end in itself, however, but supposedly a means for prediction and control. How, then, do we eliminate the dangerous consequences of fighting crime by attacking its symptoms?

Lack of insight into the process of crime causation has been felt particularly in regard to diagnosis, prognosis, and treatment of individual cases. Actuarial probabilities can be established for "populations" only, not for individuals. Research in crime risks, then, might be of value in the process of vaguely locating crime within the ramifications of our society. It might become possible to emphasize the undesirability of slum conditions, to point out the well-known risks of social disorganization in the immigrant community, etc. Actually, our information pertains only to the "where," not to the "why," of crime. The customary statistical approach fails when it comes to the practical problem of predicting the behavior of the individual.

In the face of urgent practical needs in modern penology, attempts are continuously made to fill this gap. In the prediction of success and failure in parole and probation, the procedure advanced from the statement of "crime risks" connected with isolated factors to the consideration of summations of such factors. The assumption seems to be that all these factors containing risk elements in regard to crime can be co-ordinated and looked upon as particles of a single denominator, a more or less indefinite social force breaking down the morals of the law-abiding citizen. If the "factors" assembled in the individual case establish sufficient weight in the direction of criminal behavior, the policy of the parole board will be guided by the anticipation of failure.³ Thus, the number of mistakes in the treatment of individual cases can be diminished. Still, it seems that the instrument of research in crime causation might furthermore be sharpened to meet the practical needs. The attention of the sociological investigator might be focused upon configurations of interrelated factors rather than the summation of unrelated factors. The co-operation and interaction of all factors contained in the configuration is as-

³ See article and references by Elio D. Monachesi, "An Evaluation of Recent Major Efforts at Prediction," *American Sociological Review*, Vol. VI, No. 4 (1941).

sumed to be significant in the process of crime causation. The hypothesis should be specific as to the "why" and "how" of the process of crime causation. It is not enough to say that broken homes *plus* adverse personality traits *plus* occupational maladjustment add up to an overwhelming crime risk. We want to know how the broken home influences the personality of the child and how the occupational maladjustment is related to past experiences. Research will be more pertinent if we gain insight into the way in which certain conditions, in regard to the family situation, in regard to occupational and generally social adjustment, and, finally, in regard to persistent personality traits, reinforce one another or otherwise co-operate in the psychological process of crime causation.

One might reflect here that research starting with configurations rather than with isolated factors does not at all imply a change in methods—a deviation from customarily recommended procedures of measurement. If we should find higher degrees of probabilities or crime risks with respect to configurations, so much the better. The aspect of "truth" is still imbedded in the discovery and the numerical statement of regularities as such, not in explanatory devices analyzing the kind of interaction of the circumstances at play.

It may seem futile to argue with reference to this view whether we want to attribute the quality "scientific" to quantitative analysis only or beyond that also to the process of logical reasoning which leads up to the statement of the hypothesis to be proved were it not for certain practical consequences in the field of sociological research. The general tendency, today, suggests restrictions that are likely to endanger the necessary contact and co-operation between social theory and social research. If research is unguided by a coherent and continuously expanding framework of hypotheses, it is likely to disintegrate into detailed studies which by accident only strike upon a problem of relevance to the development of social theory. Science is often said to begin where the solid rock of an "operational definition" enables the scholar to apply his technique. The process, however, by which one specific operational definition is chosen out of many possible ones, and the argument which establishes the sociological relevance of this definition, are left in the dim twilight of what is held to be mere "speculation."

The task of science in our field is often defined in such a manner as to leave the discovery of "regularities" in the field of social phenomena to a procedure of more or less wasteful "trial and error." Even such an irrational entity as the intuition of the scholar might be called upon to explain the avoidance of insignificant statistical correlations. There is nothing in the methodological considerations of quantitative analysis to hinder the criminologist from correlating such factors as eye color and crime, hair color and crime, or blindness and crime. The emphasis, of course, has shifted since the writings of Lombroso.⁴ This is assumed, however, to have occurred rather on the basis of increased information by a process of gradual elimination of disproved hypotheses and not on the basis of a systematic search for those circumstances in the constitution and life-history of the individual which are significant in the process of crime causation.

It is this search for a "significant unit" of causation which should be made conscious within criminological theory. If a significant crime risk is attached to flap ears, why is this so? Because flap ears are likely to shape the environment of the person in question. What, then, are the specific circumstances in the environment which are at play here and how do they cause criminal behavior? The attention of the research worker might shift from flap ears to other more significant units of observation. Thus, it might be possible to coordinate flap ears with similar abnormalities and to push forward systematically to generalizations on a higher level of abstraction. Only in this manner will our interest be focused upon the sociological problems involved, such as the ostracism of physical abnormalities by the primary group. The lineup of attributes, appearing on the identification form, will probable lose importance in criminological research and make place for the consideration of various situational constellations.

An example might clarify, better than theoretical discourse, our emphasis of the "significant unit" in the process of crime causation. Research into the causes of the crime of incest in Sweden had for a long time stressed the singular occupational distribution of incest

⁴ Cf. Cesare Lombroso, *Crime: Its Causes and Remedies* (Boston, 1911). On pp. 35-36 it is discovered that crime is more frequent among people with dark hair.

criminals (fathers involved in father-daughter incest). It had been found that most of them belonged to the group of farm labor, and elaborate theoretical discussions tried to explain this relationship by referring to the fact that the observation of incest in the process of animal breeding might have lessened the otherwise stringent taboo. Unfortunately, the incest criminals in the neighboring country of Denmark showed a very different background. Most of them belonged to the urban proletariat of Copenhagen. In spite of a high degree of correlation, the above-mentioned theory linking up farm labor and agricultural experiences and the crime of incest was obviously wrong. The hypothesis about the process of crime causation, in this particular instance, was finally improved when the systematic investigation of a considerable number of individual cases revealed a characteristic pattern in the life-histories of these criminals.⁵ The investigation arrived at a "social constellation" which could be assumed to be active in the process of crime causation (frequent changes of jobs, declining occupational career, break in the routine of occupational work, minimum of cohesion in family life, psychological incompatibility of married partners, lack of sexual intercourse between husband and wife, overcrowded housing conditions, alcoholism). The insight into the process of crime causation was now transferred to a new level. A hypothetical argument was attached to the specific interaction of these so far "isolated" factors in the life-histories of incest criminals. The breakdown of social control agencies in connection with the extreme frustration of sexual desire was conceived as a new unit of explanation. The road was opened now to comparative studies in other countries. Research was no longer restricted to random correlations of identification data. It was guided by a specific question: Is a similar social constellation present and active in this form of crime? The criminologist will not stand helpless if the recruitment of criminals takes place in a different social group. Unskilled industrial labor is the source of a considerable part of incest criminals in this country. But the problem now is merely to find out whether and why the same social constellation is more prevalent here in an urban environment than in Sweden.

⁵ Cf. Svend Eiemer, "A Research Note on Incest," *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. XLV, No. 2 (January, 1940).

To be sure, the statistical proof of any hypothesis on crime causation will always have to be oriented toward an operational definition made up for the immediate purpose. But the operational definition is concerned with the observability of attributes and not with the mechanism and the effect of their interaction. Nevertheless, there exists a close relationship between the operational definition and the "significant unit" of social or psychological causation. We talk about "test intelligence," referring to the limitations in the applied technique of measurement.⁶ But we are trying continuously to improve our technique of measurement in such a manner as to approximate clear understanding of intelligence as such, which is supposed to be a functional unit in our mental processes. Thus, while the concept of test intelligence will undergo an infinite number of changes with the improvement of our research techniques, the theoretical concept of intelligence may remain the same.

With the emphasis upon the significant unit of causation in mind, we shall have to direct our attention more eagerly to the study of the individual case. Configurations of circumstances become conspicuous in their relation to crime only in the comprehensive study of individual life-histories. Unfortunately, the statistical and the case-study approach, the so-called quantitative and qualitative or extensive and intensive approach, are kept more or less unrelated to each other. Case studies are used mainly as illustrations.⁷ Statistics refer to "populations" only. Consequently, the case studies are represented on a merely descriptive basis. They contain a wealth of concrete but unorganized material. Statistical research, on the other hand, is attached preferably to easily accessible identification data without systematic consideration of their relevance in the process of social causation. In both cases, research loses out on purpose. Problem and material are not selected with the intention of developing a coherent system of hypotheses.

II. THE "IDEAL TYPE" IN CRIMINOLOGICAL RESEARCH

A change in perspective might be brought about by the application to empirical research of a tool which so far has been used mainly

⁶ Cf. William F. Ogburn and Meyer F. Nimkoff, *Sociology* (New York, 1940), p. 90.

⁷ The value of case studies in the investigation of "behavior sequences" or "behavior systems" of crime has been stressed in recent textbook editions (see Reckless, *op. cit.*, and Sutherland, *op. cit.*).

by scholars interested in historical sociology. Let us consider the implications of the ideal type when used as an instrument of empirical research.⁸

The instrument of the ideal type was applied by Max Weber as an essentially theoretical concept. It represents the crystallization of potential human behavior.⁹ A more or less complicated configuration of reactions is projected into the construct of a fictitious individual. It is proposed that the ideal type will respond to certain situations in a certain way. This dictum is established on the basis of necessary cause-and-effect relationship. The *homo oeconomicus*—the classical example of an ideal type—implies rational behavior in regard to economic decisions.¹⁰ It stands for a principle from which the framework of economic theory has been deducted. On the other hand, economic theory has seldom felt the need to concern itself with the proof that its basic assumption actually coincides with the behavior observed in the economic sphere of our society. Individual behavior is known to deviate from the established type. What, then, is the relationship between the ideal type and observable behavior?

In the field of historical sociology, the ideal type lent itself very well to the development of a network of comprehensive hypotheses. So far, the concept has been used in the same manner in this country, without any attempt at statistical verification. It has been hinted, in some interpretations, that research might arrive at the establishment of an ideal type by describing the "average behavior" of a select group in a given situation. But research was scarcely ever applied.

⁸ The application of the ideal type to empirical research has been proposed repeatedly: Talcott Parsons, "The Professions and Social Structure," *Social Forces*, May, 1939; recently, Howard Becker's contributions in *Contemporary Social Theory* (1940) made a similar challenge to sociological research.

Cf. also the systematic discussion of the ideal type in Talcott Parsons, *The Structure of Social Action* (New York and London: McGraw-Hill, 1937), pp. 601 ff.

⁹ The ideal type, however, is not limited to an analysis of the individual member of a social group. Institutions, associations, and other phenomena of social relevance can be approached with this theoretical instrument.

¹⁰ Interestingly enough, Mortimer Adler and Jerome Michael based their criticism of criminological research upon a comparison with the deductive reasoning of economic theory. Unfortunately, their efforts ceased with the setting of the norm. No positive suggestions were given to criminological research (*Crime, Law, and Social Science* [New York, 1933]).

The ideal type mainly was used in the sphere of unproved theoretical speculation, and it was consequently close at hand to use the two terms of the "ideal type" and the "hypothetical average" almost simultaneously.¹¹ Max Weber explicitly expressed himself against this simplification. According to his interpretation the ideal type represents "übersteigerte Wirklichkeit."¹² Certain features are exaggerated beyond the pattern of behavior that can be observed in everyday life where attention is distracted by influences which are of no avail for the theoretical purpose in mind. Reality is exaggerated, purified if we may say so, in order to isolate the discourse of one particular problem at a time.

The ideal type of the jack-roller is by no means arrived at as the average of all people who rob intoxicated individuals after knocking them unconscious. The average would give us a picture far too diffuse to be valuable in the process of crime prediction. As in a caricature, the characteristic features of the jack-roller are emphasized beyond a mere description of actual conditions. The typical embezzler is not the average embezzler. The typical farmer is not the average farmer. The housewife's typical weekday—to take a somewhat different example—is not the average day containing a certain amount of washing (Monday), a certain amount of general housework (Friday), and a certain amount of the week end's leisure-time activities. The typical weekday would have to be conceived as a nonspecific day, eliminating all special activities, with emphasis upon the routine which repeats itself daily.¹³ An element of selection admittedly enters into the construct of the ideal type. It is based upon

¹¹ Cf. the treatment of the closely related concept of the "stereotype" (Richard T. LaPiere and Paul R. Farnsworth, *Social Psychology* [New York, 1936], pp. 197–212). Distinction is made, however, between the "model average" and the "ideal type" in Allison Davis, Burleigh B. Gardner, and Mary R. Gardner, *Deep South* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1941), p. 73.

¹² *Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft* (Tübingen, 1925), p. 10: "Je schärfer und eindeutiger konstruiert die Idealtypen sind: je weltfremder sie also, in diesem Sinne, sind, desto besser leisten sie ihren Dienst, terminologisch und klassifikatorisch sowohl wie heuristisch"; also, "Dass die Soziologie ausserdem nach Gelegenheit auch den Durchschnitts-Typus von der Art der empirisch-statistischen Typen verwendet . . . versteht sich von selbst."

¹³ In regard to the importance of this distinction for empirical research cf. Svend Riemer, "Family Life as the Basis for Home Planning" in *Housing for Health* (Lancaster, Pa., 1941), p. 125.

an evaluation of the relative significance of all circumstances involved.¹⁴

Thus, the ideal type is definitely not designed as a systematic description of actual behavior. It is a guide to the understanding of one aspect of this behavior only. The introspective emphasis of Max Weber's sociology cannot be neglected without distorting the fundamental purpose of this concept. Thus, at a first glance, it seems impossible to overcome the discrepancy between the construct of the ideal type and empirical research.

At the same time there seems to be room in the study of crime causation for the very kind of theoretical guidance that is furnished by the ideal type. In spite of the current tendency toward the establishment of crime risks, the criminological literature in this country and abroad abounds in descriptions of various types of criminals: the professional thief, the sexual criminal, the jack-roller, the card-sharp, etc. The need for descriptive accounts of "behavior systems" or "behavior sequences" of crime has been stressed in recent publications.¹⁵ The emphasis in studies of this nature is by no means limited to the *modus operandi*. The full purpose is rarely explained, although it is obvious enough that criminological studies are never undertaken as an end in themselves for the sake of contemplation only. An exploration of the environment is usually intended and also an account of the life-history and the nexus of wishes and frustrations that leads up to the specific kind of criminal behavior. The interest in the investigation is practical. It aims at measures of counteracting criminal behavior. Although appreciated as a necessary supplement to the investigation of crime risks, the methodological basis of reasoning in this field of research is customarily left in the dark.¹⁶

¹⁴ The definition of a problem in itself always constitutes a selective principle which social research will never be able to avoid. The ideal type makes us conscious of this relationship, which Max Weber and his contemporaries discussed as the problem of evaluation (*Wertbeziehung*).

¹⁵ See n. 7.

¹⁶ Cf., however, "Notes on the Logic of Generalisation in Family Case Studies," in Samuel A. Stouffer and Paul F. Lazarsfeld, *Research Memorandum on the Family in the Depression* (New York: Social Science Research Council, 1937). This valuable contribution does not, of course, exhaust the methodological problems involved in the case-study method. It limits, again, the discussion to the problem of measurement and verification. The prestatistical reasoning we are interested in is referred to vaguely as "other knowledge" or "inferences of artistic character."

An attempt to clarify the methodological background involved would have to make use of the three concepts of the "hypothetical average," the "ideal type," and the "operational definition," each one of them held clearly apart.

Unfortunately, the case-study method has seldom been applied systematically to the field of criminological research. The social work tradition has tended to limit its scope to the individual case. Most often the interest in the study is based on vague assumptions that the individual case in question be representative for the general "type."¹⁷ No verification is attempted. An improvement in the validity of case-study investigations might be expected if adequate sampling methods were used and the research applied to a sufficient number of criminals of a particular kind. The intention, then, would be to discover those environmental and hereditary circumstances which reappear in the life-histories of this particular group of criminals. Statistical control would make it possible to establish the career of the embezzler, the professional thief, the confidence man, etc., in terms of an average configuration.

The "hypothetical average," however, implies a merely mechanical integration of a large number of life-histories. This procedure does not necessarily lead to insight into the process of crime causation. The cases have been selected because they all contain one symptom: a specific crime. But the criminal act, in terms of a legal definition, might not be specifically related to a particular configuration of environmental and hereditary circumstances. The criminal, legally defined, might not coincide with a sociogenetic type. In order to arrive at conclusions about the process of social causation, it might be necessary to establish subgroups and different environmental constellations leading up to the same crime. "Embezzlement,"¹⁸ for example, is a legal term which is related to a considerable variety of sociogenetic types. Other crimes might have to be considered as symptoms, besides others, of a general process of social deterioration. It might be difficult to isolate the process of crime causation as such. There simply is no mechanical procedure which allows for a consid-

¹⁷ Cf. the life-histories edited by Clifford Shaw.

¹⁸ Cf. Svend Riemer, "Embezzlement on a Pathological Basis," *Journal for Criminal Law and Criminology*, 1941.

eration of these various possibilities of social causation. Already the collection of primary information on case material is selective and guided by assumptions as to the sociological relevance of various items in the life-history. To arrive at a configuration of relevant circumstances in the explanation of crime causation, more is required than the reference to statistical enumeration as such. The establishment of "averages" does not yield more than a first crude approximation of theoretical insight.

Investigations that are concerned with the establishment of criminal types undoubtedly intend to predict ensuing behavior from an analysis of the life-history and the physical endowments of the individual. They are on the lookout for a configuration of circumstances that can be assumed to be a sufficient cause for the crime in question. To be sure, statistical research will reduce our theoretical statements to the level of numerically defined probabilities. But the theoretical assumption is given in terms of sufficient causes. It is assumed that the constellation of circumstances contained in the definition of the ideal type will necessarily lead to criminal behavior. The ideal type is a concept that pertains to the theoretical level of discussion. It is a construct for the purpose of guiding theoretical speculations and statistical control toward the end of more significant prediction units.

Needless to say, when applied to individual cases, the ideal type will be approximated only. Nevertheless, it might serve as a more practical measuring rod in the field of actual social work than an aggregation of probabilities attached to different isolated attributes of the individual in question. The agency of parole or probation or the social worker would not be faced with the task of summing up attributes that count against the rehabilitation of the criminal. They would have to fit the individual case with closest approximation into a framework of ideal types that has been developed by criminological theory. Once we feel justified in assuming that a lawful relationship exists, we need not be perturbed because the law does not represent itself without disarrangement in the individual case. To be sure, the stone which rolls more or less unpredictably over the mountainside does not invalidate the law of gravity. On the other hand, the functional relationship that is expressed in the law of

gravity can never be established by measurements of the average speed of a random sample of rolling stones, resulting in the final "truth" of carefully limited probabilities. Because of an infinite multitude of distorting influences, the theoretical assertions are always transcendent to "realistic" conditions.¹⁹

The question remains: Do we need a criminological theory? Undoubtedly, for without theory we would have to rely on common sense and vague intuition for the guidance of research. We need theory for the sake of economy in research. The necessity of a selection of relevant data in the collection of the primary material has been pointed out already. We assume that a given selection of data in the life-history of the criminal is significantly related to crime in terms of cause and effect. The coexistence of such circumstances alone—as established in terms of a hypothetical average—might be misleading. These findings as such would never allow for generalizations beyond the field of observation. Accidental circumstances without causal relevance might be played into the foreground by certain limitations of the research material. Furthermore, in the establishment of a significant configuration there is a premium upon keeping the number of relevant circumstances, which in their interaction can be considered as a sufficient cause, down to a minimum. The theoretical instrument of the ideal type should prove useful in this process of prestatistical reasoning.

In the establishment of the ideal type it is unwarranted to refrain from any kind of experience or insight that might be useful—be it introspection, sympathetic understanding, or whatever. Inasmuch as the interaction between different circumstances in the life-history demands our attention as much as these "isolated" factors themselves, psychological insight is required, co-ordinating at this point the two borderline sciences of psychology and sociology. The validity of any particular ideal type is by no means based upon these "theoretical speculations." It is doubtful whether we should even attempt to prove that an ideal type be right or wrong. Statistical control, however, enables us to indicate whether an ideal type care-

¹⁹ This relationship is discussed in Kurt Lewin's essay on "The Conflict between Aristotelian and Galilean Modes of Thought in Contemporary Psychology" in *A Dynamic Theory of Personality* (New York, 1935).

fully defined, might be looked upon as a useful instrument in the prediction of behavior. An ideal type might become obsolete if theory and research advance to another type of higher significance, i.e., an ideal type that is more general in its applications and closer to the understanding of the individual case and, consequently, more useful.

The prediction value of an ideal type can be tested. However, the statistical manipulations can never be attached to the theoretical construct of the ideal type as such. The interaction that is assumed to exist between the elements of the configuration is an integral part of the definition of the ideal type. For statistical research it might prove impractical or even impossible to base the classification of populations upon such a definition. For that reason a definition has to be chosen that is strictly verifiable. Into such an operational definition a minimum of factors enter which can be looked upon as symptomatic for the theoretical unit of the ideal type. To be sure, the relationship between the ideal type and the operational definition is based upon assumptions as to the symptomatic value of these factors that enter into the statistical routine work. Objectivity in the sense of observable regularities can be established in relation to the operational definition only. The relevance of the operational definition to criminological or sociological theory exists only because of its relationship to the ideal type or other assumptions on a similar level of theoretical abstraction.

It seems that the evaluation of case-history material as well as statistical research in the field of crime causation might benefit by the conscious development of a theoretical frame of reference. The ideal type might serve as a useful guide to research if the logical limitations of this concept, mainly due to its theoretical character, are kept in mind; if organized theoretical speculations are not taken for the final "truth."

THE PROCESS OF URBANIZATION AND CRIMINAL BEHAVIOR

MARSHALL B. CLINARD

ABSTRACT

The problem was the incidence of urban characteristics in the life-experience of property offenders and nonoffenders from areas of varying degrees of urbanization. Rural offenders were found to have had greater mobility than nonoffenders, their attitudes toward others tended to be impersonal, and they were not generally incorporated into the community where the offense occurred. Networks of criminal relationships were found to vary directly with the amount of urbanization of the areas from which offenders came. Delinquent gangs were not an important factor in the lives of farm offenders but were more so among village offenders. Offenders from areas of slight and moderate urbanization, in contrast to city offenders, were not definite criminal social types. Rural offenders were legal criminals but not criminals in a sociological sense. Farm offenders did not conceive of their acts as crimes or of themselves as criminals. Among village offenders there was less of the fortuitous element in the criminal act and more of a realization that they were committing an act against society. Definite organized criminal behavior was the outstanding characteristic of the offenders from the cities. As long as there exists a predominant measure of personal relationship and informal social control in the farm and village areas, it will be impossible for a separate criminal culture to exist. Without the presence of criminal social types, the volume of crime committed by rural residents will continue to be small as compared with that of more urban areas.

Several writers have recognized that there are quantitative differences in the incidence of crime in areas of varying degrees of urbanization.¹ Scientific explanations for this variation, however, have been largely of an a priori nature, since there has been little empiric research on the factors operating in the violation of legal norms in different types of societies. Durkheim was one of the first writers to state clearly that urbanization inevitably results in a greater amount of crime; and such a position has, in part, been validated by later research which, however, has usually been restricted to one extreme of the continuum of urbanization, namely, the great metropolitan areas. While these studies shed much light on the re-

¹ These have included Walter C. Reckless, *Criminal Behavior* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1940), pp. 81-88; Edwin H. Sutherland, *Principles of Criminology* (3d ed.; New York: J. B. Lippincott Co., 1935), pp. 44-45, 135-38; Louis Wirth and Marshall B. Clinard, "Public Safety," *Urban Government: Volume I of the Supplementary Report of the Urbanism Committee to the National Resources Committee* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1939), pp. 247-303; Hans H. Burchardt, "Kriminalität in Stadt und Land," *Abhandlungen des kriminalistischen Instituts an der Universität Berlin*, Vol. IV, No. 1 (4th ser., 1936); and P. A. Sorokin, C. C. Zimmerman, and C. J. Galpin, *A Systematic Source Book in Rural Sociology* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1931), II, 266-302, 315-29.

lation of the phenomenon of urbanization and personal disorganization, they have been complicated by the clash of New and Old World standards of behavior in our great cities. Explanations for the criminal behavior of persons from rural areas do not necessarily follow from such findings, even though often tacitly assumed to do so.²

This research study sought explanations for the relation of urbanization³ to property crimes. It suggested, as a general hypothesis, that the relative incidence of urban features of life accounts for the differential in crime rates of different areas, and it sought to test various hypotheses relating to the presence of urban characteristics among offenders from areas of varying degrees of urbanization. The specific hypotheses tested involved the incidence of such urban characteristics⁴ as mobility, impersonal relations, differential association, nonparticipation in community organizations, organized criminal culture, and a criminal social type in the life-experience of offenders from areas of varying degrees of urbanization.⁵

In order to test these various hypotheses, secondary sources were utilized, and an intensive study was made of a group of offenders resident in the Iowa Men's Reformatory. The interest was not in Iowa as such, but rather in a selection of offenders who were from a uniform cultural

² For example, gang behavior as a definite precursor to crime is not necessarily universally true because it is found to be generally so in cities; to be universal such behavior must be found among less urbanized societies as well.

³ "Urbanization," as used in this study, refers to a way of life, a mode of living, as Wirth has referred to it, and not merely a certain aggregation of people. Wirth has pointed out that the primary characteristics of urbanism are size, density, heterogeneity, and impersonality (Louis Wirth, "Urbanism as a Way of Life," *American Journal of Sociology*, XLIV [1938], 1-24; also "The Urban Society and Civilization," *ibid.*, XLV [1940], 743-55). Since the term "urbanization" as used here is not limited to cities, it is occasionally possible that a group of socially disorganized nomadic or frontier people, not living in cities, may exhibit a high degree of development of the characteristic features of urbanization. When incorporated into the comparatively "permanent" life of a city, it is possible for them to become less urbanized in the sense used here and incidence of crimes against property to decline.

⁴ "Urbanization" has been used with a similar meaning by Redfield: "The book will present materials in support of this proposition and in support of the conclusion that the disorganization, individualization, and secularization have not simply been conveyed by example from the city but are, in ways to be investigated, causally interrelated with mobility and heterogeneity and with one another" (Robert Redfield, *The Folk Culture of Yucatan* [Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1941], p. xv).

⁵ For a more extensive presentation of this paper see Marshall B. Clinard, "The Process of Urbanization and Criminal Behavior: A Study of Culture Conflict" (unpublished Ph.D. diss., University of Chicago Libraries, 1941).

area, which meant that the relationship between urbanization and crime could be more adequately controlled.

In addition to secondary sources, primary research data were obtained by means of 200 detailed questionnaires and 116 life-histories. Rapport was established with each offender during several private interviews. Because of the care with which relations were established and maintained, as well as for various other reasons, it is felt that the data obtained were reliable. In the statistical analyses extensive use was made of chi-square tests, the coefficient of contingency T ,⁶ and percentage distributions (see Tables 1 and 2).

The 200 offenders in this study were assumed to be a representative sample of a larger group of 378⁷ men between seventeen and twenty-nine years of age, inclusive, who were white, had been born in Iowa, and had been sentenced to the reformatory between July 1, 1938, and September 1, 1940, for a property offense.⁸ In general, the group in this study was found to be of native-born parentage and with some high-school education. These 200 offenders were classified into three categories of urbanization, 60 from areas of slight urbanization (farm), 52 from moderately urbanized areas (village), and 88 from areas of extensive urbanization

⁶ The coefficient of contingency T , formulated by Tschuprow, allows one readily to compare tables with different systems of classification, whereas the interpretation of Pearson's coefficient of contingency varies with the degrees of freedom and, therefore, is not strictly comparable (for a discussion of T see G. Udny Yule and H. G. Kendall, *An Introduction to the Theory of Statistics* [11th ed.; London: Charles Griffin & Co., Ltd., 1937], pp. 69-71).

⁷ Of the total of 378 cases, the sentences of 21 offenders had ended, 24 had been paroled, 7 were on work farms, and 1 had escaped. Each of the remaining 325 offenders was interviewed over a period of several months and asked to co-operate voluntarily in the study. Two hundred and fifteen agreed to co-operate; and of them, 200 returned complete and usable questionnaires, or approximately two-thirds the total number interviewed.

⁸ A "crime" should not be regarded as a single entity denoting a uniform type of behavior, because personal and property types of crime are generally distinct in their nature. Although criminals are frequently studied without regard to the types of offenses for which they were committed (see, e.g., Sheldon and Eleanor T. Glueck, *Five Hundred Criminal Careers* [New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1930]), criminal research would be more effective if it considered separately homogeneous groups of offenders, such as those against property. The influence of functional changes in a society is reflected far less in personal crimes than in property offenses which involve the acquisition of things and not necessarily any personal or fortuitous situation. Crimes against property constitute by far the greater proportion of crimes committed in modern society, notwithstanding the greater publicity attendant upon personal crimes. No hypotheses are advanced in this paper for any necessary connection between personal crimes and urbanization.

(city). These categories designated, respectively, open country and places of less than 50 population, places of from 50 to 4,999 population, and,

TABLE 1

TABLE OF CHI-SQUARE TESTS ON 14 FACTORS FOR FARM OFFENDERS AND A FARM CONTROL GROUP AND ALSO FOR VILLAGE OFFENDERS AND A VILLAGE CONTROL GROUP

NUMBER	FACTOR	CLASSIFICATION (COLUMNS AND ROWS)	DEGREES OF FREEDOM	FARM		VILLAGE	
				Chi Square	Approximate Probability Significance* (Per Cent)	Chi Square	Approximate Probability Significance* (Per Cent)
1....	Number of communities	2×4	3	23.5656	— 1	6.9328	+ 7
2....	Average number years in a community....	2×4	3	19.6776	— 1	10.0352	— 1
3....	Longest residence in a community.....	2×5	4	13.0788	+ 1	4.5248	+ 40
4....	Proportion life in home town.....	2×4	3	19.1484	— 1	16.9568	— 1
5....	Number states visited..	2×3	2	5.4336	+ 7	3.7335	+ 15
6....	Years family resided in their community....	2×4	3	2.7674	+40	1.1227	+ 75
7....	Family-residence stability.....	2×2	1	1.0070	+35	0.9546	+ 35
8....	Number of organizations	2×3	2	20.8008	— 1	25.2224	— 1
9....	Average number of years in an organization...	2×5	4	4.5318	+35	10.0036	+ 4
10....	Number organizations head office.....	2×2	1	11.7640	— 1	22.2156	— 1
11....	Member group of boys who stole.....	2×2	1	0.0856	+75	0.0000	+100
12....	Member group of boys committed serious thefts.....	2×2	1	2.2011	+15	2.6775	+ 11
13....	Age first belonged to delinquent group.....	2×2	1	2.8160	+ 9	0.6222	+ 45
14....	Association with boys with criminal record.	2×2	1	17.8568	— 1	21.2609	— 1

* These are approximations from Fisher's table of chi square (Table III). Significant probability is 5 or less (R. A. Fisher, *Statistical Methods for Research Workers* [5th ed.; Edinburgh: Oliver & Boyd, 1934]).

finally, those over 5,000 population. These divisions were assumed to represent ways of life, the most personal intimate relationships being characteristic of the farm. Each offender was classified according to his major type of residence during the period from six until twenty-one

TABLE 2*

TABLE OF CHI-SQUARE TESTS AND COEFFICIENTS OF *T* ON 25
FACTORS FOR 200 OFFENDERS FROM AREAS OF VARYING
DEGREES OF URBANIZATION

No.	Factor	Classi- fication (Col- lums and Rows)	De- grees of Free- dom	Chi Square	Approx- imate Probab- ility Signifi- cance† (Per Cent)	<i>T</i> ‡
1....	Distance first offense from residence	3×5	8	22.9646	— 1	.20
2....	Distance last offense from residence	3×5	8	21.4608	— 1	.24
3....	Number of organizations.....	3×3	4	13.0600	+ 1	.16
4....	Average years in organizations....	3×3	4	17.7497	— 1	.19
5....	Member group of boys who stole...	3×2	2	14.0595	— 1	.23
6....	Member group of boys who com- mitted serious thefts.....	3×2	2	10.8924	— 1	.30
7....	Age first belonged delinquent group	3×4	6	27.4209	— 1	.13
8....	Number associates, first property arrest.....	3×3	4	11.5479	+ 3	.17
9....	Number associates, first property arrest, excluding single arrests..	3×3	4	8.7175	+ 7	.19
10....	Number associates, last property arrest, excluding single arrests...	3×3	4	8.6632	+ 7	.18
11....	Associate's age, first property ar- rest.....	3×2	2	1.3524	+55	.11
12....	Associate's delinquent record, first property arrest.....	3×2	2	2.0254	+40	.13
13....	Associate's delinquent record, last property arrest, excluding single arrests.....	3×2	2	0.0312	+98	.02
14....	Association with boys having crimi- nal record.....	3×2	2	2.5702	+25	.08
15....	Number family members arrested..	3×3	4	5.7511	+22	.12
16....	Age first arrest (all).....	3×3	4	27.7000	— 1	.26
17....	Age first property arrest.....	3×3	4	26.8600	— 1	.26
18....	Age first conviction (all).....	3×3	4	22.8800	— 1	.24
19....	Age first property conviction.....	3×3	4	20.8200	— 1	.23
20....	Age first commitment (all).....	3×3	4	25.3000	— 1	.25
21....	Age first property commitment....	3×3	4	21.8200	— 1	.23
22....	Age at reformatory entrance.....	3×5	8	23.1200	— 1	.20
23....	Total previous arrests.....	3×5	8	21.8304	— 1	.20
24....	Number property arrests.....	3×5	8	20.3000	— 1	.19
25....	Number of incarcerations.....	3×4	6	13.0800	+ 4	.16

* Slight urbanization (farm); moderate urbanization (village); and extensive urbanization (city).

† These are approximations from Fisher's table of chi square (Table III). Significant probability is 5 or less (Fisher, *op. cit.*).

‡ For a discussion of the coefficient of contingency *T* see G. Udny Yule and H. G. Kendall, *An Introduction to the Theory of Statistics* (11th ed.; London: Charles Griffin & Co., Ltd., 1937), pp. 69-71.

years of age instead of by the last residence, as has been frequently done in other studies.

Although the degree of urbanization actually operated as a control factor, an additional control of farm and village nonoffenders was added. The control group consisted of 98 University of Iowa undergraduate students from areas of slight and moderate urbanization and 10 farm high-school graduates, all selected as comparable to the offenders in sex, race, age, nativity, and economic status. While no group of persons could ever be perfectly matched, it is felt that this group afforded a fair degree of control in connection with the hypotheses studied.

MOBILITY

The rural offenders were found to have had extensive contacts outside of their home communities, and their mobility,⁹ as measured by changes in locality and frequency of outside contacts, was greater than that of the nonoffenders. The farm and village offenders had a significantly¹⁰ larger number of residences, had shorter average residences in one community, and had spent a smaller proportion of their lives in the communities they called their "home towns." The rural offenders seemed to develop a conception of themselves as not attached to a community and a conception of others that was impersonal. The parents of these farm and village offenders, however, exhibited a number of stable characteristics, indicating that their offspring were participating in a different type of social world, a more mobile society, than the one in which the parents interacted.

The offenders from areas of slight and moderate urbanization considered themselves mobile persons. This conception of themselves is of paramount importance in explaining their behavior in a world in which mobility is becoming general. Mobility, facilitated by the auto, gave the rural offenders participation in a larger impersonal world and, in a sense, emancipated them from their home communities and made them dissatisfied with these. The more important contacts of the rural offenders were largely in the area outside their home communities; their attitudes toward other persons tended to be impersonal.

Among the rural offenders the place where the crime occurred was generally not the same as the residence of the offender. The crime frequently

⁹ The concept of mobility is used here in the same sense as given by Elliott and Merrill: "Mobility may be generally defined as spatial change which involves new mental contacts" (*Social Disorganization* [New York: Harper & Bros., 1934], p. 201).

¹⁰ Where differences, as measured by the chi-square test, were so great that they could have occurred by chance five or less times in a hundred, they are here referred to as statistically significant (see Tables 1 and 2 for actual figures).

was committed in another community in order (1) to avoid detection by those who, because of personal contacts, knew the offender; (2) to secure opportunity for the crime; or (3) in order not to commit an offense against someone whom the offender knew. In the everyday life of those living in the city the opportunity is present for an impersonal relationship in committing a crime, whereas in farm and village communities it must be sought.

COMMUNITY PARTICIPATION

The rural offenders did not participate so frequently in community organizations and groups as did rural nonoffenders. Thus the impersonality in the lives of the farm and village offenders seemed to be not only a reflection of mobility but seemed to be due also to a lack of general participation in community organizations. A large percentage of offenders from areas of both limited and moderate urbanization—36.7 and 21.2 per cent, respectively—were found to have participated in no community organizations. Both farm and village offenders participated in significantly fewer organizations than did nonoffenders; the farm offenders' average number of years' participation was significantly smaller; and there was significantly less group leadership. This seemed to indicate the presence of urban phenomena in the life-careers of the rural offenders.

DIFFERENTIAL ASSOCIATION

Networks of criminal relationships were found to vary directly with the amount of urbanization of the areas from which the offenders came. In rural areas, as compared with the interstitial areas of a more urban culture, there was a comparative absence of continuity in the criminal culture. The contacts of rural offenders with criminal norms had been either entirely absent or of an occasional or fortuitous nature. The simple techniques of many crimes, such as forgery, committed by rural offenders suggested that prior association with differential criminal norms was not always necessary. Delinquent gangs, where present among farm and village offenders, were of a loosely organized character in comparison with city gangs.

Shaw and Thrasher¹¹ have emphasized the general importance of the relation of gangs to criminal behavior. In this study, however, delinquent gangs did not appear to be an important factor in the lives of farm offenders, although they were of some importance among village offenders.

¹¹ Clifford R. Shaw, *The Jack-Roller* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1930), *The Natural History of a Delinquent Career* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1931), *Brothers in Crime* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1938); and Frederick M. Thrasher, *The Gang* (2d ed.; Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1936).

Among city offenders gangs played a very important role. There appeared to be a definite relationship between the degree of urbanization and the extent of differential association with criminal norms. Moreover, the age at which differential association took place decreased with an increase in the degree of urbanization. This fact is of great importance in explaining the differences in the incidence of crime in rural and urban areas, for the volume and duration of differential association seem closely associated with the development of a criminal social type.

There was a comparative absence of discussions of gangs or of crime in general in the life-histories of the farm offenders—a fact not true of the city offenders. In addition, no significant differences were found in regard to the incidence of boys' gangs in the life-experiences of farm and village offenders and nonoffenders. This seemed to indicate that identification with a group of boys who stole was as important as contact with the differential association.

There was a significant difference between the three groups in the number of partners which the offenders had in their first property arrest. Approximately two-thirds of the farm, one-half of the village, and one-third of the city offenders had no partner. Where the offender had a previous arrest, no significant difference was found between these groups in the number of partners in the last offense. A comparison of the partners' arrest records showed no significant difference either on the first or on the last property arrest. Similarly, there was no significant difference among the offenders with respect to association, prior to the first property offense, with anyone who had been arrested or had served time. As in the case of the other above factors, however, this lack of significance may have been due to the size of the sample. Nevertheless, certain percentage comparisons stood out, for almost half of those from areas of slight urbanization had not had differential contacts of this nature, as compared with slightly over one-third of the village offenders and less than one-third of the city offenders. There was, moreover, a very significant difference in comparing the offenders with the farm and village control groups. Some 85 per cent of the farm and village control groups had never known anyone with a delinquent record, while approximately one-half of the offenders from these same areas had had some contact of this type.

The life-histories indicated that the effects of gossip and other informal controls on the offenders may be a probable explanation for the slight continuity of crime in rural areas. There was a continuous observation of the rural offenders by farmers and villagers, and there were attempts to restrict contacts of others with these deviants. This informal social

control tended to destroy the continuity of criminal culture in rural areas. It is difficult for crime to flourish without impersonal disorganized areas such as are found in areas of extensive urbanization.

CRIMINAL SOCIAL TYPE

In the heterogeneity of the urban community the existence of a criminal culture was found to produce a criminal social type,¹² characterized by criminal techniques, criminal argot, and a definite progressive criminal life-history. Offenders from areas of slight or moderate urbanization, in contrast to city offenders, were not definite criminal social types. The rural offenders did not conceive of themselves as criminals; the more urbanized offenders did.

At the time of their first property arrests, offenders from areas of slight and moderate urbanization were considerably older than offenders from areas of extensive urbanization. Over 50 per cent of the farm offenders were first arrested after they were seventeen years of age, while 40 per cent of the city boys were arrested before this age. This late entrance into delinquent behavior appears, in part, to be a product of differential association, which varies with different degrees of urbanization. A similar situation was true for the age at the first property conviction or commitment, although this fact might possibly have been related to differences in the judicial process in less urbanized areas. There was a decided difference in the number of total previous arrests as well as property arrests. In fact, more than twice as many of the farm and village offenders had never been arrested for property offenses prior to their present offenses, as had the city offenders. Data on the number of previous incarcerations revealed a similar conclusion. It is quite likely that the incarcerations of urban offenders, particularly at an early age, had important consequences in the development of criminal attitudes.

Crimes having complex techniques were found to be correlated with the incidence of urbanization. The seriousness of the predatory crimes which the offenders committed increased with the extent of urbanization. Such serious predatory crimes as robbery were seldom perpetrated by the rural offenders, indicating a lack of full development in criminal techniques. Thus, the crimes in which those from areas of slight urbanization engaged, in both their first and their last offenses, were of a comparatively simple nature, such as larceny and forgery. Particularly because the lat-

¹² This term is used here in the sense of Burgess' definition: "The term 'Social Type' does not refer to the mechanism of personality reactions but to attitudes, values, and philosophy of life derived from copies presented by society. The role which a person assumes and to which he is assigned by society creates the social type" (Ernest W. Burgess in the "Discussion" of Shaw, *The Jack-Roller*, p. 193).

ter type of crime is simple in technique, it appears generally unnecessary to assume prior differential association with this type of crime. Offenders from areas of moderate and extensive urbanization had a larger percentage of burglary and robbery cases, the figures for robbery increasing among the city boys as they continued to engage in criminality. Similarly, more progression in the types of crimes was found with the increasing urbanization of the areas from which the offenders came. The use of criminal argot was characteristic of the life-histories of city offenders. As compared with those from areas of slight and moderate urbanization, offenders from the cities had had extensive contacts with other deviant social types, such as prostitutes, "pimps," racketeers, and "fences." This indicated the criminal division of labor, as well as the general social disorganization permeating areas of extensive urbanization.

A characteristic of the rural offenders was that they did not regard their actions as crimes or themselves as criminals. It is obvious that this is very significant in accounting for the differences in crime rates between areas of varying degrees of urbanization. The life-histories seemed to substantiate a hypothesis that this noncriminal conception of self is an outgrowth of a limited process of urbanization. To develop a criminal social type there must be in existence some organized criminal culture which is at least tolerated in the area and through which deviant norms are transmitted. Criminal techniques, argot, and progressive association with others having criminal associations are necessary for a criminal career; and without their presence an offender may commit a crime in the legal sense without being a criminal in a sociological sense.¹³ The division of labor and heterogeneity of standards of an urban world make possible the existence of a criminal culture independent of the traditional culture. Where there exist the opposite characteristics of urbanization, such as general homogeneity of culture and more general personal behavior, it is difficult to identify one's self with a criminal world. Rural offenders are not criminal social types, owing to the fact that in areas of limited urbanization there have been few opportunities to become identified with a separate criminal culture.

Among village offenders, in comparison with farm offenders, there was less of the fortuitous element in the criminal act, more extensive criminal

¹³ The term "criminal" today largely refers to a legal criminal who may or may not be a sociological criminal. Life-histories, in particular, suggest that rural offenders are not criminals in a sociological sense. They are deviants, certainly and have aspects, of more urban types of personality. Rural offenders may violate the law without being sociological criminals, and, conversely, some urban persons may be criminal social types without ever being charged with a violation of law.

differential association, and more of a realization of committing an act against society. In comparison with city boys, however, there was still a marked difference. In fact, the difference was so distinct that one could not call village offenders definite criminal social types. The reason appeared to lie in the differences in the nature of the society from which they came. Although village offenders had become mobile and impersonal, they had continued to maintain a partial feeling of the power of intimate relationships which is the social control of the small town. The fact that they came from traditionally law-abiding families and that they were known in their communities tended to lessen their feelings of being at war with society, as was true in the case of offenders from more heavily urbanized areas. The village offenders did not steal for a living, and the gangs to which they belonged were not so rigidly organized. In brief, they possessed only in an embryonic state the features which criminal social types in areas of extensive urbanization exhibit in their fully developed state.

Definite organized criminal behavior was the outstanding characteristic of offenders from more heavily urbanized areas. They felt that they were playing a criminal role in society and that they were more or less at war with the police. This feeling was not shared by farm and village offenders. Furthermore, large urban communities furnished the city offender with greater mobility and impersonality than was present in the life-experiences of farm and village offenders. Organized criminal gangs appeared to have been instrumental in shaping the city offenders' conceptions of themselves. The stories of the gang, its members, and their activities associated with the gang played a prominent part in their life-histories, indicating that they had come to identify themselves with the gang. Their associations with these gangs usually started at an early age, and there was a developmental process involving progression in criminal techniques and the acquisition of a criminal argot, until crime finally became an occupation—the exclusive method of earning a living. Moreover, the life-histories of the city offenders revealed, in many of their families, a tradition of criminality and general disorganization, which contrasted with the more stable family life of the village and farm offenders.

It is suggested as a hypothesis that the continued existence of an organized criminal culture alongside the traditional culture requires the impersonality of a large population. Otherwise, informal social control would destroy the criminal culture. The life-histories revealed an almost exclusive impersonal control of the city offenders by the use of law rather than by the informal sanctions which still appeared to exert a partial influence on rural offenders. Moreover, the activities of a single city offender are

probably more numerous than the combined criminal pursuits of many farm offenders. This probably accounts largely for the quantitative differences in urban and rural crime. If one considers the meaning of the act to the offender, rather than the legal consequences, this quantitative difference would undoubtedly be even more striking.

It may be concluded that, the more individuals in rural areas secure a conception of themselves as partly emancipated from the controls of their home communities, the more opportunities there will be for the development of a behavior situation suitable for delinquent acts. The influence of urban desires will increasingly shift the attention of many rural youths to impersonal relations and also bring about contacts with differential behavior patterns. There will be increasing opportunities for the commission of crimes in an impersonal situation. It appears, however, that, as long as there exists a predominant measure of personal relations and informal social control in the farm and village areas, it will be impossible for a separate criminal culture to exist as is characteristic of large urban areas. For this reason it appears almost impossible to develop criminal social types in rural areas.¹⁴ Without the presence of criminal social types the volume of crime committed by rural residents will continue to be small as compared with that in urban areas. This does not, of course, rule out the possibility that offenders from large cities may increasingly commit criminal acts in rural areas. Cities up to now, however, have offered more fertile fields for crime, and the small town and farm appear unlikely to furnish equal opportunities.

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¹⁴ The problem thus arises as to whether or not society is to continue to incarcerate men as criminals who are not criminal in their attitudes, for without criminal attitudes the term "criminal" becomes merely a legal fiction. Imprisonment appears particularly vicious for rural offenders, who may not have criminal attitudes prior to commitment. The type of society in which a person has been reared should, it is felt, be very important in influencing judicial leniency, as are age, sex, and other similar factors. That this fact might possibly be realized in a more urban court does not necessarily mean that a less urban court, enforcing state-wide legal statutes, would be equally cognizant of this fact and, therefore, lenient to rural offenders. Various prediction studies indicate that rural offenders are excellent risks for both probation and parole. See, e.g., Elio D. Monachesi, *Prediction Factors in Probation* (Hanover: Sociological Press, 1932); George B. Vold, *Prediction Methods and Parole* (Hanover: Sociological Press, 1931); Clark Tibbitts, "Success or Failure on Parole Can Be Predicted: A Study of the Records of 3,000 Youths Paroled from the Illinois State Reformatory," *Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology*, XXII (May, 1931), 11-50; A. A. Bruce, A. J. Harno, E. W. Burgess, and J. Landesco, *The Workings of the Indeterminate Sentence Law and the Parole System in Illinois* (Springfield: Illinois State Printing Office, 1928); William F. Lanne, "Parole Prediction as a Science," *Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology*, XXVI (September, 1935), 377-400; Missouri Association for Criminal Justice, *The Missouri Crime Survey* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1926).

A CRITIQUE OF DODD'S *DIMENSIONS OF SOCIETY*¹

ETHEL SHANAS

ABSTRACT

The volume, *Dimensions of Society*, by Stuart C. Dodd is critically examined to determine whether Dodd's claims that he has constructed a quantitative science of sociology are justified. Upon investigation his scheme appears to be arbitrary and sterile. There would seem to be no justification for the belief that the *S*-theory makes any major contribution to sociology.

Dimensions of Society by Stuart C. Dodd is a volume of 944 pages which attempts to integrate sociological theory with statistical theory. The purpose of the author is "... to promote the wedding of Mathematics and Sociology" (p. 316). The underlying assumption upon which this work is based is that "... it is possible with our present knowledge to begin constructing a *quantitative systematic science of sociology*" (italics are Dodd's, p. 3).²

The author of the *Dimensions of Society* makes a number of sweeping claims for his work. He believes that he has (1) constructed a systematic sociology, (2) presented a method for securing a unified quantitative social science (pp. 59, 70), and (3), through further extension of his method, devised a technique which may serve to unify *all* scientific thought (p. 821).³ These momentous aims are to be achieved through the application of a mathematical formula devised by Dodd and called by him the *S*-theory. The formula is as follows: $S = {}^s(T; I; L; P) {}^s$ (p. 59). It says in symbols: "People, environment, and their characteristics may change" (p. 25). This formula may serve as a framework for the quantitative formulation of *all* data. This is seen from the following statements of Dodd: "... *Every statistical tabulation, graph, map, formula, or other quantitatively expressed set of data in the social sciences, can, if this S-theory is true, be expressed as a special case [of it]*" (p. 59; italics, Dodd's). The *S*-theory "... brings within the fold of mathematical entities the whole range of itemized qualitative phenomena, usually deemed outside the reach of precise mathematical reasoning" (p. 140). In addition to this inclusiveness,

¹ Stuart Carter Dodd, *Dimensions of Society* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1942).

² "Sociology" as used in this volume is defined as "... the general characteristics common to all classes of social phenomena" (p. 12).

³ Dodd's discussion of religion and philosophy (pp. 269 ff.) is of interest in this connection.

the *S*-theory is held by its author to be reliable and "parsimonious," to lend precision to sociology, and to offer endless possibilities for research.

The fact that such startling and grand claims are advanced and that such a huge volume is devoted to their supposed demonstration makes advisable a painstaking analysis of this work. A careful study of the *S*-theory, as presented in this volume, does not reveal proof for Dodd's assertions. The advantages of the theory turn out to be claims based solely on arbitrary definitions. Further, the *S*-theory definitions would seem to be useless to the sociologist interested in studying human behavior.⁴

Just what is the *S*-theory? It is an attempt to describe all situations in terms of four factors or sectors—time (*T*), the characteristics of people or their environment (*I*), space (*L*), and population (*P*)—by modifying such sectors with exponential scripts of various kinds and by combining such sectors by signs. The sectors with their exponents are then said to serve as definitions of various phenomena. An area, for example, is defined as the spatial sector, *L*, raised to the second power, L^{+2} ; time when it involves a duration is defined as the temporal sector, *T*, with an exponent of $+1$, T^{+1} ; etc. The most important of the definitions dealing with exponents concern indicators of people and their characteristics (designated as *I*) and will be discussed in some detail later. The sectors of *S*-theory are further analyzed into cases, classes, or class intervals, according to a set of rules; and the relationships between the sectors are indicated by signs such as (:), defined as "aggregating"; (: :), defined as "cross-classifying"; etc. Instructions for the use of given signs and scripts and a number of illustrations of "quantitative" situations expressed in *S*-formulas are presented in the *Dimensions of Society*.

The merits of the above scheme can best be appraised if one considers the specific claims which have been made for the *S*-theory. The most important of these, excluding overlapping items, follow: (1) the theory is inclusive; (2) it is reliable; (3) it lends precision to sociology; (4) it is parsimonious;⁵ (5) it would seem to offer many possibilities for research. These five claims will here be discussed in turn, and some reference will then be made to Dodd's general assertions about the *Dimensions of Society*.

⁴ Dodd infers (p. 20) that some of those who will disagree with him do so because of "residual resistances" to mathematics. The reviewer would like to state that, as far as she is aware, she has no such resistances.

⁵ "... Fifteen hundred different terms can be replaced for systematic purposes by the eight homosectoral indices and scripts, and their combinations" (p. 61).

INCLUSIVENESS

The first presumed merit of the *S*-theory—that of inclusiveness—is purely a matter of logical definition. The four sectors of the *S*-theory cannot be anything but inclusive, since everything that is *not* time, space, or population is defined as “characteristics” or the “societal residue” (p. 28) and so becomes a part of the indicator sector. Dodd himself says that “it is logically inevitable that these four categories should include all societal data without any remainder” (p. 71).

What it is important to note is that the *S*-theory becomes totally inclusive only by virtue of the fact that one of the sectors—the indicator—is a residual catchall, which by definition includes *everything* that does not fit into the other three sectors. It is clear that the “inclusiveness” of the scheme is purely definitional—like saying that the world consists of three items: (a) human beings, (b) forests, and (c) everything else.

RELIABILITY

The second claim made for the *S*-theory is that it is reliable. The evidence for such reliability is insignificant, and the procedure supposed to produce it smacks very much of scholastic indoctrination. The evidence consists of the agreement achieved by Dodd and two collaborators in assigning quantic formulas to sets of data. These collaborators were a graduate student in sociology and a Harvard M.A. in physics, and their agreement with Dodd was respectively 97 and 99 per cent (pp. 65–67). While this agreement is suggestive, it is far from conclusive as a proof of reliability. It would be more convincing if the agreement were between a larger group of people *working independently* of one another. One's suspicions in this respect are increased when one realizes that Dodd's scheme for increasing reliability is to suggest more diligent adherence to the rules laid down by his theory (p. 66). Since these rules define the terms and the “agreed-on” practice defines the procedure, it is obvious that agreement is practically automatic. Not much credence can be placed in “reliability” which is achieved by following arbitrary rules and by developing a “cultish” mode of thought. This method of demonstrating “reliability” is not new. The scholastics, among others, have used it with seemingly notable success.

Whether such arbitrarily achieved “reliability” has any merit is, however, another question. It is possible to invent a logical scheme of nonsense syllables with full instructions as to their use, which could be demonstrated as reliable by Dodd's method. No amount of improvement, however, in the “reliability” of these nonsense syllables would increase

the amount of information which such syllables might give about any particular problem.⁶

PRECISION

The third claim made for the *S*-theory—that it gives precision to sociology—is more important and pretentious. This precision is presumably secured in several ways. Precision is achieved through the refinement of the indicator sector. The “indicator” or (*I*), which is one of the four sectors of society in Dodd’s scheme—the others being time, space, and people—is defined as the observable sign of a characteristic. (“Indicators are the societal facts which are objectively observable and which serve as signs of characteristics which often cannot be directly observed” [p. 28].) This observable index of a characteristic may refer to such diverse things as the qualitative items “good” or “Buddhist philosophy” or a “city noise”; it may be the amounts of a given attribute, as “four tests” (p. 378), or the correlations of some quantified attributes (p. 38). By designating an item and labeling it “*I*,” Dodd claims to have invented a method whereby qualitative items such as “extent of desire,” etc., may be treated by the same mathematical methods that may be applied to quantitative items (pp. 63, 842). Actually, his invention is a simple one. Characteristics are represented by the symbol, *I*, and distinguished by exponents of zero or greater (p. 39). When dealing with qualitative characteristics, Dodd assigns to the symbol *I* an exponent of zero. He then defines the numerical value of I^0 as 1. The qualitative phenomena described by I^0 is reduced “. . . to a content with a value of unity.”⁷ In other words, the qualitative characteristic of a given situation is defined as I^0 and treated as though its value were 1. Thus, according to Dodd, hitherto qualitative phenomena become amenable to mathematical methods.

The reviewer cannot see that Dodd has achieved the end of translating qualitative phenomena into quantitative ones. All that he has done is to

⁶ Dodd, on the contrary, says in this connection:

“But what is the use of any sociological or scientific concept, however significant it may seem to our current thoughtways, if it cannot be reliably determined, and no technics are in sight for improving such reliability. All technics, for increasing the reliability of the use of verbalistic subjective concepts, seem to the author to tend in the direction of objectivity and operational concepts. The very definition of reliability as agreement on repetition of the observations involves an operation! Unreliable concepts should be discarded and a science built on concepts that are reliably determinable, i.e., on *facts*, not on *opinions*, whatever their apparent lack of significance at present” (p. 443). For a similar statement see p. 761.

⁷ The particular characteristic described by the indicator is designated by a class script. “Love,” for example, would be written as I^0_l .

disregard the qualitative characteristics of a given situation. By assigning to such characteristics the arbitrary numerical value of 1, the value of a given *S*-theory becomes, upon algebraic manipulation, solely dependent on the values assigned to space, time, and people.

Further, Dodd gives only cursory attention to the topic of how indicators are to be selected. He offers no criteria whereby one is able to determine which of several given indicators will be most useful in *S*-theory. In practice, however, it is unimportant which one item of an array of qualitative characteristics is chosen as the indicator in an *S*-theory analysis, since qualitative characteristics which are not as yet amenable to mensurative techniques must be assigned a value of 1. Since the qualitative indicator, regardless of what it describes, is to be treated as though it had a value of unity, the important things in a situation become space, time, and population and the values assigned to them.

Sociologists, who may in the first place be doubtful about the usefulness of these four sectors in describing social life, will certainly question whether quantitative values, expressed in terms of these three latter sectors, can be used in a comparison of qualitatively different situations.⁸

Dodd himself realizes that the problem of the mathematical treatment of qualitative data is not resolved by his technique:

To consider, in a collection of qualitative entities, the value of each to be unity as is done by the zero exponent ($I^0 = 1$) is, in effect, weighting the qualities as quantitatively equal. In the absence of any better weighting this is the most convenient and logical weighting to conventionalize as the standard [p. 163].

To the reviewer, however, this scheme would appear more arbitrary than logical. She can see no rational justification for assigning the same value, 1, to indicatory phenomena as different as "the Europeanization of dress" (p. 579), the "spread of religious culture complexes" (p. 579), and "assimilation" (p. 585). Yet, in Dodd's scheme, unless some agreement could be reached on a method for their measurement, these items, being qualitative, would all be assigned the same arbitrary weight. Such weighting serves to eliminate the significance of these qualitative items while lending a specious precision to the formulas in which they appear.

Another way in which the *S*-theory is said to increase precision is through the quantic formula and quantic number. The quantic formula is the *S*-theory formula; $S^s = T^t; I^i; L^l; P^p$, which gives only the sectors and their exponents, neglecting all other scripts. When the exponents in

⁸ For a number of interesting examples of comparisons in "sigma units" see pp. 246-47, viz., "John is more intelligent than he is musical. . . ."

this latter formula are written in order as $|^s = |^t; i; L^p$, the resulting statement is called the "quantic number."⁹

The primary service of the quantic formula would seem to occur in securing the definitions of sociological terms. Each sector of *S-theory*—*T*, *I*, *L*, and *P*—may have its exponents raised to various powers. Every new exponent gives its particular sector of *S-theory* a different meaning. Using the space sector, *L*, for illustration, L^{+1} is defined as a length and L^{+2} as an area. By combining sectors with different exponents, Dodd claims that he secures quantic formulas for various sociological terms, "interaction," for example, is defined as $T^{-1}IP^2$, "societal processes" as $T^{-1}I$ and $T^{-1}P$, etc.¹⁰ The quantic numbers, the exponents of the sectors of *S-theory*, Dodd considers the "heart of *S-theory*." He says of the quantic number that it "... provides a thoroughgoing basis of classification for all quantifiable societal phenomena" (p. 41).¹¹

The reviewer, basing her opinion upon the presentation made in the *Dimensions of Society*, does not think that the quantic number provides a classificatory basis for the social sciences. From a careful study of the illustrative situations presented in the text one finds that the same quantic number has been assigned to a table headed "Wastes in Consumption" (p. 228), a chart showing the races of the world (p. 229), and a chart of the electorate (p. 230). Frankly, the reviewer cannot see how this quantic number can classify these situations into a "single, definite, and unambiguous" category. Further, to place a punch card (p. 95) and a chart giving the values of life insurance by countries (p. 95) into the same quantic category, as Dodd has done, would seem to confuse rather than to clarify the properties of these situations. Dodd, on the contrary, would say that these varied items are fundamentally alike and that it is this basic likeness that the quantic number demonstrates. As far as the reviewer can determine, this fundamental similarity exists solely by assertion and definition. There would seem to be nothing alike in "The Ap-

⁹ This formula is described as "quantic" because that is the term "... mathematicians use to denote the degree of an equation" (p. 41).

¹⁰ In addition to stating that the quantic formula defines sociological categories and terms (p. 315), Dodd suggests that the use of these formulas may serve to predict the properties of situations as yet unreported in the social sciences. He offers as an example the formula $S = T^8; I^2; L^0; P^2$. He feels that, although no situation with these properties is now known, the knowledge that a situation may exist with the specifications 8; 2; 0; 2 may serve as a stimulus toward its discovery.

¹¹ Dodd also believes that the quantic classification may play a role in social science "... comparable to the classification of the chemical atoms in Mendelyev's periodic table" (p. 44).

propriation Pie" (p. 631) and "The Variation in Criminality and the Price of Rye in Germany" (p. 636), both of which have the quantic number 9; 1; 0; 0.

The third way in which the *S*-theory is said to increase sociological precision is by providing an interrelation matrix. The measurement of human interrelations, defined as "... a relation of stimulus and response between two or more parties" (p. 389), is considered by Dodd as "... perhaps the major field of sociological research." He feels that this topic has been inadequately dealt with in the past, since "... most of the classifications of interhuman relations hitherto have suffered from the defects of verbal abstraction which is not closely tied to objectively observed data. The resulting subjectivity has produced a different classification for every author" (p. 394). To remedy this "subjectivity" Dodd suggests his own method for studying interhuman relations through the interrelation matrix. He defines an interrelation matrix as an arrangement of rows and columns in which "... each person, represented by one row is cross-classified against every other person represented by one column" (p. 389).

Dodd claims that interrelation matrices perform a number of functions. They are classification schemes for human interrelations; they serve as operational definitions of interrelations (p. 393); they isolate individual variables for study (p. 392); they make it possible to guard against generalizations from incomplete data (p. 392); they indicate the mathematical form of human interrelations (p. 392); they serve to derive social processes (p. 393); and they provide mathematical definitions of various sociological processes, such as isolation, contact, etc. (p. 402).

While numerous usages are thus proposed for the interrelation matrix, only a few of these usages are discussed in the *Dimensions of Society*. The matrix as a method of deriving social processes, however, is given fairly extensive treatment. This "derivation" technique is illustrated in the following quotation: "Whenever the cell indices indicating the nature and amount of some positive interrelation exist only in the diagonal cells, and are zero for all other cells, the parties are isolated (with respect to the characteristic measured by those indices . . .) . . ." (p. 402). From this discussion Dodd claims to have derived the process of "isolation."²² Various other social processes, such as the economic process, are

²² This process may be defined through a geometrical analysis of the matrix also. So defined, "isolation" is "the main diagonal ridge of the matrix" (p. 404). Like "isolation," the process of "contact" may be derived by the matrix technique. Dodd considers "contact" to be "the two triangular planes which lie on either side of the diagonal . . ." (p. 404). In this particular discussion Dodd introduces what he calls a "soci-

also defined in terms of the interrelation matrix. The economic process, according to Dodd, is a matrix of the fourth degree (p. 540).

The primary function of the interrelation matrix as a method of studying interhuman relations is given only cursory treatment. This function is illustrated, however, in Dodd's discussion of "love." "Love" can be dealt with as a peak on an interrelation surface. When two people fall in love they intensify "... the index of relation in their two cells of the matrix to the exclusion of all other cells representing their other acquaintances" (p. 399). While the verbal illustrations of the use of the interrelation matrix are limited and somewhat abstruse, the actual uses of the matrix may be examined in the sample situations presented in this volume. A chart showing how qualifications for the head of a city public works department vary with the size of the city is discussed as follows: "This is an interrelation matrix of the person-plurel type. Its one array of one person classified against four city plurels is subdivided by five kinds of qualifications making a third degree matrix of order $1 \times 4 \times 5$ " (p. 430). An illustrative chart on page 418 showing "Cleavage in Groups" is accompanied by one brief comment: "The original lines are in red and black and serve to differentiate the attitudes better than the reproduction in black does here" (p. 419).

The reviewer cannot see that Dodd's use of interrelation matrices has demonstrated a single one of the claims which Dodd made for this method. As far as the reviewer can tell, the study of interhuman relations has gained neither in preciseness nor in clarity through the introduction of these matrices. "Love" is no better understood by treating it as a peak on an interrelation surface. The relation of the head of a public works department to the size of the city is certainly not clarified by describing it as a "person-plurel" matrix. Further, unless interrelation matrices are to be presented in color, the comment describing "Cleavages in Groups" would seem to be utterly trivial and without relevance. It is doubtful whether the arbitrary substitution of Dodd's matrix definitions for the definitions of other authors dispenses with "subjectivity." Further, there remains some question as to whether there is any justification for the use of these matrix definitions. As Dodd says:

The symbolizing of societal structure is simple; the difficult scientific task is (a) discovering objective indices for a greater proportion of the myriad kinds of

ological definition" of contact. "Contact may be defined sociologically as one-way action, in which A influences B, whose responses, however, do not stimulate A in return. Movie audiences, listeners to broadcasts, and readers of printed matter are common examples. When the movie-goer, or listener, or reader writes to the movie star, or broadcaster, or author, it becomes two-way action or interaction" (p. 404).

interrelations that enmesh us, than have yet been devised, and (b) applying them more completely toward the goal of all possible pairs of parties in the population studied [p. 435].

Here, of course, one gets some assessment of the precision and value of the interrelation matrix. It is simply an arbitrary scheme which its inventor believes *may* be useful if data can be devised to make it meaningful. After "better data" are obtained (p. 404), the interrelation matrix may be of some value. On the other hand, it is also possible that the gatherers of such data may leave this scheme far behind. Since the interrelation matrix is simply a definitional scheme of no demonstrated merit, until we have developed "more adequate indices of interhuman characteristics" (p. 400), this scheme cannot be said to have made any contribution to sociological precision.

The chief way in which the *S*-theory is presumed to give precision to sociology is through the technique of "operational definitions." As Dodd sees it, an operational definition, "... which tells what to do first, second, third, with specified materials, in order to get the thing defined . . ." is "the first demand of pure science" (p. 10). While Dodd's discussion of the theoretical aspects of "operational definitions" and of "operational precision" is very vague, in practice he uses three kinds of "operational definitions." These are schedule cards with instructions for their use, statistical formulas, and *S*-theory formulas.

The use of the schedule card as an operational definition is indicated in the following quotation which gives a definition of a social process: "... the first need seemed to be operational definitions of the processes, i.e., a schedule card of behavior items with instructions for filling it out, which would thus standardize the meaning of each sociological process" (p. 121). Along with social processes, various other sociological concepts also may be operationally defined by schedule cards. Such items include culture traits, defined by the individual items of the schedule card, and culture complexes, defined as any set of individual items from such a card (p. 502).

In addition to schedule cards, statistical formulas may also serve as operational definitions. Such formulas "... are operational definitions, since they tell the operator what calculations he must perform to obtain what the formula defines. Any two competent operators, given the same recorded data, will then obtain the same means, sigmas, etc., and hence reach objective and complete agreements as to what the *processes* are they are studying" (p. 572).¹³

¹³ Dodd also says that social processes "... are defined by frequencies, means, sigmas, and correlations, not by religious, educational, economic, and other types of

The third type of operational definition is the *S*-theory formula. According to its inventor, since "... the forms common to all social phenomena are not exclusively statistical," the various current concepts "... can be more exactly defined in operational terms by using the formulae of *S*-theory" (p. 572). Dodd says:

It [the *S*-theory] attempts to describe in operationally defined terms the situations *as observed*. It takes whatever data the observer records, good, bad or indifferent, and describes in definite symbols the operational degree of precision of those data, tells how they may be classified, and prepares them in standardized and parsimonious form ready for further manipulation to discover deeper relationships in those data [p. 18].

Examples of operational definitions in terms of the *S*-theory are "competition," defined "... as the process measured by calculating the standard deviation of percentage gains and losses of a desideratum, V , competed for among the competitors, P , in a period, T " (p. 10); "societal control," defined as ${}^2P_p: {}^2P_p: {}^2T^{-1}IT^{-1}$ (p. 760); "tolerating," defined as $(I)_{T1}$; "proselytizing," defined as $+(I)_{T1}$; "intolerating," defined as $-(I)_{T1}$; and "adjusting and maladjusting," defined as $\pm(I)_{a_i}$ (pp. 593-94).

To the reviewer it would seem that the preciseness of Dodd's "operational definitions" exists only in the mind of their inventor. These definitions are simply arbitrary statements of concepts in symbols. Such symbolization, of itself, can lend no precision to concepts, since algebraic symbols can have no meaning apart from the data which they represent.¹⁴ Dodd's operational definitions, therefore, are dependent for their preciseness upon the exactness of the content which is assigned to them. In *Dimensions of Society*, however, no content is assigned to these "definitions."¹⁵ As forms without content, these definitions have no preciseness whatever.¹⁶

content" (pp. 571-72). An example of a social process, operationally defined by its formula is "revarying ... the process measured by the standard deviation of a characteristic observed in one population on a series of dates" (p. 562). Among other things, this process serves as a measure of heredity which it "... redefines ... in more operational terms" (p. 563).

¹⁴ This point is realized by Dodd, who says: "The symbols can be no better than the data they symbolize" (p. 894).

¹⁵ See p. 545 for a discussion of "operational definitions" as forms without content. A contradictory point of views appears on p. 529, where "meaning" is attributed to algebraic symbols.

¹⁶ Dodd gives only cursory attention to the manner in which content is to be assigned to his formulas. From the examples which he includes, however, this would seem to be a far from simple task, involving penetrating study of the particular phenomenon in

Before leaving the topic of *S*-theory operational definitions it should be noted that, in spite of Dodd's statement that this "versatile formula" can describe "... in algebraic symbols even the most unusual types of graphs or presentations of data" (p. 287), there would seem to be a great many concepts which Dodd does not believe are amenable to this type of definition.¹⁷ Examples of such concepts are "liberation, estrangement, anticipation," etc. Of these concepts, Dodd says:

It is submitted in favor of the *S*-system of hypotheses that the approach to the analysis of the phenomena of society is a realistic one. It deals with data on a level where they can be objectively and reliably dealt with. . . . Sociologists have been inclined to try to deal with somewhat nebulous and intangible processes which have attractive emotional and evaluative aspects, such as liberation, estrangement, anticipation. . . . The description of these may prove eventually to be useful hypotheses. But at an early state of development of a science, measurable processes such as our competing, mobility, rescheduling, and the like may be a more solid foundation to build upon. . . . Dealing with these processes for which data are immediately at hand in measurable form . . . is what is meant in this volume by realistic societal analysis [p. 577].

The reviewer would like to point out that according to its inventor one of the great virtues of the *S*-theory is its versatility. The reviewer cannot see, therefore, why the theory cannot be extended to provide an "operational definition" for "liberation." Certainly, it should be simple to change the term to "liberating" and then to select appropriate *S*-theory symbols and combine them into an "operational" formula.

As far as the reviewer can tell, this is the very procedure which Dodd has followed. As he says, after some years of reflection on the *S*-formula he found that "compound or aggregative processes then began popping into consciousness with their formulae ready made on waking in the morning, following reflections on them the evening before" (p. 122).

question (see, e.g., the manner in which "content" is to be assigned to the formula for "behaving" [pp. 545-46]). If one carried on this necessary penetrating study, however, one would contradict one of Dodd's most staunchly held positions. For he has said of his definitions: "Deeper metaphysical study of the essential connection, the inherent pattern, of the flux of phenomena which we observe and measure in probability and correlation coefficients and time readings would give a fuller understanding of those phenomena without necessarily increasing our ability to predict and control them better than by operational definitions" (p. 384).

¹⁷ In this connection it is of interest to note that Dodd believes that "... the minority of current concepts which are not reducible into *S*-formulae are so subjective and vague, that in the author's judgment, the prediction that many of them will in time be discarded by sociologists has high probability" (p. 70).

PARSIMONY

It should be obvious that the reviewer does not believe that this theory is intrinsically inclusive, reliable, or "operationally precise." Is the theory then marked by "parsimony" or possible usefulness in research?

Coming to the fourth claim given by Dodd for the *S*-theory, we note that he contends that it is extremely parsimonious since it uses only sixteen basic symbols (p. 23), which have the additional advantage of avoiding "... the irrelevant connotations, often emotional, which words have acquired." Further, such symbols, being algebraic, are more compact than verbal sentences (p. 61).

According to Dodd, these sixteen basic concepts of *S*-theory are so compact that in a single equation they integrate all social thought. He says:

... *S*-theory provides in a single mathematical formula a system of which attributes and variables, qualitative and quantitative occurrences, probabilities, distributions, correlations and stimulus-response interrelations, time trends of change and societal forces, in short, time, space, people, and their characteristics are all articulated parts. All the concepts of prediction and probability and sociological concepts of content ... are integrated into a consistent, closely unified system, which is specified by the *S*-theory equation ... [p. 839].

Further, he goes on to say:

Is there any sociological treatise or textbook that can show that its chapters and the topics treated are derivatives of one formula, or are such logically necessary parts of one system that by recombining their basic concepts systematically, or even in random ways, these new combinations yield the topics treated [p. 839].

One suspects that the claims on this topic are so tremendous that they defeat their own purpose. It would seem that the *S*-theory equation is so inclusive as to become meaningless. The single equation becomes so parsimonious that it can serve as a description of anything. Further, the statement that this formula can yield completely new topics for study by a random combining of its component parts puts it in a class by itself. It can be used by anyone to study anything.

FRUITFULNESS

The final claim made for the *S*-theory is that it offers many possibilities for research. Such research would seem to divide itself into two types. The first type directly concerns the *S*-theory. It includes

. . . the extension of mathematical tools to qualitative phenomena opened up by our attribute hypothesis; the fuller use of matrix and vectorial algebra on societal data; the exploration of the quantic formula on data and in cells of the table hitherto undiscovered, whose properties, however, can be predicted in advance; the testing of the hypothesis of a maximum natural range of about 12.5σ for human abilities . . . ; the trial of an equilibrium theory of societal action measuring the chief societal processes current among sociologists; further experimental and mathematical research on the hypothesis of epsilon elements . . . ; the development of the interrelation matrix as a tool for exact analysis of inter-human relationships, i.e., converting attributes to indicants . . . [pp. 63-64].

The second kind of research suggested by Dodd, however, makes this first type appear somewhat premature. According to Dodd, almost no precise data are available for application in the *S*-theory. Indeed, there is work for "generations of graduate students in hundreds of colleges and research agencies" in developing techniques for securing data to be used in the *S*-theory (p. 919). Further:

With the painstaking work of thousands of investigators over scores of years, inventing, validating, applying, and analyzing the findings of instruments of precision for societal observation, the data about plurels and groups will become an increasingly adequate basis for significant classification such as enables predictions and control [p. 215].¹⁸

In other words, from what Dodd himself says, it would seem that before any of the mathematical or other uses of the *S*-theory can be explored, we must secure data which will fit into this theoretical scheme. At the present time the theory is solely a definitional scheme, lacking the data which will make it meaningful. In view of this information, it would seem to the reviewer that all research extending the *S*-theory ought to wait upon the primary search for basic data. The possible merits of this theory, however, should be carefully considered before starting "thousands of able, well-trained and well-supported researchers" on "the decades of work"¹⁹ necessary to secure the precise data which will make application of the theory possible.

¹⁸ The testing of a hypothesis concerning a continuum, for example, ". . . will require devising schedule cards itemizing objectively definable attitudes, actions, and material equipment in specific fields, and refining these by appropriate statistical techniques, until scales emerge which will measure (and thereby operationally define) the inter-relational continuum" (p. 397). For a more complicated example the reader is asked to consider the difficulties attendant to securing "operationally precise data" for an item such as ". . . the human inter-activity or group—defined by psychic interaction = $\mathcal{P}P(I)$ " (p. 458).

¹⁹ These two phrases appear on p. 262 in a discussion of the "fruitfulness" of *S*-theory.

What contribution can this theory make to sociology? As far as the reviewer can see, the *S*-theory can offer no contribution toward a better understanding of human behavior. The problems that concern us as sociologists perhaps may be analyzable in terms of space, time, number of people, and characteristics. Of these four sectors, however, we are interested primarily in "characteristics," the residual "everything else" of Dodd's theory. Upon this topic of characteristics the theory is sterile. It tells us neither how to select the salient characteristics of a situation nor how to analyze and understand them.

Dodd may claim that he has demonstrated the usefulness of the *S*-theory in the illustrative situations which appear in the volume. To this the reviewer can only reply: Of what value is it to have assigned so-called formulas to discrete tables and charts? Who cares whether a punch card is operationally defined as $S = 'T^0: 'P: I_2^{0,1}$ (p. 93)? What do we learn about "love" by defining it as a peak on an interrelation surface? Do these definitions tell us anything about people or their behavior?

As far as the reviewer can tell, the only contribution made by the *S*-theory is the addition of algebraic symbolism to general confusion. Contrary to Dodd's belief, the use of symbolism cannot clarify confusion. It adds only another layer of debris through which the careful student must plough to get to fundamental concepts.

It is doubtful whether "thousands of researchers" are going to devote their lives to the exploration of the *S*-theory. It is even possible that the present-day predecessors of these "thousands of researchers" may decide that, since the *S*-theory is inclusive by definition, reliable by definition, precise by definition, and parsimonious by definition, further research organized about this theory would add nothing to its merits. Such a conclusion seems probable.

The reviewer feels that two further items should be called to the reader's attention. The author of *Dimensions of Society* has misinterpreted the position of the operationalists, as represented by Bridgman. He seems also to have completely misunderstood the nature and function of mathematics. This is not the place for an exposition of Bridgman's point of view, but the reviewer feels that certain obvious misinterpretations should be corrected.

First, Dodd seems to imply that an "operational definition" involves physical operations. Numerous examples of his belief in this interpretation of "operationalism" appear in this review. The reader may recall, for example, that a statistical formula is an operational definition because it tells the computer what to do.²⁰ The following quotation is presented

²⁰ See in this connection the discussion of eq. 45, p. 557.

in order to make abundantly clear what Dodd considers an "operational definition."

The operation of observing and recording the characteristic, the response, in some index, in dividing it by the time period to give the velocity, in dividing it a second time by the interval period to get the acceleration, in multiplying it by a population to get the force, in cross-classifying it in a matrix with other parties to establish the interaction—all these operations together constitute the operational definition of "societal control" [p. 761].

Dodd's emphasis on physical operations would seem to be a misinterpretation of the position of Bridgman. The latter says of "verbal" concepts: "... Such concepts have meaning, and the meaning has to be operational, but the operations are exclusively verbal operations, usually the operation of substitution into some verbal form." Bridgman goes on to say that in his discussions dealing with physics he usually demanded that the verbal concepts be made to end in some "physical operation." From this, "... a good many of my readers apparently have had the erroneous idea that 'operation' *had* to be understood in this restricted sense. The necessity of a wider meaning is now more evident than before."²¹

Bridgman's point of view with reference to the nature of science and the nature of the scientific fact is also contrary to that of Dodd. Dodd says: "... An item of observation becomes a fact at a given time in proportion to the percentage of competent observers who agree upon it, i.e., who respond similarly to that stimulus-situation . . ." (p. 6).

Bridgman says:

Science is defined to be that body of activity by scientists which is universally accepted as valid by all those competent to judge. This it seems to me is only a partial view which misses something of greater importance than the point emphasized. I have criteria and am able to form judgments of validity entirely apart from what my fellows say.²²

Indeed, Bridgman says further: "... *My* meanings are not found in *your* experiences."²³

And, unlike Dodd, who believes that agreement increases objectivity, Bridgman states: "As long as people are content to subject their verbalizations only to the control that other people shall respond to them in the

²¹ P. W. Bridgman, *The Intelligent Individual and Society* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1938), pp. 88-89 (the italics are Bridgman's).

²² *Ibid.*, p. 157.

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 153 (again the italics are Bridgman's).

way they demand, there is no automatic method that assures the 'objective' validity of the concept that is assumed."²⁴

Dodd differs from Bridgman, too, in the role which the former gives to mathematics. While he occasionally states that the function of symbols is to make more "objective and communicable the product of the intuition, the insight, or the ingenuity of the investigator" (p. 221), he more often has mathematical symbols making concepts "concise," "objective," "precise," etc. Dodd believes that "... for scientific purposes ordinary language becomes inadequate. Symbols of greater precision and objectivity are required in building an exact science" (p. 19).

His general position is well stated in the following quotation:

Science has found that the language of mathematics is the most objective language. When phenomena and their operational relations are expressed in mathematical symbols, subjectivity is reduced and precision is increased [p. 61].

He also says:

In contributing increased precision to societal data, the use of algebraic symbols is important. They strip the words naming current concepts of their subjective and emotional connotations, leaving the essential agreed-upon denotation of the concept. The mathematical and logical rules for manipulating algebraic symbols are more precise, and therefore distinguish, between truth and falsehood more exactly than the grammatical rules for manipulating words in sentences [p. 834].

On the role of mathematics in science Bridgman is very clear. He says: "The upshot of all this analysis is that I cannot find in mathematics or logic that mystical certainty and necessity which common opinion apparently wants to find and does find."²⁵

The reviewer would like to point out that, as Bridgman says, there is no "mystical certainty in logic or mathematics." The choice of an algebraic symbol is just as subjective as the choice of a word. After all, mathematics is a tool, not an end-in-itself. As a tool, it should be used when appropriate.

The reviewer's position has been well summarized by another writer:

Mathematics offers a wonderful shorthand for the precise formulation of well standardized ideas. On the other hand, the expressions of mathematics are lacking in humor, which is to say that they are no suitable medium for those finer shades of thought which are often necessary in the exposition of ideas which are on the way towards standardization. The formal severity of a mathematical

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 37; see in this connection Bridgman's discussion, pp. 36-47.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 67.

treatment has its disadvantages. Indeed in our opinion absolute mathematical rigor is a sort of ignis fatuus, which must not serve as a guide to the scientific investigator, although we do not claim that its pursuit, with proper safeguards, may not offer a very wholesome exercise.

In this book we have not consciously sacrificed any desirable elements of mathematical rigor. If we have the appearance of doing so, it is because we feel the great need of a visualization of the numerous problems before us, and because this end seems best to be attained by mitigating rather than accentuating the formality of mathematical analysis. It is a dangerous thing to use any kind of mathematical equation unless we keep its meaning before us, and are able to express this meaning without the symbolism which mathematics affords.

This quotation does not represent the views of a "sociologist . . . still wedded to definitions in descriptive terms, which do not enable another party to duplicate the thing defined" (p. 10). It is from a book called *Thermodynamics and the Free Energy of Chemical Substances* (p. 26), by two eminent physical scientists, Gilbert N. Lewis and Merle Randall. Nothing is to be gained, however, by the multiplication of quotations. It should be obvious that *Dimensions of Society*, in addition to presenting an arbitrary and sterile scheme for the analysis of social life, devotes a good part of its 900-odd pages to the outlining of misconceptions of operational methods and of the role of mathematics in science.

In view of the numerous faults of this volume it is somewhat startling to read the laudatory statements of eminent sociologists about the author which he has seen fit to include in his book. These scholars will probably revise their opinions in the light of this latest of Dodd's productions. Those who still believe that he may be the James Clerk Maxwell of the social sciences would do well to ponder the following sentence: "No one ever appreciated more than Maxwell the advantages gained in concentration of thought, and in the suggestion of new ideas, by considering a concrete case like a model, instead of relying upon algebraic symbols."²⁶

CHICAGO

²⁶ An excellent discussion of Maxwell's point of view appears along with this quotation in J. J. Thomson, *Recollections and Reflections* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1937), p. 392.

GROUP BEHAVIOR IN THE VILLAGE COMMUNITY OF LEBANON

AFIF I. TANNOUS

ABSTRACT

The group rather than the individual is the center of community life in the Lebanon village. The behavior of individuals in various life-situations is mainly an expression of their group patterns. Three main groups predominate in village life—the family, the church, and the community as a whole. Identification with each of these entities is shown by such indexes as proverbs, swearing expressions, names, addressing others, marriage, and patterns of conflict and co-operation.

INTRODUCTORY STATEMENT

The Lebanon mountains of Syria rise abruptly to some twelve thousand feet from the eastern shore of the Mediterranean. On their slopes, more rugged than the Rockies of the United States, are scattered several hundred village communities. A strikingly similar historical and cultural background has resulted in a culturally homogeneous area. Unlike the American rural community, each one of them is a clearly defined ecological and psychosocial entity. They are predominantly inhabited by farmers, who go to work in the fields in the morning and come back to the village in the evening. Between the villages no scattered farmsteads can be seen. Each village has defined clearly the boundaries of its territory, with respect to other villages. Similarly, each one of them has defined the boundaries of its psychosocial identification. At the same time, within the village, group identifications are clearly defined, and shifts in these identifications seem to take place according to a regular pattern.

The writer's primary objective in undertaking this study was to discover and analyze the prevailing pattern of group behavior in those villages. The study was undertaken specifically in one village community—Bishmizzeen—ten miles from the seashore, on the foothills of the Lebanon. However, a few other villages were included, in a more general manner. These were: Amyoon, Kafer-Akka, Btirram, Afsdik, and Kafer-hazir. The writer grew up in Bishmizzeen and actively participated in the various aspects of its life. He was brought up in the image of its culture. At the same time he traveled throughout the Lebanon area and became intimately acquainted with the life in a large number of villages. After staying in America for several years, he returned with a new cultural outlook and made a participant-observer study, of which the present analysis is one aspect.

IDENTIFICATION WITH THE FAMILY GROUP

The family, as consisting of two parents and their children, is not highly significant in the village community of Lebanon. What is of real significance is the joint family, a larger family group consisting of the parents, their children, the paternal grandparents, the paternal uncles and their families, and unmarried paternal aunts, and the kinship group, the largest family group, consisting of all those that claim descent from the same paternal ancestor. The individual learns to identify himself with this family group from the moment of birth and his behavior is patterned accordingly.

The village people use many proverbs. These proverbs are not learned from books but are the spontaneous creation of village life. They are an expression of the people's fundamental attitudes. Consequently, one expects that the dominant group loyalties in village life should figure prominently in its proverbs. Here are some of the proverbs that are related to family group behavior.

"I am against my brother; my brother and I are against our cousin; cousin, brother, and I are against the stranger." This proverb indicates not only the emphasis upon the family group but also depicts, in a concise manner, the shifting character of such emphasis.

"Blood can never turn into water." This proverb is usually uttered in such a conflict situation as that in which a member of the family group goes against his own friend and supports his relatives. Such behavior is expected from the individual, even by his friend. If he should behave otherwise, he would be much criticized.

"A boy is two-thirds the image of his uncle." The uncle here referred to is the maternal uncle. There is a special term for him in Arabic (*khal*.) This proverb emphasizes the family tie on the mother's side. Despite the fact that the family organization is patrilineal and patrilocal, identification with the mother's family group is emphasized in many situations. "They asked the mule, who is your father?" He said, "My (maternal) uncle is the horse." The mule is a hybrid from a donkey and a mare. This refers to those who do not have a "good" family background on the father's side and have to resort to the maternal side for such a background.

"Marry the daughter of a known family though she be an old maid." This refers to their belief that the qualities of a family (cultural and biological) will assert themselves in the offspring.

"Nothing can sympathize with the twig more than its bark." This indicates that blood relation is as intimate and binding as the relation between the wood and bark of the twig.

"He who has no backing, has no backbone." The Arabic word for "back" or "backing," as used here, signifies "family" or "kinship"—a transfer from their belief that the life of the offspring originates in the back of the father.

"He who does not share his goods with his brother will not share them with his son." This is one more indication of the fact that the significance of the family unit is not limited to the parents and their children.

There are over fifty other such sayings, which seem to indicate the emphasis of the village culture upon group behavior rather than upon the individual and to point to the priority of the joint family and kinship units over the biological family unit.

Another index of the extent and intensity of identification with the family group is found in the swearing expressions used by the villagers. Swearing is an indication of a conflict situation. The individual indulges in it when he is frustrated and emotionally upset. Short of physical attack, it is meant to inflict pain upon the other individual by attacking that which he holds "sacred." Upon analysis, one finds that the villagers' swearing expressions vary in accordance with the intensity of the conflict situations. In mild conflict situations the following swearing expressions are usually used.

You coward!	Go and kill yourself!
You woman [addressing a man]!	Go and bury yourself!
Shut up!	May God curse you!
You dog!	Phew on you! etc.

The significant point here is that almost all the swearing used in mild conflict situations, when one aims to hurt the other least, refers to the strictly personal characteristics of the individual. The individual as such is of little importance in the village, and insulting him as an individual does not greatly endanger his existence or status in village life.

However, in more intense conflict situations, more violent terms are used:

May God curse your father!	You, son of a harlot!
May God curse your ancestors!	You, who have no known origin!
You bastard!	

All the violent swearing terms, to which the response is extremely violent, indicate an attack upon the individual through his religious or family group. By such an attack his whole existence seems to be threatened. He reacts violently against such a threat. Moreover, his reaction is further intensified by his realization that all the other members of his group will react similarly.

A further index of family identification may be found in the names of people. The usual procedure is to name the first son after the grandfather. This serves to preserve the tie with the ancestors on the father's side, the family being patrilineal. Other sons are named after different relatives within the larger family group. Thus the scheme would be as follows: Afif is the son of Salim, Salim the son of Afif, etc., to the limit, which is the first ancestor whose name is adopted by the whole kinship group as their family name. Consequently, each member of the family group has three names—his first name (which would be his grandfather's name, if he is the first son), his second name (which is his father's name), and his third name (which is the family group name).

In still another way—the manner of addressing others—the name indicates the loss of the individual within the family group. As soon as their first boy is born, the parents, in the majority of cases, cease to be addressed by their own names. They are now addressed after the name of their son—as the mother of So-and-so and the father of So-and-so. Sometimes, even before the son is born, they are called by his intended name. As the parents grow older, their names become more and more forgotten, until they completely cease to be used. Until a few years ago, when he inquired about it, the writer did not know his maternal grandmother's name.

On the other hand, until he is married, the son is referred to in many cases as the son of So-and-so, of such and such a family. In situations of conflict or boasting the excited individual exclaims, "Take it [a blow with a stick] from the hand of the son of" (giving the collective name of his family group). The introduction of a young man or a young woman to a group of strangers is not satisfactory unless the name of the family group is given.

This manner of addressing has one further implication. The child learns, from the start, that he should address every member within the large family group as "cousin" or "uncle" or "aunt" or "grandfather" or "grandmother," no matter how distant from his immediate family is the individual concerned. All of them are identified, as one, with the family group.

The individual normally marries within the kinship group, as defined above, beyond second cousins. This insures the family group solidarity. In case no suitable mate is found within the kinship group, one is sought either from another kinship group within the village or from the individual's kinship branch² in another village. What is least preferable is that a mate should be chosen from another kinship group in another village.

² Some kinship groups have more than one branch, started simultaneously by sibling ancestors in different villages.

This choice may be somewhat tolerated in case the chosen mate is in some manner distantly related to the kinship group.

However, the family influence does not end here. The specific mate is usually chosen by the joint family—parents, aunts, uncles, and grandparents. This is one more demonstration that the family group is the significant social unit and that the individual is primarily a member of this group.

Table 1 shows the pattern of intermarriage in the case of Bishmizzeen, since its beginning. It will be observed that during the first and second generations no marriage within the kinship group took place, owing to the

TABLE 1
MARRIAGE WITHIN AND OUTSIDE THE KINSHIP
GROUP AND VILLAGE IN THE CASE OF BISH-
MIZZEEN, LEBANON, UP TO 1939

GENERATION	MARRIED WITHIN KINSHIP GROUP	MARRIED TO AN OUTSIDER	
		Within Village	Outside Village
First.....	.....	6	5
Second.....	.....	27*	39
Third.....	2	98	62
Fourth.....	67*	159	124
Fifth.....	79	187	174
Sixth.....	28	78	88
Seventh.....	.....	17	12
Total.....	176	572	504

* Odd numbers in first two columns indicate the existence of second marriages.

fact that marriage between first and second cousins (paternal or maternal) is not permitted. (A few exceptions in the case of second cousins have been tolerated.) Thus the early family groups who started the village had to wait for two or three generations before they could establish the desirable norm of marriage within the kinship group. In all, the total of marriages within the village by far exceed marriages outside the village.

There are no deep-rooted feuds in the villages under consideration, as exist in some other Lebanon villages. Quarrels occur every now and then. The general tendency is for these quarrels not to be limited to the individuals concerned. They begin with two individuals but soon tend to be redefined in terms of family lines.

In case the quarrel is between two individuals of the same joint family

group, conflict between the two households concerned may take place. However, such a conflict is normally temporary and mild. Very soon identification with the larger family group becomes predominant, and the minor gap is bridged over. Conflict tends to assume a more permanent and more violent character when the two individuals concerned belong to two different kinship groups.

Further, this identification with the family group in conflict situations is indicated by the causes that lead to quarrels. The surest way for an individual to precipitate a major conflict is not to attack the other individual as such but to direct the attack against his family group.

IDENTIFICATION WITH THE RELIGIOUS GROUP

It has been shown how the dominant family group defines for the individual his behavior in various situations. Another such dominant entity is the religious group, whose influence will now be considered. It must be kept in mind that the great majority of the village people in the locality are of the Greek Orthodox faith. There is in each of these villages a small number of Moslem households and a smaller number of Maronite households (Catholic sect).

The following are the most frequently used proverbs which indicate the importance of the religious group in village life.

God helps each one in his own faith. [This is used as a conciliatory statement when a conflict situation threatens to arise on the basis of religious differences.]
Never accompany him who has no religion.

The Moslems of Minyeh, the Maronites of Zagerta, and the Greek Orthodox of Kura. [This refers to the strongholds of the three main faiths of the area; Bishmizzeen and the other villages considered are in the Kura district.]

Do not betray your brother in faith.

A Moslem cannot love the cross.

He who lives among the people of another sect gets into trouble.

Further evidence is supplied by swearing expressions:

May God curse your religion!

May God curse your cross!

May God curse your Mohammed!

These are the most violent swearing expressions that anyone can ever use, and they create the most violent reaction. The reaction is even more violent than that produced by a curse aimed at the family group. The violence of the reaction is also relative to whether the curse comes from one of the same faith or of a different faith. Thus in moments of extreme anger one Greek Orthodox may curse the religion of another Greek Ortho-

dox, and the response would be relatively mild. In such a situation the attack does not define the field in terms of group conflict. The conflict remains a personal one. But let a Moslem or a Maronite use this symbol of attack in a quarrel with a Greek Orthodox, and the conflict will soon be defined in terms of two conflicting groups. Consequently, it is now very rare in these villages that a Moslem curses the Greek Orthodox religion, or vice versa, while members of the same faith indulge in it more freely.

Less violent forms are:

God curse the beard of your priest!

God curse the turban of your sheik [Moslem priest]!

May the donkey of the Maronite urinate in your courtyard! [This is said by one woman to another in a quarrel, indicating a state of humiliation.]

As in the case of the family, the naming procedure is highly indicative of the influence of the religious group. The names that have been used in the village, with respect to religious implication, may be classified as follows:

1. Strictly Moslem names
2. Strictly Christian names
 - a) Strictly Greek Orthodox names
 - b) Strictly Maronite names
 - c) Names common to Greek Orthodox and Maronites
3. Names common to three sects

The Moslem group use Moslem names (Ali, Ahmed, Halina, Fatima, Mustafa, etc.) and Arabic adjective names (Salim, As'ad, Salimeh, etc.) that are common to the three sects. Not a single one among them has a distinctly Christian name.

The Greek Orthodox group use (1) mostly Greek Orthodox names (Constantine, Hilaneh, Nicola, Mitri, etc.), (2) some Christian names, common to Greek Orthodox and Maronites (Hanna, Mikhail, Sassin, Sara, etc.), and (3) Arabic adjective names, common to the three faiths. With the exception of one recent case, no Greek Orthodox individual in Bishmizzeen has ever had a distinctly Moslem or Maronite name.

The two Maronite households in the village use two types of names—the religious type that is common to the Greek Orthodox and the Maronites and the Arabic adjective type. Not a single name in these two households is distinctly Maronite. This indicates their tendency—being a very small minority—to identify themselves with the Greek Orthodox majority.

Perhaps the most emphatic identification with the religious group is expressed in the marriage situation. Here the boundary lines are clear,

the barriers thick, and no crossing is permitted. Thus intermarriage between the Greek Orthodox and the Maronites is very rare indeed, only five cases being reported in the history of Bishmizzeen. When it occurs, the girl is expected to adopt her husband's faith, which she is normally reluctant to do and to which her family furiously objects. Also, the church authorities interfere in a most determined manner. The barrier is even wider between Christians and Moslems. Only two cases of such inter-religious marriage have taken place in the several villages under consideration.

When two individuals of the same faith and same family group quarrel, their conflict is limited in area and intensity. It remains on the inter-personal level. When the participants belong to different family groups, the conflict shifts to the intergroup level, but when they belong to different faiths (which also implies different family groups) the conflict field tends to comprise a wider area and to take on a more violent character. (It must be observed that in recent years the new spirit of nationalism has tended to minimize the influence of the religious element in conflict.)

IDENTIFICATION WITH THE VILLAGE COMMUNITY

The family group defines for the individual a cluster of his life-situations, the religious group takes care of a second cluster of situations, and the village (Bishmizzeen, for example), the symbol of the community as such, defines a third cluster of situations. Among these three groupings the major issues of life in the village are taken care of.

However, it seems that identification with the village (although very significant) has never been as intensive and extensive as with the family group. The reason for this is obvious. Family groups appeared first, and it took some time for community identity to develop.

In the village proverbs there are relatively few that refer to the village as such, with emphasis upon locality:

Ask about your neighbors before you build your house.

Your neighbor is your refuge.

Your next-door neighbor is better for you than your far-off brother.

The tares of your community are better for you than foreign wheat.

Every tree has its own shadow, and every village has its own customs.

As long as your neighbor is prosperous you will be prosperous too.

God and your neighbor are the only two who know your affairs best.

No swearing expressions are used with reference to the village. Similarly, the names used by one village are roughly the same as those used by other villages.

The boundary lines between village and village begin to show themselves in the case of intervillage marriage. As indicated above, the choice of a mate from outside the village is tolerated, but not encouraged (see Table 1 on intermarriage). Other family groups see in it an implied insult to their girls. Also, they see in the chosen women a stranger who does not belong. They are not certain of her behavior and status among them. Her advent into the village tends to make them conscious of their entity, as the "Bishmizzeen group," for example.

Also in situations of conflict or competition village identity is clearly demonstrated. When quarrels take place between individuals from Bishmizzeen and a neighboring village, usually such quarrels do not end with the individuals concerned. They tend to implicate the two village groups, as the Bishmizzeen group versus the Amyoon group.

When a villager, say a Bishmizzeenian, goes to a village where he is not known, he is soon asked, "Where do you come from? To what family do you belong?"

When the young men of one village participate in a religious festival in a neighboring village, they do so as the young men of "Bishmizzeen." They try to outdo other village groups (the young men of Amyoon or Afsdik or Kaferhazir) in group dancing, horse racing, singing, or ringing the church bell.

The Bishmizzeen people are conscious of their entity as the "Bishmizzeen group" in respect to learning. They have always been proud of their good village school and the relatively high proportion among them who have had college education. They refer to their village as the village of *Ilm* ("learning"). Amyoon is conscious of itself as being "strong," "dominating," and the "stronghold of the church." Kafer-Akka is proud of the fact that its farmers are the most industrious and successful. Similarly, other villages have consciously developed such distinctive identifications.

When a misdemeanor or a minor crime is committed in the village, one hears such remarks as the following: "This is not the custom of our people!" "By your behavior, you have spoiled the name of your village." "Are we going down to the level of other villages?" etc.

Indeed, it would be no exaggeration to say that pride in every distinctive and valued character of any individual, family group, the church, occupation, the natural resources, including air (literally!) is emphasized in this intensive community consciousness.

PROPAGANDA ANALYSIS—TO WHAT ENDS?

WILLIAM GARBER

ABSTRACT

Propaganda analysis cannot fruitfully proceed through the piecemeal dissection of pieces of propaganda followed by the application of static classification devices. The dynamic characteristics of the "field" in which a propaganda plays its role are fundamental in determining the meaning of the specific techniques employed. The approach of the Institute for Propaganda Analysis and Lasswell's method of content analysis are criticized from this point of view.

The Institute for Propaganda Analysis, which devoted itself to the critical survey of current propaganda, has suspended its operations for the duration of the war. The reason given is interesting: that the approach utilized by the Institute might serve to disturb the unity needed for the war effort.¹

This serves to raise several questions. Was there not something defective about the type of analysis employed by the Institute that its directors were forced to the conclusion that they might be hindering national defense? Might not propaganda analysis be employed to strengthen a democracy's unity and morale? Was there not something fallacious in the Institute's definition of propaganda, in that it made no distinction between truth and falsity, between good and evil, but labeled as propaganda everything which is "the expression of opinion or action by individuals or groups deliberately designed to influence opinions or actions of other individuals or groups with reference to predetermined ends"?²

This is, in fact, an opportune moment to consider the implications and goals of the entire propaganda-analysis movement. It is time to consider, for one thing, whether all this energy is being profitably expended. Further, we must decide what shall be the status of this movement in the better world-order which many of us hope the collapse of dictatorship and authoritarianism will bring.

The scientific analysis of propaganda reached definitive status only in the past few decades. Previously some research had been done in the fields of advertising and publicity; Thorndike's 1911 article, "Psy-

¹ "We Say Au Revoir," *Propaganda Analysis*, Vol. IV, No. 13.

² *Ibid.*, p. 4.

chology and Advertising,"³ exercised considerable influence in determining research trends. Also, studies in mass psychology, notably the works of Le Bon and Tarde, laid down a theoretical structure which later had an inestimable influence in shaping propaganda theory.

However, it was the post-war disillusionment that gave the propaganda-analysis movement its greatest impetus. A mass of books and articles, most of them of a popular character, resulted, not the least important work being Hitler's *Mein Kampf*. Lasswell's *Propaganda Technique in the World War* was a notable empirical contribution. Conditioning theory and psychoanalysis were dominant psychological doctrines of the time and have retained their dominance to the present day in propaganda theory.

The impression which resulted from the analysis of war propaganda was that something had been neatly put over on the public, both Allied and German. On the credit side, this helped to make the public thoroughly propaganda conscious, identifying the term with a form of deception, the control of the many by the few. However, it also promoted a cheap skepticism and a pseudo-sophistication which rejected everything prior to analysis; it fostered, as Kris has expressed it, "the artificial scepticism which leads people to no longer distinguish between the truth and the fallacy of a statement but to apply the one criterion of Why does he say so? instead of What does he say?"⁴ In addition a picture emerged, backed by many psychologists and sociologists, of the human being as basically a machine, manipulated by a limited number of buttons (the laws of propaganda). Learn to push the proper buttons in the correct sequence and you have acquired a slave.

Among those adhering to this psychology, a certain reverence must of necessity arise for the mysterious words that animate the machine. Propaganda analysis, in the main, has meant the study of these magic phrases: their order, their variations, the correct tone of voice. The methods of content and symbol analysis which now find great favor seem to be based on the theory that if these phrases can be broken down, analyzed, classified, counted, and tabulated, the secret of secrets, hitherto locked with Merlin in his tree, will emerge: the formula for controlling mankind.

One of the leading exponents of the method of content analysis is Lasswell. In 1939, in co-operation with Blumenstock, he published *World Revolutionary Propaganda*, a study of the Communist party's propaganda

³ Edward L. Thorndike, "Psychology and Advertising," *Scientific American*, CIV (1911), 250-51.

⁴ Ernst Kris, "The 'Danger' of Propaganda," *American Imago*, II (1941), 20.

in Chicago during the depression, relying mainly on the content analysis of the party's slogans and leaflets. Here is a fair sample (not at all taken out of context) of the stirring and highly significant facts that emerge:

Method symbols can be readily classified into forms which are serviceable in tracing the dynamic characteristics of Communist propaganda between 1930 and 1934.

Form 1. Imperative form of the verb, with the object of address either stated or understood (most commonly the latter). . . .

Form 2. Fuller imperative form of the verb in which the object of address is always stated. . . .

Form 3. Subjunctive of wish. . . .

Form 4. Action phrase: an elliptical phrase with active meaning. . . .

The simple imperative form accounted for 95 per cent of the action demands invoked in 1930 and 1932. It was used least frequently in 1933, during which year only 79 per cent of the method demands appeared in the simple imperative. During the latter year the mild subjunctive form appeared in over 8 per cent of the cases, the high year for use of this form. In 1934 the simple imperative was again less strikingly frequent than in its two banner years; this time the benefiting supplementary form was not the subjunctive of wish, but the action phrase. There is no hesitation in saying that 1933 was the year with the least dynamic styles of demand symbols.⁵

This, be reminded, is an analysis of the "dynamic" character and meaning of revolutionary propaganda. The beauty of this verbal hocus-pocus is that it sounds eminently scientific. No value judgments are here admitted, no analysis of meaning in the sense that we all understand it; the problem of truth or falsity is excluded. What troubles me, however, is that, although I have studied propaganda intensively for some time, I can find absolutely no meaning or significance in the quotation given above. And it is interesting that the final conclusions reached by the authors are mainly deductions from psychoanalytic theory having little relationship to the data presented.

It may be claimed that I have presented too extreme a picture. After all, everyone knows that human beings have brains, think and feel, not only react to their environment but modify it to fit their needs. The Institute for Propaganda Analysis might be presented as an example of an organization which believed the basic evil of propaganda to be the limited view it presents of all the facts; this it aimed to rectify by giving the public many points of view on a given issue as well as labeling the interests which promote each view.

⁵ Harold D. Lasswell and Dorothy Blumenstock, *World Revolutionary Propaganda* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1939), pp. 109-11.

However, in my opinion, the approach of this organization was basically fallacious. The Institute seemed convinced that propaganda is founded mainly on the use of certain verbal tricks, such as distortion, suppression of relevant facts, and the use of *ad hominem* arguments. Consequently, it dissected pieces of propaganda to their roots, revealing the propaganda tricks involved and studying the essential meaning of each claim made. By these means it hoped to create an enlightened public competent to dissect propaganda for itself and, in a manner of speaking, to remove by itself the fuse that makes the bomb dangerous.

Thus the Institute for Propaganda Analysis was representative of the still current tendency to follow the assumption that a propaganda statement (or any statement, for that matter) is best dealt with in terms of its individual components considered as units. For example, should Hitler say, "All Germans love the Eternal Imperial Reich," the Institute might proceed to nullify the propagandistic value of the statement as follows: By the use of the term "all Germans," Hitler is making the bandwagon appeal, trying to persuade dissenters to fall into line before it is too late. His employment of the vague concept "Eternal Imperial Reich" is an attempt to create a favorable response by the association of the general but imposing terms "Eternal" and "Imperial" with the symbol "Reich," the whole being designed to leave a pleasant feeling in his German listeners, although most of them could not explain just why. The exponents of this method of analysis might go on further to cite statistics proving that all Germans do not love the Eternal Imperial Reich, whatever that may be. Thus is the fuse presumably removed; made wise, I am no longer a blind tool of Hitler propaganda, at least with regard to this statement.

There is no doubt that this method has its merits. Skepticism may be expressed as to whether it can effectively equip the public to deal with propaganda. What the Institute seemed not to realize is that understanding does not necessarily follow the breaking-down of a statement and the dispassionate examination of each part. More often confusion results from this method. No—by the nature and meaning of a statement is not meant its grammar and inner logic. Nor can a statement be understood by classifying it under "Psychological Device No. 5xy." May we not better understand a message in terms of its setting, its varied implications, the whole interacting system of complex relationships which gave it birth rather than through the study of the strict causal interconnections between the individual words? It is to be doubted that the mechanical dissection of propaganda yields understanding or ability to resist future

propaganda. Like the surgeon, the student of propaganda must be a skilled butcher—he must know where to cut, exactly where to draw the line, how deep to sink the knife. This requires a knowledge of relationships, meanings, dynamics, the place of the part in the whole.

One need but contrast a Roosevelt fireside chat with a Hitler speech to realize that the mechanical breakdown of these two talks destroys their essence rather than yielding understanding. The situation is similar to trying to understand the difference between an expensive Paris gown and mail-order dress in terms of the value of the fabrics that went into each. The difference between Roosevelt speaking and Hitler speaking is not basically one of propaganda techniques, but rather of different views of life, of differing approaches to mankind, to human dignity. To analyze both speeches in terms of "subjunctive of wish," "fuller imperative form of the verb in which the object is always stated," or of the Institute's seven propaganda devices, is deliberately blinding one's self to the significance of each approach, the message and its meaning.

Yet the approach of the Institute for Propaganda Analysis, intended for popular instruction, was relatively enlightened compared with the word-counting now passing as content analysis. (The reply of a content analyst that one is perfectly free to apply any interpretation one can to his data, once he has obtained it in this fashion, misses, of course, the whole point.) However, even noting the social and economic background of a propaganda does not provide a fruitful approach if we combine with this a theory of human beings as similar to bewildered rats in a maze. Only if we approach the problem from the point of view of trying to understand essentially reasonable human beings in an unstable field structure can we arrive at an appreciation of the nature and meaning of modern propaganda. If basic to a sketch of field conditions is the assumption that human beings are essentially blindly reacting machines, then the addition of new factors simply means adding new levers to the machine.

Finally, a very real danger inherent in the current approach to propaganda should not be ignored. Of necessity, concentration on propaganda as verbal and psychological tricks and grammatical constructions, ignoring the study of the total context which permits their use, results in forgetting that Fascist methods are appropriate to a Fascist setting. Some of the studies of Nazi propaganda seem to have been made with a view to discovering methods to be copied, much as the British would study a captured German tank of new design.

The thesis of this paper is thus twofold: First, it is argued here that the

proper way to understand the phenomenon of propaganda is not primarily through the study of the rhetorical and psychological tricks employed, but rather by an analysis of the total social context of the propaganda under investigation, conceiving the whole as a dynamic field of stresses and strains wherein the force of propaganda plays its part. Second, I maintain that the first approach not only is inadequate but is dangerous and harmful in that it fosters the delusion that the solution lies in emulating the propagandist's tricks rather than in removing the social causes which make them possible.

Analysis of antidemocratic propaganda must be made in terms of total social context, not only because this is a more enlightened approach than the piecemeal dissection into sterile rules and tricks, but because only this approach can provide us with effective means of dealing with the disease at its roots. The answer to a propaganda of fear must lie in the removal of the causes of fear. Propaganda appealing to the despairing can find no roots in the hopeful. And I do not, of course, deny the importance of the study of Fascist propaganda as mainly applicable to fascism only.

NEW YORK CITY

NEWS AND NOTES

RESEARCH NOTES

Joint Committee on Latin American Studies.—The National Research Council, the American Council of Learned Societies, and the Social Science Research Council have appointed a Joint Committee on Latin-American Studies. The purpose of the Committee is to promote Latin-American studies in all fields of knowledge and to act as an advisory agency for all projects dealing with Latin America which come to the attention of the three supporting councils. The Committee will also co-operate closely with various government agencies working in the field of inter-American relations. Robert Redfield, dean of the Division of Social Sciences of the University of Chicago, is acting as chairman of the Committee, and Wendell Bennett, Yale University, is executive secretary. Other members of the Committee are J. G. Beebe-Center, Harvard University; W. R. Crawford, University of Pennsylvania; Earl J. Hamilton, Duke University; Lewis Hanke, Library of Congress; Clarence H. Haring, Harvard University; Preston E. James, Office of the Coordinator of Information; Irving A. Leonard, Brown University; and George C. Vaillant, University Museum, Philadelphia.

Russell Sage Foundation.—Shelby M. Harrison, general director of the Russell Sage Foundation, was one of six persons awarded honorary degrees by Boston University at its Spring Commencement

Social Science Research Council.—The Social Science Research Council has announced the following pre-doctoral fellows in sociology for 1942-43: John Benton Gillingham, University of Wisconsin; for field training with reference to "white collar" employees in selected industrial organizations.

John Landward, Harvard University; for field training in population growth in relation to its economic and social aspects.

Shotaro Frank Miyamoto, University of Chicago; for field training in problems of the Japanese evacuation from the Pacific Coast.

Erich Rosenthal, University of Chicago; for field training in psychiatric methods, with special emphasis on the psychology of the aged.

Philip Selznick, Columbia University; for field training in the administrative procedures of the Tennessee Valley Authority.

Melvin Marvin Tumin, Northwestern University; for field training in acculturation in Guatemala.

Sociometric Institute.—The Sociometric Institute has been opened under the direction of J. L. Moreno. The Institute will be located at 101 Park Avenue, New York. Dr. Moreno will serve as chairman. The members of the advisory board include: Gordon W. Allport, Harvard University; Read Bain, Miami University; Howard Becker, University of Wisconsin; James V. Bennett, United States Department of Justice; Hadley Cantril, Princeton University; F. Stuart Chapin, University of Minnesota; John Collier, United States Department of the Interior; Leonard S. Cottrell, Jr., Cornell University; John Dewey, Columbia University; Lawrence K. Frank, New York; George Gallup, American Institute of Public Opinion; Paul F. Lazarsfeld, Columbia University; Katherine F. Lenroot, United States Department of Labor; George A. Lundberg, Bennington College; Robert S. Lynd, Columbia University; Margaret Mead, American Museum of Natural History; Adolf Meyer, Johns Hopkins Hospital; Wesley C. Mitchell, Columbia University; J. L. Moreno, Sociometric Institute; George P. Murdock, Yale University; Gardner Murphy, College of the City of New York; Theodore M. Newcomb, University of Michigan; Frank Stanton, Columbia Broadcasting System; Samuel A. Stouffer, University of Chicago; Carl C. Taylor, United States Department of Agriculture; and M. L. Wilson, United States Department of Agriculture.

NOTES

Bureau of the Census.—Philip M. Hauser has been appointed assistant director of the Census Bureau, effective July 1, 1942. Dr. Hauser will be in charge of social statistics, including population and housing statistics, vital statistics, the census of agriculture, and statistics relating to state and local government. Dr. Hauser was formerly assistant chief statistician for population in the Bureau. He received his Ph.D. degree in the Department of Sociology at the University of Chicago and was formerly a member of the faculty of that department.

The Institute of Public Affairs.—The Sixteenth Annual Session of the Institute of Public Affairs was held at the University of Virginia, July 5-11. The Institute was under the direction of Oron James Hale, associ-

ate professor of history. The general topic of the discussion was "New Strategies for War and Peace."

Mid-west Sociological Society.—George W. Hill, second vice-president of the Society, is head of the 1942-43 Research Committee. Members of the Society are asked to report to him on all research projects and their progress.

National Recreation Association.—The Annual Congress of the National Recreation Association will be held in Cincinnati, Ohio, September 28-October 2. The Congress will be devoted to the topic of converting the recreation forces of America to wartime activities. Persons desiring further information about these meetings are asked to write to the National Recreation Association, 315 Fourth Avenue, New York City.

New England Conference on Tomorrow's Children.—The Third Conference on Tomorrow's Children was held at Harvard University, July 8-10, 1942. The Conference was under the auspices of the Harvard Summer School and twenty-seven co-operating New England organizations.

The Society for Social Research.—The Society for Social Research held its annual summer meeting August 14-15. The dinner meeting of the Society was addressed by E. B. Reuter of the University of Iowa, who spoke on "The State of Social Research in Wartime."

Among the speakers at the meetings were: Charles S. Johnson, Fisk University; Donald Slesinger, American Film Center; Florian Znaniecki, University of Illinois; Elmo C. Wilson, Office of Facts and Figures; Philip M. Hauser, Bureau of the Census; and Ernest Manheim, University of Kansas City.

War Shipping Administration.—Nels Anderson, formerly of the staff of the Work Projects Administration, is now the port representative for the Port of New York. He is in charge of the Recruitment and Manning Organization.

University of Chicago.—Robert F. Winch, formerly instructor in sociology, is now an ensign in the Navy.

Harvard University.—E. Y. Hartshorne is on leave from the University and is working in the Office of Strategic Services, Washington, D.C.

University of Hawaii.—Volume VII of *Social Process in Hawaii*, published by the Sociology Club of the University of Hawaii, appeared re-

cently. The contributors included Andrew W. Lind, Masako Akena, Eiko Yoshinaga, Henry Lum, M. Miyazawa, David Thompson, Romanzo Adams, Bernhard Hormann, Yukiko Kimura, and Ferris Laune. A number of the papers in this volume—especially "Types of Social Movement in Hawaii," by Andrew W. Lind, and "Morale in Hawaii," by Bernhard Hormann—are of special interest to sociologists at the present time.

University of Kansas.—Loren C. Eiseley has been appointed associate professor of anthropology. Dr. Eiseley spent the past summer at the American Museum of Natural History under a research grant from the University of Kansas, completing a project in physical anthropology undertaken during a post-doctoral fellowship awarded him by the Social Science Research Council.

Lawrence College.—Dinko Tomasic has been appointed associate professor of sociology.

University of Michigan.—Robert Cooley Angell has taken leave from the University in order to serve as a captain in the air force of the United States Army. He is now stationed at Ellington Field, Texas.

Michigan State College.—The fourteenth annual summer Institute of Social Welfare was held on the campus July 6-10. This institute is sponsored by the department of sociology, the State Welfare League, and various state departments. The topic of the Institute was "Social Welfare in War Time."

The third annual meeting of the Michigan Conference on Family Relations was held on Saturday, July 11, following the meeting of the Institute of Social Welfare. Dr. L. J. Carr of the University of Michigan was program chairman.

Charles R. Hoffer of the department of sociology was a member of the summer staff of West Virginia University.

J. Howard Howson of Vassar taught a course on marriage at Michigan State College during the summer session.

University of Montana.—The Greater University of Montana announces the founding of its "Publications in the Social Sciences" with the appearance of its first monograph, *The Hagen Site*, by William Mulloy and others. This paper describes a significant phase in the prehistory of the Great Plains. Professor Harry Turney-High is editor of the series.

Ohio State University.—F. E. Lumley has been appointed to the City Planning Commission of Columbus, Ohio, for a term of six years.

Ohio Wesleyan University.—Milton Yinger, formerly a graduate student at the University of Wisconsin, has been appointed instructor in sociology.

Tulane University.—Samuel Strong has accepted a position as visiting assistant professor of sociology to fill a position made vacant by N. J. Demerath, who is now on leave with the Program Surveys Division of the federal government. Robert Wauchope, formerly director of the Laboratory of Anthropology and Archaeology of the University of North Carolina, has been appointed director of the Middle American Institute of Tulane University and will offer anthropology courses in collaboration with the department of sociology here. The Oxford University Press recently announced publication of *The Academic Man* by Logan Wilson.

University of Wisconsin.—The book-review department of the *American Sociological Review* is now under the editorship of Professors Leland C. De Vinney and Thomas C. McCormick, both of the department of sociology. Dr. De Vinney replaces Howard Becker as editor. Professor Becker has become editor of the D. C. Heath "Social Relations Series." The first text in this series, entitled *Marriage and the Family*, will be edited by Howard Becker and Reuben Hill.

A new division of the department has been organized to deal with work in the field of population.

PERSONAL

The L. B. Fischer Publishing Corporation announces the publication of a series of introductory volumes which will deal authoritatively with various aspects of modern scientific knowledge. The Board of Editors for these pocket-size books will include Dr. Alvin Johnson, director of the New School for Social Research; Professor Harlow Shapley, Harvard University; and Dr. Alfred E. Cohn, Rockefeller Institute. *Journal* readers who have available manuscripts which they think might be included in this series or who have suggestions in regard to it are asked to write to the Treasury of Science, L. B. Fischer Publishing Corporation, 381 Fourth Avenue, New York City.

I should agree that common values are of integrative significance to a society primarily in so far as they are embodied in institutions. These are in fact actual social structures—the difference in definition of the concept to which Professor Angell calls attention (p. 26) is quite secondary. In my own terminology, normative patterns are institutionalized only in so far as conformity with them is, on the basis of common value attitudes, treated as a legitimate expectation of the individual in a given status and role. The integrative significance of institutions in turn is a matter of their functional relation to the working of a social system. It is Professor Angell's failure to treat the institutions of American society from the point of view of their relation to the social system as a functioning whole which is the principal source of difficulty in his analysis. Groups in turn can be properly evaluated only against the background of their relation to the institutional system. Professor Angell does not even raise the question of what the institutional "system" is; he inquires only how far a particular class of groups has institutional status. There is, furthermore, no attempt to relate groups systematically in terms of a total social structure. Rather, a pragmatic classification is set up, and each item is discussed in succession.

If Professor Angell had attempted systematically to work out a structure of groups, he would have been guided toward the problem of the status of an institutional structure as a whole. But even this might well have obscured certain very important aspects of American integration, which might have been brought out by a different level of approach, such as that of role analysis. One highly important example is the significance of occupational roles. There is surely sanction in terms of common values of the "institution" that the overwhelming majority of adult males should have "jobs." Two features of the job pattern stand out—that it should involve the performance of socially useful or sanctioned functions and that it should enable the individual to support himself and usually a family on a standard of living suitable for his class status—which is to a large extent determined by the nature of his job. There are other fundamental features of the pattern—the ranking of jobs according to levels of skill, training, responsibility, etc. To a notable extent the self-respect of an individual and the recognition in which he is held by others revolve about his job and his performance in it. On one important level—indeed the one on which its integrating influence is perhaps most open to doubt, that of "labor"—Bakke (*The Unemployed Worker*) has shown the enormous integrating importance of the job pattern. He feels justified in stating that, unless our whole social structure is basically changed, we need not worry about large numbers preferring an easy life on the dole, because it is only

through the job that one of the most basic of the worker's goals—"to play a socially respected role"—can be realized. Professor Angell, however, does not really treat the institutionalization of occupational roles. They belong, partly, under the heading of the capitalistic enterprise. Here, however, the treatment is such as to throw the primary emphasis on the conflict of interest of management and workers. Professional roles are treated only in relation to the school, the hospital, etc., not to the structure of roles. Even here, at least certain of the important integrative aspects are obscured.

On a different level the role approach might lead to a somewhat different judgment of the contemporary family. In defining family integration, Professor Angell seems to take as his primary criterion the extent to which the family unit functions as a group, to which its members share common goals and activities. By contrast with the farm family, even the middle-class urban family comes off very badly. If, however, it is viewed in terms of the way in which it relates its component individuals to the status system of the society, on the one hand, and in which it regulates their emotional equilibriums, on the other, the situation is not quite the same. Husband and wife are very definitely a unit in the class structure and in the whole field of informal life and activities as far as they are not segregated by sex. On the emotional side the marriage tie forms much the most important personal loyalty to the adult and is a focus of many of his most important sentiments. It is through his family again that the child is initially oriented to the social structure, and it forms the base from which his expedition in exploring the wider social life is launched. It is, to my mind, highly questionable how far the rural type of family with its extremely wide area of common activities would constitute an integrating factor in our system of urban institutions. Professor Angell here seems to beg an extremely complex question.

Finally, a word may be said about the system of social stratification. Warner has recently stated that, at least in Yankee City, it may be regarded as the key integrating structure. While it may well be that this could not be generalized for American society as a whole, it is significant that, in Professor Angell's analysis, class appears only as one of the "deep cracks in our social structure." But surely in a very broad way there is a sanction in common values for a hierarchical structure of ranking in which, above all, the incumbents of the higher occupational roles—higher in terms of requirement of scarce natural abilities, training, and responsibility in the performance of valued functions—should have higher status,

and that this status should be shared by their wives and dependent children.

The above remarks should not be interpreted to mean that there is nothing but perfect integration in our social structure. Undoubtedly, there are many points at which serious strains exist. The status of the "business orientation" and of the business classes is certainly in question. The family is far from fulfilling its functions adequately—in some areas of the society it is grossly disorganized. The contention is, rather, that Professor Angell does not provide us with an adequate framework, either theoretical or empirical, in which to carry through a satisfactory analysis of these problems. The bases of integration which he has overlooked or underestimated have been cited for their bearing on this question rather than in an attempt to reverse his verdict, though I am inclined to be less alarmed than he is. Above all, it is not primarily the judgment of degree of integration or malintegration but the dynamic analysis which underlies it which counts most. For, on this, predictions of future development and judgments of the effectiveness of remedial measures will have to be based. The present review is intended only as an attempt to suggest constructive lines of attack on this range of problems. Professor Angell has done a great service in bringing them so clearly to the attention of sociologists and other social scientists.

TALCOTT PARSONS

Harvard University

Otto Gierke: Natural Law and the Theory of Society, 1500-1800 with a Lecture on the Ideas of Natural Law and Humanity. By ERNST TROELTSCH. Translated with an Introduction by ERNEST BARKER. 2 vols. Toronto: Macmillan & Co., 1934. Pp. xci+226; 229-423. \$9.00.

Among the scholars who contributed most to the development of sociology without being sociologists, Otto Gierke is the most outstanding. In his gigantic work *Deutsches Genossenschaftsrecht* he presents a highly suggestive study on the interrelationships of legal and sociological trends. His main concern was a legal one—to lay the foundations of a true concept of legal personality and of autonomous groups which are not dependent on the state. This legal approach involved a sociological analysis of social relationships as opposed to or in contact with the state. In 1900 Maitland had published a translation of one section of the third volume under the title, *Political Theories of the Middle Ages*. Now Professor Ernest Barker has translated five subsections of the fourth volume, which

form a whole dealing with the social theories of natural law from the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries.

Natural law became the most influential doctrine when the renaissance of Roman law and of Aristotelianism entered into the social philosophy of the Middle Ages as a rationalization of fundamental changes in urban society and the manifestation of the liberation of social thought from theological or political doctrines. Professor Barker is right in stressing Gierke's lack of information regarding Catholic moral theology; in particular, his insufficient interpretation of Suarez. For this reason the reader is not aware that what lies between the Christian natural law of the Middle Ages and the secularized rationalistic law of nature is a fundamental revolution in attitudes and ways of thinking. The modern natural law introduces utilitarian and psychological motives for understanding the "natural" character of law, while the Christian philosophers were aware of the irreducible character of justice as an innate character of righteousness and equity.

The main achievement of secularized natural law is its attempt to create a new foundation for modern social life. The idea of the state as a self-sufficient social body was a discovery of the sixteenth century and implied the existence of social relationships and institutions as dependent or independent of this politically supreme power. It is precisely this liberal point of view and the concern with political rights which brought into existence Gierke's sociological analysis of autonomous social groupings. When Bodin discovered the essence of the state in its sovereignty, he was compelled to agree with a common consent of society to the coercive power of the absolute authority of the state. Therefore, it was very difficult for this secularized natural law to deal with social relations and groups which are beside and above the state. In contrast to the artificial foundations of the state, these philosophers analyze the natural social relationships like those of husband and wife, parents and children, master and servant. They do not succeed in understanding local communities, fellowships, and associations as no less "natural social relationships" than those of the family. It is very characteristic that Bodin, who was fond of decentralization and social associations, approved of those groups only as voluntary institutions created by the state. The most striking case of the pragmatic political rationalism of this epoch of absolutism was the inability of most of the adherents of popular sovereignty to develop a social theory which was able to explain groups beyond the state. It is the characteristic feature of this development in political science truly mirroring the social reality that political theory had absorbed social philosophy and proceeded

to become a technical science of efficiency in describing how to make friends and influence people. It is the merit of Suarez and the Catholic political philosophers to have opposed the totalitarian trend of the theorists of absolutism. The function of the state is limited by the ends of the whole society. They preserved the idea of society as a social and moral structure within which the political power has a definite function of materializing the secular happiness of mankind. They did not separate social, legal, and moral thought, because all spheres of human life are interdependent and indivisible.

These are the main trends in the first period of the secularized rationalistic natural law. After the establishment of the absolutistic state, the political scientists discovered new logical potentialities in the basic concept of the social contract. The latter makes it possible to organize a variety of groups besides the body politic. This creates the idea of indestructible human rights for self-realization in co-operative enterprises as against and beyond the state. This new discovery could be used in both a conservative and a radical vein. The conservative made it possible to support the claims of absolutism; the radical brought into existence the trends toward liberal rights and democratic self-government. Both trends share in the characteristic features of the pragmatistic rationalism of the modern institutional societies of absolutism: (*a*) the trend to transform social philosophy according to and in conformity with the natural sciences; (*b*) to segregate the interconnection of all branches of social existence in favor of self-sufficient dynamics and autonomies of the single stratum; (*c*) to make society a sum of individuals bound together by legal and utilitarian purposes; and (*d*) to overcome the idea of cosmos and to establish human existence on the basis of subjective consciousness, the subject-object relationship, and the idea of efficient control of a chaotic sum of facts.

We will understand easily that the social relations of the state to genuinely social associations and the sociological problems of an international community were almost destroyed by the legal and formal approach of the political irrationalism of absolutistic thinkers. Gierke remarks very ably that it is impossible to interpret social relationships correctly and sufficiently if we have only formal and legal concepts. He emphasizes time and again the interrelationship of legal and moral elements in the conceptions of social relationships; in his analyses of associations and corporations he tests the truth of the interdependence of moral, legal, and psychological elements in sociological conceptions. He definitely establishes the idea that the continuity and duration of social institutions depends on the balance and harmony between these spheres of social behavior.

It is surprising and symptomatic for Gierke's intellectual situation that he as leader of the historical school was the first to praise the permanent value of the law of nature. He was dimly aware that the trends of positivism which merged in the historical schools would bring into existence an anarchy of values. He predicted as early as 1880 that the idea of law and justice will vanish if the positivistic tendencies spread and influence juridical thought. The ideal content of law, which is the content of the normative concept of justice, will be replaced by the idea of utility or the idea of power. He was keenly aware that positivism would destroy, in the long run, the basic principles of European civilization. In the last edition of *Althusius* (1912) he emphatically conjures the undying spirit of the law of nature. He reluctantly admitted the inability of the historical school to preserve the living spirit of equity and justice, which is the foundation of social life. Like Gierke, Troeltsch was forced to admit the failure and the disastrous consequences of historicism. Troeltsch insists on the unifying and integrating power of the law of nature in the traditions of Western civilization. He suggests, in following Gierke, a realistic sociological interpretation of social institutions and relationships as the presupposition of a philosophical science of man which establishes empirically the basic elements of the human constitution, i.e., the analysis of the variables and the invariables in human behavior. This empirical science makes it possible to re-establish by means of modern sciences the law of nature as a science of the constitutive patterns of human behavior.

A survey of this work would not be complete without stressing the outstanding merit of Professor Barker's Introduction. Like Gierke and Troeltsch, he admires the truth and efficiency of natural law. He makes it evident that we cannot escape the questions issued by the law of nature. These have to be answered by us as problems of a problematic situation of life, not as academic subjects.

Discussing the group-theory of Gierke, who confronts the students with the alternatives of organism and mechanism, he suggests the following definition: "Group is an organization of men, created and sustained by a common human purpose." If a common purpose integrates a group, the reality and strength of it depends on the relevance, urgency, and attraction of the purposes or on their hierarchy. The criterion for the quality of the human purposes is to be found in their ability to establish continuity and social equilibrium—what in the past was called "justice." If we consider groups as realities and the state as the highest, we open the way to totalitarianism and its "lonely wilderness." On the other hand, we get chaos if we do not evaluate and discriminate the various specific purposes

of groups. "If we desire to escape both wilderness and chaos, we must leave room both for the free clustering of groups round freely formed purposes, and for the criticism and adjustment of such purposes by the State" (p. lxxx). That means that we have to know the hierarchy of social purposes based upon the innate needs of the community and the permanent potentialities toward human perfection. The approach of natural law is one of the permanent and recurring patterns of thinking which are able to answer these eternal questions.

It is a duty as well as an obligation to express profound gratitude to Dr. Barker, who has not only enriched our knowledge but touched our conscience, stirred the intellectual responsibility of scholars and made them aware of their obligations to the living spirit.

ALBERT SALOMON

New School for Social Research
New York

Reason and Revolution: Hegel and the Rise of Social Theory. By HERBERT MARCUSE. New York: Oxford University Press, 1941. Pp. xii+431. \$3.75.

Hegel is a difficult author at best, and, by one of the ironies of historical writing, he has been made more remote from English readers, if not more difficult, by the commentators who have undertaken to explain him. A generation of Oxford idealists prettified him by overlooking all that was shocking to the most respectable academic prejudices. Now a new generation is engaged in blackening his character as the father of fascism and national socialism. In consequence, Dr. Marcuse's book is doubly valuable. It is written in readable English and is the work of a German scholar who knows Hegel sympathetically, as perhaps only a German can. Moreover, it is a careful study of the whole text of Hegel's writings, not a haphazard collection of his paradoxes, and it undertakes to place his philosophy as an element in the German social theory of the nineteenth century. In both respects it is an indispensable aid to any English reader who wants a reliable guide to the intricacies of the Hegelian philosophy.

The book is divided into two parts. The first is mainly expository, explaining the most important divisions of Hegel's philosophy—his logic, his theory of the state, his philosophy of history. Like most careful expositors of Hegel since Dilthey's *Jugendgeschichte Hegels* in 1905, Dr. Marcuse gives special attention to the works written before Hegel had built a thick-set hedge of technicalities around his thought. The second part of the book offers an account of the development of Hegel's philoso-

phy into later social theory, particularly into the "dialectical theory of society" (chiefly Marx) and sociological positivism, which the author regards as a perversion.

The thesis of Dr. Marcuse's book is that "Hegel's basic concepts are hostile to the tendencies that have led into Fascist theory and practice" (p. vii). This conclusion is based on the view that German idealism, though guilty of an uncritical admiration for monarchical absolutism, was still part of a culture that accented the rights of private life and that regarded the state as providing the means to a high development of individual capacities. Behind this social attitude lay the fact that Hegel's philosophy was fundamentally rationalist, while the philosophy of national socialism is fundamentally irrationalist. In Dr. Marcuse's view the characteristic philosophical expression of an authoritarian social philosophy is positivism. With this final conclusion the reviewer cannot agree, but the argument is too long to recount here. Dr. Marcuse's book is much the best account of Hegel in English.

GEORGE H. SABINE

Cornell University

The Organization of Knowledge. By GLENN NEGLEY. New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1942. Pp. xiii+373. \$3.00.

The title of this book may be somewhat misleading, since the author does not discuss the institutional aspect of the organization of knowledge; instead, he deals with a scheme of analysis which is intended to furnish an intellectual orientation basic to rational action.

In presenting such a theoretical scheme the author divides the approach to individual action into three points of view—material, individual, and formal—roughly meaning by this the objective, subjective, and formal or methodological aspect of such action. Under each of these viewpoints he discusses three levels or dimensions. For example, under individual: physical man (fitness), social group (communication), and person (liberty); or under material: nature (concreteness), property (use), and the state (security). These nine categories (three points of view, each having three dimensions) are interrelated by the appropriate sciences, and thus on the model of analysis for action a hierarchy of the sciences is constructed. This analysis is contained in the first two sections of the book. A third part deals with common fallacies in analysis, and the last part consists of three appendixes, which are devoted to a discussion of Jeremy Bentham, E. Jordan, and "Formalism in Legal Theory," respectively.

It is not quite clear what specific purpose the author has had in mind,

since the subtitle of the book states that it is an "Introduction to Philosophical Analysis." The character of the book is, however, not of the kind which would make it suitable for the beginning student. Apart from considerations of purpose, it would seem that the author evades somewhat the issue of the validity of his approach. Since he does not claim that this is the only possible scheme of analysis, but simply one among many, the criterion of its validity would be the pragmatic one: Is this scheme fruitful for the purposes of individual action? It is difficult to see how this question could be answered, since Mr. Negley does not confront the problem of the relation between knowledge and action, except in occasional remarks. Yet it would seem that the nature of this relation is one of our most crucial contemporary problems. A philosophical analysis which is concerned with the "Organization of Knowledge" for action, but which does not face the problem of this relation squarely, would seem to fall short of fulfilling the expectations which the title of the book elicits.

REINHARD BENDIX

Chicago

Methods of Correlation Analysis. By MORDECAI EZEKIEL. 2d ed. New York: Wiley, 1941. Pp. xix+531. \$5.00.

Outstanding features of this work are its simplicity and its thoroughness. Galton, who began the study of "regression" lines and the accuracy of estimates of one variable from another already given, also worked out, from his own data, some of the most important characteristics of frequency surfaces for two related measures. He turned to the mathematicians for a technical formulation in terms of joint probabilities, thus leading up to the extended studies of correlation surfaces by Pearson *et al.*, and various techniques, such, e.g., as bi-serial r , based upon the assumption of normal distribution of measures not given in quantitative form. Thus we have come to be familiar with correlation as a subject involving considerable mathematics. All of these later developments Ezekiel passes by; he treats only measures from which functional relationships can be studied and estimates calculated—ordinary numerical data. Hence, correlation coefficients receive comparatively little attention, and regression, linear and otherwise, comes to the fore. For curve-fitting by the method of least squares, "normal" equations are required. These are stated in the text. Their proof, requiring a little calculus, is placed in an appendix, along with some other relatively technical matters. The result is a book which, in the words of the Preface to the first edition, is "readily compre-

hensible to anyone who has had courses in elementary algebra," yet shows none of the sketchy inadequacy common to most books of which that can be said. Here, then, is an opportunity for the student whose mathematics is very scanty or very rusty to acquire fine craftsmanship in an important branch of research method.

Advances due to Ezekiel and his associates, presented in the first edition, included the use of the Doolittle method in solving normal equations, the development of methods for treating curvilinear multiple regression, the recognition and treatment of joint functional regression. The Doolittle method is now available in various textbooks; for the other techniques "Ezekiel" remains the standard reference. Moreover, in the new edition, the treatment of Bean's rapid graphic method for multiple curvilinear regression has been revised and expanded, the discussion of the significance of samples has been improved, with a new chapter on the reliability of forecasting; and there is a new insistence, in selecting regression curves, that the mathematical functions employed shall be logically appropriate to the nature of the data in question, i.e., that relationships implied by a mathematical formula shall not be attributed to the data merely because the figures conform over a limited range. Technique is thus subordinated to insight, and this is characteristic of the whole work. In the author's words—his final sentence—"Statistical analysis is not a substitute for careful thinking and skilled workmanship in research work; instead, it is an aid which may make that thought and skill even more productive of worth-while results."

The reader of Ezekiel must be prepared to give a little attention to the relations between acreage, number of cows, number of hired men, and farm income, and to other problems of our basic industry. This is surely no great hardship for students in other fields, and there is every reason to believe that both theoretical and practical researches in psychology and the social sciences would benefit greatly by the use of the more precise methods of studying relationships presented in this treatise.

CHESTER E. KELLOGG

McGill University

Factor Analysis: A Synthesis of Factorial Methods. By KARL J. HOLZINGER and HARRY H. HARMAN. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1941. Pp. xii+417. \$5.00.

Factor analysis, years after attaining its majority, is becoming adult. Not only have there appeared recently other treatises concerned with the

general problem instead of merely advocating their authors' special views, but here at long last is a book no part of which is a battleground for hobbies. Instead, the Introduction informs us that "every one of the types of factorial solutions in extensive use today is an efficient one. . . . The enthusiastic partisan who depreciates the efficacy of some other method and calls it a poor one thereby furnishes indisputable proof of one of two things—either his own [in]sincerity or his own ignorance: Any person of intelligence should know that it is highly improbable that any of the brilliant psychologists and statisticians who have worked on these problems for the last thirty years would produce and advocate a 'rotten' system."

Accordingly, the authors have given us a thoroughly objective, impartial presentation of the techniques which have seen most actual service in research: the basic Spearman search for the general factor; the Holzinger bi-factor method, representing the various methods adding group factors to the general factor; the principal-factor solution, using the revised form of Hotelling's method of approximation; Thurstone's centroid method, and a variant called the "averoid method." All these are discussed as simply various ways of determining the placement of the number of orthogonal axes required to account, within the limits of sampling errors, for the communality variance of the measures in question.

Exposition is much abridged and simplified by setting down systematically in Part I the material basic to all the methods: the discussion of the general problem of factors; notation and the formal definitions of statistical terms; the use of matrices and multidimensional geometry; the determination of the number of factors required for any problem, i.e., the number of dimensions in the factor-space, and estimating communalities; and the nature of solutions to be preferred in accordance with special subject matter of the research in hand.

In addition to the exposition of all the techniques as resting upon common foundations, the synthesis is carried further in Part III, in which it is shown how one form of solution can be transformed into another or any of them into an oblique solution, i.e., one in which the factors are no longer statistically independent of one another, but correlated.

Part IV deals with the problem of estimating the numerical values of factors for the individuals from whose measurements the factors were derived, or for others, supposing the data sufficiently stable statistically. It concludes the body of the book with further treatment of the relations between different solutions and with suggestions for the order of analysis to be followed in working up a set of data.

For convenience of reference, specific directions for the calculations for the various solutions are placed in a series of appendixes.

This book is not to be recommended to students who do not like mathematics. Those who do, and who have a good working familiarity with elementary analysis and statistical methods, will be able both to appreciate the beauty of a masterly exposition and to acquire facility in the use of the factor techniques.

CHESTER E. KELLOGG

McGill University

Statistics for Sociologists. By MARGARET JARMAN HAGOOD. New York: Reynal & Hitchcock, Inc., 1941. Pp. vii+934. \$4.00.

Elementary Social Statistics. By THOMAS CARSON MCCORMICK. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1941. Pp. x+353. \$3.00.

These are two textbooks presented for use in teaching elementary statistics to students of sociology and social work. They, and the first one in particular, could be used, also, without much supplementation, for similar courses in public health, medical economics, and public administration.

This review is appearing at least two months late. The reason lies partly in the difference between the two books. One is an exhaustive, nine-hundred-page text covering numerous ramifications of each technique presented. A diligent student with little opportunity to attend class could master a great deal of the content by applying himself closely to this presentation. The other book is only one-third as long and, although compact, leaves more for the instructor to supply in his lectures. The reviewer's difficulty lay in trying to decide which is the better presentation for beginning students. He has finally given up by deciding that the choice depends upon the individual student and the teacher.

The longer presentation of Hagood may seem detailed, laborious, and repetitious of the classroom lectures and, hence, dull to the student who is only mildly interested in this subject. At the same time it is probably much to the liking of the more serious student. Perhaps McCormick's book comes closer to meeting the needs of both groups. The good student will get the supporting material from the lectures, while the student seeking credit only has fewer pages to read. There is evidence that both authors used their texts in mimeograph. Presumably each thought he was successful, or he would not have published his material. The rest of us can use one book and then the other to determine which is better adapted to our needs.

There are, of course, other differences between the two books. McCormick had a one-semester course in mind and, therefore, omitted intensive discussion of small sampling theory. Hagood, including more than enough (her own statement) for a two-semester course, is able to incorporate a more thorough discussion of sampling procedure. She has a useful discussion of index numbers, while McCormick omits the subject altogether. The omission is difficult to explain in view of the increasing interest in living-cost studies and because of the usefulness of the technique in making comparisons.

The longer text incorporates, also, a one-hundred-and-fifty-page section devoted to population analysis. Although this involves a little repetition of material presented earlier, it may be useful, as Hagood suggests, for instructors who wish to add a third course in this specialized field.

In this section Hagood employs a device which McCormick uses more extensively, namely, that of starting out with a simple problem, developing its ramifications, and introducing new techniques as the development proceeds. This device has the twofold merit of showing the interrelationship of several summarizing measures and of introducing new ones with very little shock to the student.

The Hagood volume contains several discussions of what are called descriptive and inductive statistics. By the former is meant summarization and correlation between characteristics of particular samples; by the latter, the estimation of universe parameters from samples. The author calls the second type of analysis "generalization." This seems to be a rather new conception of generalization, since it appears to preclude the drawing of scientific conclusions from limited universes and since it implies that the estimation of a population average from a sample constitutes a basis for prediction. In the opinion of the reviewer the author does not make her position clear and, consequently, imposes a considerable burden on undergraduate students.

McCormick concludes each chapter with a set of exercises for laboratory work. These have been worked up in such form as to illustrate nearly every point made in the text. They call for a good deal of thought on the part of the student. Both writers include topical bibliographies at the ends of the chapters. The references are up to date and specific, although neither mentions the Arkin and Colton handbook on graphs and charts. Likewise, Hagood's failure to cite Lundberg's *Social Research* in connection with designing a problem and collecting data must be regarded as an unfortunate oversight.

The introductory chapters of both texts cover the planning and execu-

tion of a statistical project, collection, analysis, and presentation of data. Space does not permit exhaustive coverage in either case, but the material is compact and valuable. Hagood's statement on developing a blueprint for a study and McCormick's on the use of the schedule are outstanding.

The two authors have seen enough sociology undergraduates to know that they have almost uniformly eschewed mathematics. Consequently, few derivations are given, but the assumptions involved in using the several techniques have been stated. Both include tables in the appendixes, thereby giving the student most of his work materials in one volume.

Any teacher of elementary statistics looking for a suitable text should expect to be well satisfied if he chooses either of these two. It is to be hoped that McCormick will publish a second volume based upon his experience in teaching advanced students.

CLARK TIBBITTS

University of Michigan

Differentials in Internal Migration. By ALBERT HOYT HOBBS. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 1941. Pp. xi+122.

Dr. Hobbs's short monograph has the look of a Ph.D. thesis, but the look is deceptive, for the work is much more mature, and it combines a community study of the anthracite region with a comprehensive critique of recent developments in the study of internal migration. Dr. Hobbs distinguishes, and justifies the distinction quite amply, between what he calls "epiphenomenal" and "resultant" migrants. He demonstrates that there has been a considerable amount of confusion in sociological literature dealing with both the quantitative and the qualitative aspects of internal migration, arising out of failure to distinguish between incidental movements of people and true migration. Noticeably, the inclusion in many studies of out-marrying farm and town women among "migrants" has led to a false evaluation of some of the original Ravensteinian theories and to a distortion of the facts of migration. Taking as he does the anthracite area of economic distress, he deals only with those who have left the area altogether, after exercising some choice in the matter, and whose decision bore some relation to the conditions of economic distress in the area.

In telling us how he found these true or "resultant" migrants, Dr. Hobbs gives us a surprisingly full and intimate picture of an anthracite town during the years of industrial decline. He got his sample by personal interviews of the occupants of every third house, and he is very much

worth while listening to when he describes that experience. It would be hard to find a better description of the technique of free-association interviewing in sociological field work or a better summary of the actual reasons why questionnaires are useless than he gives us in the pages he devotes to a statement of his methods.

The statistical treatment of his true migrants is detailed, accurate, and infused with imagination. He shows the necessity of keeping in mind the time factor and the "economic gradient" (*anglice* "relative economic position") of the source of emigration and the destination of the migrants. As the study covered the years 1929-39, the point has considerable significance.

What he discovers about the migrants out of his typical anthracite town is revealing for students of population changes and community life in the United States. The decline of the hard-coal industry seems only to have accentuated a movement which in other areas has been characteristic of the present century. By and large, the young males of the old stock migrated out of the area, leaving older people, the foreign stock, and the unmarried women of the old stock to hold the town. The old stock here were the English and Welsh miners and those who, as is usual, had won for themselves a middle-class position in the town's life. Dr. Hobbs illustrates very well the means by which such migration is accomplished and its effect upon the town. There was also a considerable emigration of young women of foreign stock into domestic service, factory employment, and other situations. All in all, however, despite recent changes in patterns of migration, transforming older farm-to-town-to-city patterns, nearly all the anthracite-region emigrants went to bigger cities near by.

The monograph is least happy when it raises the old issue of "qualitative factors in migration." There is ample documentation here to prove that, even in such an area of economic distress, emigration from the town is inextricable from social mobility and that the migrants were largely those who had the opportunity, training, and financial or familial support to make a step upward in the occupational scale. "On the basis of these findings," Dr. Hobbs tells us quite rightly, "... migration from an economically distressed industrial region appears to be a phenomenon with which a high degree of socio-economic mobility and a low degree of downward vertical mobility is associated. . . . This selectivity appears to have been most marked at the beginning of the decline in economic opportunity in the region; least noticeable when economic opportunities were poor outside the region."

Those are the findings, but Dr. Hobbs falls into the old trap of inferring

from this correlation of social phenomena—social mobility upward and emigration—a “depletion” of the strains of the townsfolk and a regrettable draining-off of intelligence and initiative. To do so is to fall into the most complete racist nonsense—the old sociological pitfall of arguing from social facts to biological analogies not even correctly understood. For example, Dr. Hobbs compares migrants with their stay-at-home siblings of the same economic and social status in the town. He concludes, because these migrants have had better training, more schooling, and have landed, once they have left town, in better jobs, that the reason “why some members of the sibling group engage in . . . migration while others . . . do not . . . [is] that they have trained themselves better and are better able to cope with life situations. It appears safe to assume that in situations such as those which existed in the migration source the . . . migrants prove to be persons of superior ability. Their superiority is demonstrated not only over the non-migrating portion of the population but also over their own brothers and sisters.”

I give the argument in detail so that the reader can see the nonsense into which an excellent study is led by circular reasoning inherited from an older day in sociology. A moment's reflection shows that Dr. Hobbs has defined intelligence and superiority in terms of superior training and success in landing jobs out of town. Naturally, those who show these traits are superior!

Another moment's reflection would remind him that he is overlooking another sociological factor of crucial importance: the existence of family structure. People do not emigrate to new jobs as mere social atoms. Their relatives, including these despised stay-at-home “unintelligent” siblings, find jobs for them or they work to enable one of their members to receive the training not all of them can afford. To call the one who got the benefit of the training contributed by the others the more intelligent is to fall into a vein of popular thinking as bad as that of assuming that high social position is due to “good blood.” Both ideas are part of the system of rationalizations making up European-American folklore, neither is sociology.

Yet Dr. Hobbs need not be taken to task too strongly for this lapse. He has done a good and a thorough job. That he has not learned that sociological facts correlate only with other sociological facts and tell us nothing about biology is an indictment of our universal failure to learn scientific methods instead of isolated academic disciplines.

CONRAD M. ARENSBERG

Brooklyn College

Social and Economic Aspects of Swedish Population Movements, 1750-1933.

By DOROTHY SWAINE THOMAS. New York: Macmillan Co., 1941. Pp. 487. \$6.00.

This volume is part of a Swedish and American co-operative analysis of detailed Swedish population data which cover nearly two centuries. It provides a picture of demographic developments in Sweden during the period of emigration and growing industrialization, a period during which birth rates fell to levels so low that in recent years the net replacement rate was only about 75 per cent per generation. But it provides also an analysis of the interrelationships of demographic factors with economic and social changes and of the variations in demographic trends among the several socioeconomic regions of a nation.

When Sweden was primarily dependent upon agriculture, a direct connection between vital rates and harvests could be observed; but, as industrialization increased, the major elements in the decline of birth rates were to be found in other social and economic elements. The only vital rates which fluctuated directly with the variations in the business cycle during the entire period were marriage rates; death rates showed no direct relationship; birth and fertility rates showed some relationship before 1890, but have fluctuated independently since then. Industrialization and urbanization were of primary importance in the later years, for the decline in fertility was most rapid in the urban areas and least rapid in the agricultural areas.

The much-debated question of the relative importance of "push" and "pull" in migration is subjected to empirical examination. From 1870 to 1908 the correlation between the harvest index and emigration from the country was practically zero, but that between emigration and American business cycles was $+ .67$. This correlation was especially marked after the growing industrialization of Sweden had provided an outlet for the latent "push" out of agriculture. The "pull" of industrial opportunities appears also to have been a major element in internal migration between the agricultural communities and the towns and cities. Migration from agricultural communities to towns was positively correlated with the business cycles. Moreover, the trend was continuously from agricultural communities; depressions appeared to slow down the movement rather than to reverse it. Like other studies of similar data, this one shows that the great bulk of internal migrants consist of opposing streams inward and outward which tend numerically to nearly cancel each other. This tendency has become more pronounced in the course of time. In 1933 be-

tween 90 and nearly 100 per cent of the total volume of migration had no net effect on quantitative population change.

The book has a number of unique features. The data for minor civil divisions are grouped in accord with a socioeconomic classification worked out by a group of Swedish scholars, and this grouping rather than the traditional geographic one makes the results susceptible to considerably more rigid analysis. A number of the charts represent highly useful innovations. Finally, there is the extensive reproduction of the original data; 211 of the 487 pages are devoted to tables. These are presented in such a way that the reader could readily check any of the computations or conclusions and make his own combinations if that seemed desirable.

CONRAD TAEUBER

Bureau of Agricultural Economics
Washington, D.C.

National Income and Its Composition, 1919-1938. By SIMON KUZNETS.
2 vols. New York: National Bureau of Economic Research, 1941. Pp.
929. \$5.00.

These two volumes of information about income in the United States are the result of almost a quarter of a century of research by the distinguished staff of the National Bureau of Economic Research. They have previously published a dozen books on our income; and these analyses dealing with trends could not have been done without the work in the preceding volumes. Science grows by accretion, and that is the way knowledge about income has piled up at the N.B.E.R.

There has been some discussion among sociologists as to whether scientific method as known in the physical sciences can be applied to society. The work of this bureau is the answer in the affirmative, at least in this sphere of social life.

Of the important information contained in these studies, the following are samples that throw light on whither our economy.

The per capita national income was \$610 in 1919-28 and \$564 in 1929-38.

Agriculture's share in our total income was only 8.4 per cent. Manufacturing received 19.4 per cent; trade 14.3 per cent, while government received 16.7 per cent.

During the twenty-year period from 1919 to 1938 agriculture's share fell from 16.5 to 8.4 per cent, and that of manufacturing decreased from

24.6 to 19.4 per cent. At the same time, government's part increased from 5.7 to 16.7 per cent, while the income going to the services moved up from 9.3 to 13.7 per cent.

Of the total income, property (dividends, interest, rent, in the main) received only 19 per cent; the remainder went to personal services (wages, salaries, etc.). During this period the part going to wages and salaries increased—salaries more than wages. In dividends and interest there was an increase also, but rent lost.

The author of the *Wealth of Nations* would have been much impressed with these two volumes.

WILLIAM F. OGBURN

University of Chicago

Statistical Atlas of Southern Counties. By CHARLES S. JOHNSON. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1911. Pp. x+355. \$4.00.

This volume is the outgrowth of studies undertaken to provide the Council on Rural Education with a compendium of information on the counties in the southern region. The council, financed by Rosenwald funds, soon discovered that the counties throughout the South fell into distinct classes or types. The committee members became convinced that combination of crops, degrees of urbanity, organization of agricultural operations, etc., will make two widely separated counties close approximations of each other, while differences in these fundamental respects will bring about vast dissimilarities between two adjacent counties.

As originally planned, the study was the work of a committee of three: Charles S. Johnson, W. Lloyd Warner, and Edwin R. Embree. As it developed, the committee outlined the procedures, but the actual compilation, sifting, and presentation of the data was the work of Dr. Johnson. The other members continued as consultants.

Strictly speaking, the volume is more than an atlas. The Introduction, twelve pages in length, is conventional and contains essential preliminary explanations of scope and methodology. But the second chapter, "Social and Economic Characteristics of Selected County Types," goes far beyond such introductory purposes. In many ways it is one of the best available summaries and descriptions of the fundamental patterns of culture in the southern region. It adds greatly to the value of the volume.

Chapter iii gives the statistical data by counties for each of the thirteen states included in the author's South. A total of fifty-five entries for each county are included. These groups, under seven headings, are as

follows: I, "County Type"; II, "Population Characteristics"; III, "Educational Characteristics"; IV, "Literacy Characteristics"; V, "Economic Characteristics"; VI, "Other Characteristics" (income tax returns and lynchings); and VII, "Bibliography Reference."

Several observations are in place concerning the compendium and the details of its compilation. (1) The data are for 1930; it is to be hoped that they can be brought up to date in the very near future. (2) Maryland is included and Oklahoma omitted from the list of southern states. It is true that the basic criterion used was the presence or absence of a dual school system. Nevertheless, it would seem wise to include parts of Oklahoma, Maryland, and even Missouri, since the precedent of using only part of a state was set in the case of Texas. (3) Even the county is not a homogeneous unit, and as data increasingly become available for minor civil divisions, researchers will do well to utilize them to the fullest possible degree. (4) In the handling of specific items some desirable alternatives may not have received the attention they deserve. For example, the percentage of the population that is urban is transcribed from the Census reports. But a large share of the counties contain no urban center. A county such as Beauregard Parish, Louisiana, will rank near the top for the state in per cent of its population urban, even though it is one of the most rural parishes in the state. The percentage of population resident in incorporated centers is suggested as a more sensitive and useful index of urbanity. (5) Finally, some index of migration from farm to farm, such as the proportion of the farm operators who had been less than two years, or more than ten years, on present farms, would seem to deserve a place in the listing.

T. LYNN SMITH

Louisiana State University

American Journalism. By FRANK LUTHER MOTT. New York: Macmillan Co., 1941. Pp. ix+772. \$4.25.

Frank Luther Mott is the outstanding historian of American journalism, and all that he writes is based on a deep and careful scholarship. His earlier history of American magazines is monumental and richly deserved the Pulitzer award which it received. The present volume is in an entirely different category, since it admittedly is a textbook for classes in journalism and not a definitive, exhaustive history. But, as a textbook, it shows the same painstaking research that characterizes all that Dr. Mott writes. There is no other textbook that covers the field so thoroughly.

The material is presented chronologically, beginning with the Colonial period and carrying through to 1940, yet the strictly historical treatment is constantly interspersed with topical discussions that have the effect of summarizing developments and trends. Thus in his discussion of the Civil War period there are injected biographical sections (on Dana, for example), sections on reporting practices and war correspondence, on the telegraph, and the emergence of professional education. The result is good textbook writing, for the effect of Dr. Mott's method is to engender a sense of development; the press is seen as an institution that grows out of a cultural setting and is constantly adjusting to that setting. The book has vitality also because the author does not focus entirely on eastern metropolitan papers but discusses at various points, for example, southern and western journalism. The treatment is geographically comprehensive.

The period from 1914 is handled more sketchily than the other, with some major topics and problems given only the briefest of consideration. The result is some lack of balance. Yet the topics are all there, and even the short paragraphs devoted to some of them will serve as starting-points for further study. Unquestionably, space limitations forced the condensation upon Dr. Mott.

The book is at once a reference volume (it is well indexed) and a source book that contains excellent examples of the evolution of a social institution. In short, interest in it extends beyond the journalism classroom.

MALCOLM M. WILLEY

University of Minnesota

The News and How To Understand It. By QUINCY HOWE. New York: Simon & Schuster, 1940. Pp. 250. \$2.00.

Newsroom Problems and Policies. By CURTIS D. MACDOUGALL. New York: Macmillan Co., 1941. Pp. 592. \$3.25.

Canada Gets the News. By CARLTON McNAUGHT. Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1940. Pp. 271. \$3.50.

Realistic to the point of cynicism, the author of *The News and How To Understand It* postulates that to make sense of the news one must comprehend the world of the newspaper and the radio. The virtue of the book lies in its descriptions of how newspaper correspondents and radio commentators, magazines and the press associations, do their work. It culminates in a list of rules for newspaper readers; for instance: read a metro-

politan morning paper that subscribes to at least two of the press services; remember headlines are intended to sell newspapers; read the official war communiqués; don't believe the gossip columns. Mr. Howe writes with assurance and authority. But he certainly has his faults. In discussing columnists and news commentators, he is ill-natured and personal, finding here in the blight of wealth and a Groton education, there in the shame of British ancestry, or in a weakness for European life the explanation of all manner of views on world-affairs. It seems hardly decent to explain devotion to duty and conviction by the comment: "Few Americans have a larger personal stake in a British victory than the great majority of our foreign correspondents who see, in a Hitler triumph, the loss of their own bread and butter" (p. 87). Gleefully and with gusto he parodies the style of columnists and commentators, while paying little attention to his own.

Newsroom Problems and Policies is a textbook designed for schools of journalism. So ambitious and so planless a work assumes a staunch student. It covers everything and quotes every discussion of the press that is in print, including some ridiculous advice from clergymen. Each aspect of the newspaper is introduced by a question, but the answer is always inconclusive, being quantities of quoted matter, often contradictory and rarely knit with the text. One regrets that Professor MacDougall, conversant as he is with the literature of the press, did not include a bibliography.

Canada Gets the News is a conscientious description of the machinery for bringing foreign news to Canadian newspapers. A survey of forty-one Canadian, three American, and three English dailies, made in a week in July, 1937, shows that the Canadian papers have the greatest percentage of foreign news. One suspects such would be true of any other small country with big neighbors, because it imports capital and management and because the domestic theater is small. Mr. McNaught found that American news in Canadian papers is principally of sports, then of finance, while English news is chiefly of politics, then of sports: a precise commentary on the world of Canadians—a people who are British yet devoted to "Little Orphan Annie." He undertook another survey to show how news of Chiang Kai-Shek's kidnapping was reported in several important dailies. These original and painstaking investigations are almost the only studies of their kind: Desmond's excellent work, *The Press and World Affairs*, having "cone" the Dominion in a page and a half.

HELEN MACGILL HUGHES

Chicago

The Newspaper and Society: A Book of Readings. Edited by GEORGE L. BIRD and FREDERIC E. MERWIN. New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1942. Pp. vii+600. \$4.00.

This volume comprises an extensive compilation of readings (articles, excerpts from books, pamphlets) about the newspaper, assembled in textbook form for use by students in classes of journalism. Questions and lists of additional readings follow each chapter.

The materials included in the book are divided into three main sections: Part I, entitled "Public Opinion, Propaganda and Press Freedom," contains chapters on "Concepts of Public Opinion," "Propaganda Defined," and "Freedom of Press in the United States." Selections comprising these chapters represent primarily contributions of social scientists, and contrast with those in other parts of the book which are predominantly the work of journalists. Part II, "The Newspaper at Work in Society," extends over a highly diversified subject matter. Selections deal with everything from types of newspapers and some content studies to the relation between advertising and the newspaper and the causes of news suppression. Part III, "The Newspaper a Product of Many Forces," contains discussions of the press as a profit enterprise, pressure groups and publicity, relations between press and radio, the newspaper guild, and concludes with statements pertaining to various newspaper "trends."

It is striking to remark in a book of this kind—a book about the newspaper—that, while the first thirty-seven pages are devoted to attempts to define public opinion and propaganda, not a single selection in the entire volume involves a similar attempt to define news. In this disregard for news as such, as well as in the selection and organization of materials, the editors reveal a dominantly, although for the most part unconscious, polemical orientation toward their subject. Most essentially, and despite the presence of neutral, descriptive material, the writings in this volume comprise a series of criticisms and justifications of the American newspaper as an institution. This actually unintended character of the work invests it with a special interest for sociologists. One can obtain from an examination of the contents of this compendium a rather accurate statement of the connections in which the newspaper has come to be regarded as a "social problem," the manner in which the various phases of this problem have been defined, and who the people are who have provided the definitions.

ELIZABETH D. JOHNS

Chicago

The Social Development of Canada. By S. D. CLARK. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1942. Pp. x+484. \$4.00.

In this study Mr. Clark has attempted to trace the connection between the exploitation of new forms of wealth or new areas and the social life of the Canadian people. In other words, the reign of each of the great staple industries has fostered a peculiar social pattern. Inasmuch as the staple occupations have been widely separated geographically, Canadians have flitted optimistically from occupation to occupation and from area to area. Fish, fur, timber, wheat, minerals, and pulp have been, or are being, tapped, and the Canadian frontier has wheeled west and north in pursuit of new riches. Quite properly, Mr. Clark has concerned himself with the consequences of these changes to persons and groups rather than with the changes themselves. For example, his interest is with the effects of the fur trade on the people of New France or of gold mining on the people of the Pacific Coast. In all, Mr. Clark examines five periods of social adjustment that have been dependent upon a corresponding number of economic changes. Mr. Clark has tried to let the times speak for themselves by introducing contemporary documents, selections from letters, and so on, as appendixes to his chapters.

The thesis that Mr. Clark advances is interesting. It makes possible an interpretation of Canadian history far more rational than the conventional racial or political rendering, with their meaningless watersheds of 1763 or 1867. This thesis makes possible, also, an understanding of events in Canada in relation to events in the United States. For this reason, if for no other, *The Social Development of Canada* merits wide attention. So far as the reviewer is aware, Mr. Clark is the pioneer in applying his thesis in the field of social relations. He is something of a pioneer, too, in seeing Canada's story as a whole and not as a series of monographs on some particular area or some particular period.

There are some grounds for criticism. Mr. Clark's study stops short of completion because he omits any discussion of government. Government is, after all, a phase of social development. The last study in the book, that dealing with industrial capitalism, lacks the decisiveness of the others. It is, of course, always difficult to deal with contemporary, or near contemporary, subjects. Mr. Clark's use of documents calls for comment. Too frequently they are given as excerpts, a practice that has obvious disadvantages. Yet these criticisms are of detail. *The Social Development of Canada* is a distinct contribution to an understanding of national problems and history.

J. I. COOPER

McGill University

Religion and the State: The Making and Testing of an American Tradition.

By EVARTS B. GREENE. New York: New York University Press, 1941. Pp. 172. \$2.50.

The lectures here published, given at New York University on the Anson G. Phelps Foundation, are a continuation of an investigation in which Professor Greene has long been engaged. It is to be hoped that he will be able to continue his researches until this important aspect of American history shall have received full attention at his hands.

These six brief lectures are a semipopular survey of the whole story of church-state relations in America. The first lecture deals with the "Old World Traditions" and concludes with the statement that the prevailing opinion in western Europe, and in England especially, at the beginning of colonization, accepted "the general idea of a Christian society for whose maintenance and protection against subversive influences, the state, as well as the church, was responsible," and that "all the major religious groups desired, and when in power secured, the more or less active support of the state." This European tradition of church-state relationship was put into operation in all the colonies established up to 1660, except in Maryland and Rhode Island. After 1660 a whole set of liberalizing influences began to operate, which by the end of the Colonial period had completely changed the whole situation and made the complete separation of church and state a foregone conclusion.

The last two lectures deal with what has taken place in church-state relationship since 1833, when Massachusetts ratified the eleventh amendment of her constitution, thus completing the separation of church and state everywhere in the United States. The reading of the last two lectures brings forcibly to our attention the fact that the problem of church-state relationship is by no means settled in America. The present world-situation, in which freedom of conscience has been overridden in so many nations, should bring home to us the danger which may be lurking around the corner for us. In this connection it is well to bear in mind that no great and good cause is ever finally and completely won.

WILLIAM W. SWEET

University of Chicago

Metropolitan Government. By VICTOR JONES. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1942. Pp. xxiv+364. \$4.00.

This book gives a compact, reliable summary of much of the published literature concerning metropolitan government in the United States. It

presents in addition a valuable outline and analysis of the various ways in which better co-ordination of local government in metropolitan areas has been or may be attempted. More fully than any other book up to date it deals with the political difficulties that arise when metropolitan integration is attempted. On the whole it is a good book, albeit one that would have been improved by more careful revision and some candid outside criticism.

The whole work is a plea for integration, integration, integration! Since the states have failed to provide for metropolitan integration (although the evidence shows that legislatures had much to do with some of the most effective city-county consolidations), it is necessary to bring the national government to the rescue. National control of the purse and national aids to important services might do much to force an appropriate integration of metropolitan governments (pp. 210-11). Now, if there were any proof that homes were being burned down and people were dying in the streets for lack of metropolitan integration, the price of such national interference in the affairs of local government might not be too high a one to pay. There is, of course, no such proof. Indeed, the author rather neglects the fairly substantial case for a certain amount of suburban independence.

The facts stated in this work seem in general to be unexceptionable. With the emphasis placed upon them, one may find much ground for quarrel. The legal difficulties and the legal distinction between counties and municipal corporations are given entirely too much weight. Any legislature that really wants to do something to unify metropolitan government can do a great deal in spite of these distinctions. On the other hand, the numerous devices for co-operation and interchange of local services that have been worked out in metropolitan areas in recent decades and the possibility of state departments bringing about better planning and co-ordination of metropolitan services, are greatly underrated. True, many of these homemade arrangements are unsymmetrical and have a patchwork appearance, but in general they work and can be made to work even better.

This review is not a plea for leaving things as they are. Something will need to be done about the economic decay of central cities (a point inadequately discussed in this book), and a strong case can be made for putting planning and certain planning controls on a metropolitan basis. But until a better formula can be devised for completely integrated metropolitan government than anything yet put forward, a plea for in-

tegration to be induced by national agencies through control of the purse cannot be accepted as the final word.

WILLIAM ANDERSON

University of Minnesota

Planning for America. By GEORGE B. GALLOWAY and ASSOCIATES. New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1941. Pp. xi+713. \$3.00.

This co-operative inquiry constitutes a rather bold attempt to survey the status and progress of economic and social planning in the United States. On the whole, the task as set by the editor, George B. Galloway, has been carried through in very effective fashion. This does not consist in the presentation of a critique of planning as such nor an evaluation of its techniques; rather an effort has been made here to bring together the best experience and thought on planning—its practices, achievements, and future possibilities.

Mr. Galloway himself has contributed several introductory chapters which deal with the nature and psychological aspects of American planning and several concluding chapters which are concerned with the overall picture. In between are sections devoted to analysis of the various interdependent fields of planning activity: physical resources, economic, social, area, and defense. To each of these sections outstanding writers and practitioners have made their respective contributions. With the exception of Professor Ogburn's chapter on "Technology and Planning" and Professor Patterson's on "International Economic Relations" there is little tendency toward skepticism with regard to the whole planning process. Most of the remaining chapters are the work of top-flight public administrators, many of whom have had the task of actually formulating and carrying out governmental policies. These are extremely instructive, for they reveal that fine balance between theory and practice which promises well for the future of planning in this country.

One can easily point to unevenness and omission which seem to be inevitable in a joint work of this kind. By and large, however, the undertaking has been planned carefully and executed faithfully. It covers a very broad field of endeavor and, as a whole, forms a first-rate contribution toward a clearer understanding of the potentialities of our dynamic order.

S. MCKEE ROSEN

Central Y.M.C.A. College

America's Struggles for Free Schools: Social Tension in New England and New York, 1827-42. By SIDNEY L. JACKSON. Washington: American Council on Public Affairs, 1941. Pp. viii+277. Cloth, \$3.50; paper, \$3.00.

On the assumption that education is the life-blood of democracy, Dr. Jackson has set out to discover what Americans were thinking about education in the northernmost states during the period of Jacksonian power. The sources utilized are the "public" literature of the times—books, magazines, newspapers, almanacs, tracts, church records, governors' messages, and the like. He has sought to understand the positions taken by various segments of the population on matters of educational policy, in terms of their broader interests and orientation.

The very extensive Bibliography indicates a thorough job of historical digging. The exposition, however, indicates less than a full mastery of the rich store of materials. The author traces so many currents and cross-currents that the reader becomes bewildered. So far as there is any general conclusion, it is that the common-school movement received impetus during this period—at least in the states covered—quite as much because the intellectual élite saw in it the possibility of controlling Jacksonian Democracy as because the workers and farmers were demanding educational opportunity.

ROBERT C. ANGELL

University of Michigan

One Hundred Years of Probation, 1841-1941, Part I: Probation in the United States, England, and the British Commonwealth of Nations. By N. S. TIMASHEFF. ("Fordham University Studies, Social Science Series," No. 1.) New York: Fordham University Press, 1941. Pp. vi+66. \$1.50.

Probation, as the author states, "is an American social device which became diffused throughout the civilized world." According to the author, the purpose of the book is "to look into the history and to establish the importance of this American contribution to humanity."

The first two chapters give an interesting account of the roots and original idea of probation, treating the subject from both legal and sociological points of view. In the later chapters, however, dealing with the period from 1878 to 1941, the author limits himself almost solely to a history of statutory enactments. His attention is focused on the subject

of legislation so exclusively that he seems to lose sight of the probation movement as a social phenomenon.

To be sure, the legislative development of probation constitutes an important aspect of its history. The author has investigated it thoroughly and has contributed his own original interpretation. He has especially made a study of certain processes of "imitation" or "diffusion" by which certain legislative patterns have spread from one state or country to another. This is a significant contribution to legal history and should also be of interest to sociologists.

However, a mere history of legislation concerning probation is not likely to yield much information on the evolution of probation as a form of rehabilitative treatment. We do not learn anything about the development from the pioneer efforts of John Augustus to the complicated methods of social investigation, diagnosis, and treatment used by modern probation officers. Basic relations between probation and social case work, psychiatry, and child guidance are totally ignored. There is no discussion of the most important differences between juvenile and adult probation. The reader does not understand the full importance of the juvenile-court movement in the history of probation because juvenile courts are treated only as a subject of legislation. The adolescent-offender problem is similarly ignored. Finally, there is no discussion of the important controversy regarding the rate of recidivism among probationers.

To sum it up, this is an interesting study of the development of probation legislation per se but does not relate the legislation of the probation movement to modern social developments in their respective societies.

FREDERICK HOEFER

New York

The Youth of New York City. By NETTIE P. MCGILL and ELLEN N. MATTHEWS. New York: Macmillan Co., 1940. Pp. xxvi+420. \$3.50.

This volume presents a picture of the employment, education, and recreation in 1935 of almost one million youths (sixteen to twenty-four years of age, inclusive) in the five boroughs of New York City. The study financed by three foundations at a cost of about \$30,000, was carried on under the supervision of the Research Bureau of the New York City Welfare Council. (It was motivated by the interest of welfare agencies in a trustworthy body of knowledge about the problems of unemployment confronting youth during the early 1930's.)

Standard statistical procedures were used. In order to obtain a cross-

Bolivia, and so on. His listing of locations would bring furious debates from all countries, but the idea is worth consideration. It is certainly more realistic than the often discussed plan for a Pan-American university in Puerto Rico. But I question whether such an unscrabbled university could be scattered out to the satisfaction of any considerable number of countries.

This little book, ably edited by Walter H. C. Laves, is a useful one, especially for North Americans who want to know how some Latin Americans are thinking. We have had too many of our own North Americans telling us what Latin Americans think. It is high time we listen to our neighbors themselves.

HUBERT HERRING

New Haven, Connecticut

Dependent Areas in the Post-war World. By ARTHUR N. HOLCOMBE.
Boston: World Peace Foundation, 1941. Pp. 107. \$1.50.

This little book was written before the United States became a belligerent. It is one of a series designed to provide informed comment for Americans on the problems of international organization which they will have to face when the war ends. It reviews the various types of dependencies, the various methods of administering them, the various abuses which may arise from exploitation of the inhabitants or unfairness to other nations, and the possible types of international order within which the governance of dependencies will have to be arranged. It relates these questions to American ideas of justice and of self-interest. The author's name is a guaranty of scholarship and impartiality.

But to treat post-war issues one by one involves serious risks of oversimplification. The problem of dependencies is closely related to that of the treatment of minorities by autonomous states and to that of states which do not deserve to be autonomous. All these problems are conditioned by the general scheme of world-order, which Professor Holcombe does discuss, and by two questions which he does not discuss: the relations between peoples of different race and culture and the task of reconciling the American ideas of what is fitting with those of other nations, whether friend or foe today. When the war ends, all these questions will have to be faced at the same time.

H. F. ANGUS

Ottawa, Canada

A Quest for International Order. By JACKSON H. RALSTON. Washington, D.C.: John Byrne & Co., 1941. Pp. 205. \$2.00.

The author of this book has had a distinguished career as an international arbitrator, but his experience in applying international law has not blinded him to the defects in that system. He examines the foundations of international law from the point of view of "natural law," following in this respect his earlier volume entitled *Democracy's International Law* (1922).

Returning to "fundamental principles," Ralston makes a sincere attempt to apply the individualistic philosophy of liberalism and democracy, characteristic of the eighteenth century, to the modern world. He finds that individuals, not states, are the only subjects of law. He is certain that war is wrong and free trade right. He leans toward exclusive territorial jurisdiction, opposing the diplomatic protection of citizens abroad. He favors obligatory arbitration, provided arbitrators are free to apply fundamental principles. He hopes that these innovations in the present customs and practices of international relations may be maintained by a world-federation supported by adjudication rather than by force.

The author pays no attention to sociological discussions concerning the interaction of individual and group and has not thought through the relation of force to law and of neutrality to federation. He leaves many problems unsolved. The book, however, re-emphasizes certain conditions of stable international relations, which were better understood in past centuries than they have been in recent years. It has a distinct place in the growing literature of the post-war world.

QUINCY WRIGHT

University of Chicago

The World's Iron Age. By WILLIAM HENRY CHAMBERLIN. New York: Macmillan Co., 1941. Pp. viii+402. \$3.00.

This is yet another book by a well-known American correspondent on his experiences and reflections concerning the present crisis. Mr. Chamberlin's book differs from the accounts of his colleagues in that he attempts to analyze the complex of world-problems since 1914, while the latter have stuck more closely to their own immediate experience.

The author views the present world from the standpoint of a liberal who sees the Golden Age threatened if not doomed by the onslaught of an "iron" world-revolution. He "covers" the historical background of modern Europe as well as the rise of the three totalitarian powers—Germany,

section of the youth population in 1935, a 1 per cent sample selected geographically on the basis of a "real property inventory" was drawn from each census tract in the city by choosing each one-hundredth residential unit. Fifty-seven hundred and fifty-four residential units containing young people from a total of 18,465 households drawn were canvassed by field workers provided by the W.P.A., and 9,041 youths, of a total discovered of 9,289, filled out detailed schedules.

The schedules, in addition to background data, included data on education, employment and unemployment, and leisure-time activities and interests. These data were provided by the youths themselves and were not checked except with regard to contacts with social agencies which were cleared through the Social Service Exchange. (The accuracy and thoroughness of the field worker's data were checked by means of revisits and interviews by supervisors. The sample, whose representativeness was checked by comparing these data with United States census materials for 1930, seems relatively adequate for the conclusions of the study.)

The final compilation of the data presents an interesting picture of the youth of New York City, with many significant implications for educational, recreational, and social work practice. The picture, however, is too vast, and this sort of study needs to be followed up by intensive research into the specific and varied problems of local communities and by case studies which will leave the application of the findings less a matter of speculation.

FREDERIC M. THRASHER

New York University

Employment Problems of College Students. By SAMUEL CLAYTON NEWMAN. Washington: American Council on Public Affairs, 1942. Pp. xvi+158. Cloth, \$3.00; paper, \$2.50.

This little volume gives an excellent survey of the many problems associated with remunerative employment as a means to obtaining a college education. Evidence is given not only on the question of whether employment enables needy students to solve their problem of support but also on the question of whether employment opportunities enable all who are desirous and capable of entering college to do so. The conclusions are negative on both counts. The author assembles and digests a great deal of information regarding student employment, distilled from numerous studies made during the last two decades. There is a short discussion of alternatives and supplements to student employment. The author recom-

mends that an integrated agency be set up in each college to deal with selection and admission, orientation, counseling, problems of housing, social life, health, finances, and employment. He feels that such an agency should have broad powers to determine the nature and conditions of work for students. Dr. Newman believes in the continuation and expansion of the N.Y.A., the further development of junior colleges, increasing scholarship aid, the encouragement of student co-operatives, wider use of the Antioch plan—all to bring about greater democratization of higher education. In a final section he discusses the possibility of more far-reaching programs, such as national subsidies to able students.

ROBERT C. ANGELL

University of Michigan

Basic Concepts in Social Case Work. By HERBERT H. APTEKAR. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1941. Pp. ix+210. \$2.50.

This is a stimulating book with a somewhat misleading title. As stated in the Preface by the author, he does not aim to present basic concepts except for a few originating in Rankian psychotherapy that are used, at least, in one school of case-work thinking (Pennsylvania School of Social Work). He discusses at some length and effectively illustrates the following case-work concepts: ambivalence, will and denial, relationship, movement, projection and identification, focus and level. Some concepts frequently used by case workers are purposely omitted because the author or other writers had treated them in published papers. The result is but a partial exposition of theory and practice even in the Pennsylvania School of Social Work.

The above concepts are considered in an attempt to evaluate critically at least one school of case-work thinking, in the hope that other comprehensive statements will follow, and a comparison of different points could be made. This is a noteworthy aim, but the author confines himself too narrowly to the psychology and psychotherapy of case work. He even omits a presentation of Rank's views of the social setting by which both the psychological orientation and psychotherapy are conditioned. To be sure, Mr. Aptekar discusses the "case-work situation" but presents it as a (1) "physical setting—a time and place" situation and (2) "a psychological situation or Gestalt in which two patterns of behavior interact dynamically with each other within the limits set by the situation itself." However, he does not relate the person's behavior patterns to group

organization and the cultural patterns which largely shape the psychological situation.

Mr. Aptekar is a forceful writer, a stimulating thinker, and shows considerable familiarity with case-work practice. The reader, whether student or worker, would have profited by a brief bibliography or by footnote references to the literature in the field.

PAULINE V. YOUNG

University of Southern California

Democracy's College: The Land-Grant Movement in the Formative Stage.

By EARLE D. ROSS. Ames, Iowa: Iowa State College Press, 1942. Pp. 267. \$3.00.

The fusion of emphasis on agricultural and labor education as distinct from education for the leisure class and for the professions is traced through the nineteenth century in the United States against a background of European origins. This carefully documented, indexed history, with its classified and annotated Bibliography, is more complete in rare incident and less inhibited by the official caution that prevailed in the official *History of Agriculture Education*, by A. C. True ("U.S.D.A., Miscellaneous Publications," No. 36 [Washington, 1929]). The role of "labor education" as contrasted with engineering education is only alluded to, possibly because the distinction came into American higher education in the twentieth century. The student of institutions will find in this volume a valuable source book, but will find little reference to theories of institutional development.

MERTON OYLER

University of Kentucky

Possum Trot: Rural Community, South. By H. C. NIXON. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1941. Pp. 192. \$2.50.

No one has ever seen the place where "possums" gather to trot, but in American folklore the term has long been a place name for the characteristic rural hamlet. While the title suggests the nostalgia of an agrarian for his native place, the approach is that of a regionalist concentrating on the social history of a community. With the sympathy of a participant-observer in retrospect, Nixon here tells the story of his native community, his people and their mores, without recourse to the techniques and concepts developed in more formal community studies. Rural sociologists—

North, South, or West—will recognize the author's authentic feeling for folk language, social types, and provincial folkways.

As the author says, the story is told three times: in terms of the population, of the community, and of the region. In this last the treatment is closer to practical problems of the over-all economy as they affect the Southeast. The volume thus ends on a note closer to Odum's *Southern Regions* than to the Lynds's *Middletown*.

RUPERT B. VANCE

University of North Carolina

The Political Economy of War. By A. C. PIGOU. New and rev. ed. New York: Macmillan Co., 1941. Pp. 169. \$1.50.

The tough-minded sage of Cambridge has the same general views on war economics as his colleagues of the Keynesian school. The orthodox author of *The Economics of Welfare* and *The Political Economy of War* did not join the modern group when the latter advocated expansion during a period of depression. Now this controversy has become meaningless. We are at the point when consumption must be reduced, when taxation and noninflationary borrowing are advisable rather than bank loans and the printing press. In the light of modern theory it is, of course, hard to consider it "a generally accepted canon of sound finance . . . that the assistance of poor persons, the upkeep of schools and so forth, must be financed . . . by taxation alone" (p. 72). While right now such dogmatic statements are not dangerous, they were harmful during the depression, and they will be out of place in the post-war period. At present we must advocate a reduction in consumers' outlay because consumers' goods cannot be produced on a scale sufficient to match the increased flow of money payments.

The chapters on price control and rationing are classics in the field; various cases are categorized and analyzed. There is the case where it is difficult to determine the grades of a commodity or where the grades are too numerous, the case where the commodity sells at different prices in different localities or during different times of the year. Solutions are indicated in general terms only.

Sound economic theory and good common sense are prerequisites for the study of war economics. Methods of analysis do not differ in times of war, though the aims to be achieved are different from those in times of peace.

Thus Pigou describes how personal economies in wartime must be

guided by the normal economic behavior pattern based on marginal utility analysis. Thus he analyzes the problems of money, credit, and taxation from the point of view of general theory. Pigou's manuscript was completed before Keynes advanced his deferred pay scheme, and nothing of the sort is mentioned in it.

There are no chapters on the "aftermath," as in the edition of 1921. "As an economist I have not the power nor as a man the heart to strain through a night so black to a night I shall not see" (p. 169), Pigou says in a wistful epilogue.

Those who have read the old edition will not find much new material in the version of 1941. Those who did not read the old edition will learn a great deal from reading the new one. There is no need to be afraid that either book or author have become obsolete. A bibliography was not necessary. The sources are Pigou, Pigou, and once more Pigou.

HENRY SIMON BLOCH

University of Chicago

National Unity and Disunity. By GEORGE KINGSLEY ZIPP. Bloomington, Ind.: Principia Press, Inc., 1941. Pp. xv+408, \$3.50.

This book is too dangerous to be dismissed with a few remarks on inadequate scholarship. Under the cover of a scientific attitude that stresses unbiased empirical observation, the author proposes a system of social and political propaganda which coincides closely with Axis publicity designed for consumption in the United States.

A theorem is advanced. The author claims to have arrived at it by unbiased observation of social regularities. A nation finds itself in a state of social and political equilibrium when its communities are arranged in size according to the order of a harmonic sequence. The largest city being equal to 1, the following in rank will contain a population of $\frac{1}{2}$, $\frac{1}{3}$, $\frac{1}{4}$, . . . , $1/n$, respectively. Deviations from this condition are interpreted as surfeit or deficiency, as subsaturation or supersaturation.

There is no sufficient empirical foundation for this theorem. Only for the year 1930 in the United States is the author able to produce a crude approximation to a harmonic sequence. The demonstration is dilettantic. He resorts to graphic illustration and then appeals to the reader to consider the "straightness" of the line. An application of the method of least squares is not even considered. Unfortunately, the harmonic sequence of community size is not convincing even for the year 1940 in the United States. The arrangement of the smaller communities represents a curve

that is sloping downward, not in a "straight line" but clearly convex. The tangent does not coincide with the sequency of large-size communities.

Content with such scanty evidence, the author plunges into a maze of social and political speculation. His theorem is by now taken for granted and serves as a magic formula to "prove" a system of rather coherent prejudices. If the community size deviates from the norm—which, of course, is generally the case—it may be used to blame the leadership of the country in question or, otherwise, to encourage the political leadership in the remedy of existing conditions.

Hitler is definitely encouraged. The Treaty of Versailles is blamed for the broken sequence of community size in Germany. Numbers, by now, are bestowed with mystical power. The harmonic series of community size indicates the internal unity of a nation. "Nature in a love of balance may at present be engaged in restoring more nearly a condition of saturation in the territory of Western-Eastern Europe . . ." (p. 36).

Why just the United States in the unfortunate year of 1930 should have been blessed with a condition of complete saturation is not quite clear. There is a very inadequate attempt only to give social-economic meaning to the numerical "regularity" observed. In a elementary elaboration on the benefits of the division of labor and in a similarly naïve discourse on economic location of industry (without reference to the literature on the problem), the author is able to show this much: community size tends to be economically determined. He forgets in the heat of the argument that he has set out to explain why the economic optimum coincides just with the harmonic sequence of community size.

The mysterious power of the harmonic sequence is extended into the field of income distribution. There is not a single evidence here of any society that is stratified according to the worshiped rule. This only gives the author free hand to pass out his social criticism wherever he pleases.

Briefly, what is the creed that is proposed under the cover of these quasi-scientific argumentations? British imperialism is attacked by reference to the lack of large cities in the East Indies. Hitler is encouraged to smooth out the harmonic series in Europe by his policy of national expansion. In doing so he fulfils the law of nature and we might as well be aware of the fact that, in opposing him, we might find ourselves on the losing side. The social history of the United States is visualized in terms of different waves of immigration. The English-speaking immigrants are described as exploiters of the natural resources, developing a paranoic(!) and overbearing attitude. Then come the non-English speaking "Nor-

dics," the Scandinavians and the Germans with their highly developed craftsmanship, and, finally, the pariahs of southern and eastern Europe. The latter groups are cramped by previously established monopolies.

The discussion of the social history of the 1930's is a sequence of "cracks" at the New Deal. The pariahs are exploited by a would-be élite. New York City expands beyond the limits that are set by "nature" at the cost of the smaller communities.

The propaganda warns against the present war on the side of England against Hitler's dictatorship. Under the clumsy guise of assumed party names—left, right, and the home front—the development of national socialism is described as an endeavor to achieve internal homogeneity. The "warmongers" in this country get many a good lesson.

The author is described as a lecturer at Harvard University. He refers to two outstanding Harvard mathematicians in the Preface and has been aided by subventions from the Committee on Research in the Social Sciences at Harvard University. Nevertheless, the theorem is a bluff, his reasoning arbitrary and illogical, and his conclusions—although less timely today—might have been dangerously effective a year ago.

SVEND RIEMER

University of Washington

Inter-American Solidarity: Lectures on the Harris Foundation. Edited by WALTER H. C. LAVES. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1941. Pp. 228. \$1.50.

The Harris Foundation sessions of July, 1941, from which this little book springs, were of exceptional interest. The issues of our American solidarity were discussed by a considerable group of Americans, Canadians, and Latin Americans drawn from academic and business life. Of the seven lectures here preserved, one was given by a Canadian, three by Americans, three by Latin Americans—a Cuban, a Colombian, and a Mexican. It affords a good over-all picture of some varieties of opinion.

Frank Scott, the Canadian, furnishes a chapter of much interest on the growing importance of Canadian relations with her neighbors in the new world. Canada is bound to the United States by economic and military necessity; these ties must be strengthened with the passage of time. Canada has had few ties with Latin America, with less than 3 per cent of its trade with that area, with few cultural relations realized. But Canada, Mr. Scott argues, must inevitably "assist in developing a sane, democratic

regionalism." Further, in her large French population, Canada has a group which can find much in common with Latin America.

George Fielding Eliot, in his chapter on "The Strategy of Hemisphere Defense," argues for united long-range defensive action against perils which confront us all. Arthur R. Upgren delves into the questions of "Raw Materials and Inter-American Solidarity" and analyzes the supplementary character of our several economies. J. Fred Rippy, discussing "Pan-Americanism and the World Order," gives a cogent historical argument for the necessity of making common cause.

The Latin-American spokesmen were happily chosen. Eduardo Villaseñor, who discusses "Inter-American Trade and Financial Problems," heads the Banco de Mexico and is one of the ablest of Latin-American economists. He finds the future of the United States "irrevocably linked to that of Latin America. It is up to them whether they want to be linked to a poor Latin America or a rich Latin America." He draws his final cogent text from the book of Deuteronomy: "And thou shalt lend unto many nations, and thou shalt not borrow. And the Lord shall make thee the head, and not the tail."

"What Have the Americas in Common?" is the question posed by Herminio Portell Vilá of Cuba. He vigorously disputes the common charge that it is fear which now drives the Americas together and argues for more generous and lasting ties. Many of us would question his belittling of fear as the dominant element in the present upsurge of continental affection, while freely admitting that fear offers no solid assurance for the future.

Daniel Samper Ortega of Colombia discusses "Cultural Relations." He suggests that one of the first steps toward achieving cultural relations within our common hemisphere is the winning of greater cultural accord within the Latin-American area itself, arguing that only so can Latin America achieve that sense of strength which will enable it to meet the United States on more equal footing. He takes us to account for some of our superficial "good will" gestures, points out the futility of the "blitz" methods of many American visitors to the South, and argues for larger and more authentic sharing of cultural goods. He makes an appeal for a Pan-American university, with its several schools spread out all over the Americas—the industrial school in Chicago or Detroit, the commercial school in New York, the school of painting in Mexico, the school of music in Brazil, that of belles-lettres in Colombia, the mining school in Chile or

Italy, and Russia—and the far eastern crisis as well as the Fall of France and the Battle of Britain. Despite the fact that the book is well written and contains a number of interesting observations, it does not contain so penetrating an analysis as one might have expected from this writer. In fact, a great many analyses bespeak the moral sentiments of their author rather than his insight into the deeper causes of the present conflict. And, although some of Mr. Chamberlin's summary accounts are very good, they do not add to our knowledge or understanding.

It should be said that Mr. Chamberlin gives a realistic picture of the history and the prospects of the present war, and especially of the events leading up to it, such as the Treaty of Versailles and the "mentality of France." Yet this is marred to some extent by an underlying cycle theory of war and revolution, which makes the history since the last war appear inevitable, although the author himself frequently speaks of possibilities of a more democratic development than has actually taken place. But in his appraisal of these possibilities the author plays more or less the role of the prophesying Cassandra, but only after the disaster has come to pass. This does not aid our understanding, apart from being no claim to distinction at the present time.

REINHARD BENDIX

Chicago

People under Hitler. By WALLACE R. DEUEL. New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1942. Pp. 392. \$3.50.

The number of foreign correspondents who write books about their experiences is legion. The number of foreign correspondents who are capable of interpreting their experiences in some relevant social and psychological context is infinitesimal. Gossip and anecdote have high attention value for the book-buying public, while analysis and generalization are anathema. Fortunately for students of social behavior (and unfortunately for booksellers), Wallace R. Deuel is a social scientist as well as a correspondent. Like Edgar Mowrer, who was long the chief of the foreign service of Deuel's own paper, the *Chicago Daily News*, this young Chicagoan has a rare gift for seeing people and events against their social background. His volume on Germany will therefore prove invaluable to all who seek explanations rather than mere narrations or descriptions. Deuel is a story-teller, too, with a talent for vivid characterization. But he is also blessed with insight into motives, causes, and consequences. *People under Hitler* deals with Germans rather than with the conquered communities. Deuel's portrait of the German public mind in the epoch of collective

schizophrenia is one of the best ever done. His detailed account of Hitler and of the other Nazi leaders, of the party machine, of the economic and racial policies of the regime, and of the new folkways and mores of Hitlerland is incomparably the most penetrating and the most adequate to be published to date. In the present year of decision this work deserves to be regarded as required reading for sociologists and laymen alike.

FREDERICK L. SCHUMAN

Williams College

Sea Power in the Machine Age. By BERNARD BRODIE. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1941. Pp. viii+466. \$3.75.

This volume forms a valuable addition to a growing literature dealing with the social effects of modern technology. In it the author has traced the major revolutionary changes in naval armament since the beginning of the nineteenth century: (1) the steam warship, (2) the iron-hulled warship, (3) armor and greater ordnance, (4) the submarine, (5) naval aircraft. These inventions, however, are not dealt with *in vacuo*; their effects upon the strategy and tactics of maritime warfare and upon the power relations of nations are discussed clearly and documented carefully. Furthermore, the author reveals that he is fully aware of the fact that inventions are but a part of the social setting identified as the modern state system.

A work of this kind is especially timely inasmuch as it lends perspective to one of the most perplexing questions of a war-torn world, namely, that of sea power versus air power. As is indicated by the author, there is no easy answer to this problem. Air power which has so vigorously challenged sea power in recent days may yet turn out to be of greatest protection to the modern navy.

Here is a work which is well written and scholarly; one which both the expert and the layman will find exciting and profitable reading. The Scientific Book Club has done well to make this book one of its recent selections.

S. McKEE ROSEN

Central Y.M.C.A. College

This Age of Fable. By GUSTAV STOLPER. New York: Reynal & Hitchcock, 1942. Pp. xx+369. \$3.00.

The author gives three hundred and seventy pages to attacking sundry "fables." Planning is a "fable" and anathema to Mr. Stolper. Life is too com-

plex for planning, although paradoxically capitalism plans. Among the many other "fables" is the one which contrasts production for profit and production for use. Stolper finds that there is no production for profit which is not also useful. Profit is said to be the index that production was for use. The slogan of "poverty amidst plenty" is only another "fable." Our productive machinery even if used to full capacity would still leave us relatively poor, and the only remedy is expansion. In fact, the essence of capitalism is expansion. But imperialistic expansion is sheer absurdity, according to the author, and so on.

It is not necessary to extend this list any further. The net result is not the destruction of "fables" but the irrelevant repetition of the word "fable" without a real clarification either of words or of ideas. This volume is not worthy of Mr. Stolper's well-known erudition and ability.

CHARLES E. MERRIAM

University of Chicago

Guinea's Captive Kings: British Anti-slavery Literature of the XVIIIth Century.

By WYLIE SYPHER. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1942.

Pp. x+340. \$3.00.

There is a marked tendency to regard the eighteenth century as a subject for generalization. The diverse characterizations of the century as the age of reason, of sentimentality, of brutality, and of humanitarianism reflect the complexity of this Augustan Age, as this period is sometimes called. Occasionally writers succeed in giving realistic portrayals of different aspects of this century without resorting to pigeonholing their analyses into the usual broad categories. The author of this volume, dealing with a special phase of British eighteenth-century literature, speaks in the familiar sweeping terms: "Anti-slavery was singularly consonant with the humanitarian and primitivistic thought of the enlightenment." In a similar vein explanation is given for retaining throughout the book many quotations, especially from poetry: "The rationalism of the enlightenment, the gaudy-verse, the sentimentalism that so fully express themselves in anti-slavery writings are better interpreted without being paraphrased." Such large-scale characterizations tend to prevent an understanding of both the sequence of events that led up to the antislavery struggle as well as the significant social movements initiated during this period. Incongruity arises in such assertions as "anti-slavery literature of XVIIIth century England willfully ignores facts." Thus, when the author states that the "anti-slavery writer accents every trait that identifies the Negro with the white man," while the "pro-slavery writer like Edward Long would classify the Negro as a higher ape," can it be questioned which writer "willfully ignores facts"? The author could have made a better case had he pointed out the paucity of reliable facts during this period on both sides.

This, however, is a good book. Its contents are divided into two parts: Part I, under the general heading "The National Mind," deals with the "Pattern of the

Times" and "Currents of Opinion." Here the author draws from a vast literature on the subject in discussing the stages through which English antislavery thought passed. It is regrettable that the author did not analyze more fully the numerous references, a good many of which he merely cites. Part II, entitled "The Literary Expression," presents the theme of "The Noble Negro" and antislavery in verse, in drama, and in fiction. Here the reader finds a treasure of revealing quotations, mainly from poetry. The volume tends to have the character of an anthology and to be lacking in systematic analysis. Despite the several shortcomings indicated, the book represents a competent research undertaking and will prove useful to the student of race and culture.

SAMUEL M. STRONG

University of Minnesota

The Story of the Mennonites. By C. HENRY SMITH. Berne, Ind.: Mennonite Book Concern, 1941. Pp. 823. \$2.50.

This enlargement and revision of Dr. Smith's *The Mennonites*, published a quarter of a century ago, is one of the most comprehensive of the various Mennonite histories which have yet appeared. Two-thirds of the material concerns the European developments, migrations, and persecutions. The book covers the period from the rise of the Anabaptist movement to the outbreak of the conflict in Europe in 1939.

For the sociologist a major interest focuses on the large number of subdivisions into which the sect has been formed, each of which represents a type of assimilation to a specific cultural pattern. For example, one branch in Germany has embraced the Nazi military regime, whereas in the United States others, as conscientious objectors, have sustained democracy. All Mennonites, no matter what their variation, should find this book valuable in providing them an integrated picture of their total movement.

FORREST L. WELLER

Elizabethtown College

Discussion of Holidays in the Later Middle Ages. By EDITH COOPERIDER RODGERS. ("Studies in History, Economics and Public Law," edited by the Faculty of Political Science of Columbia University.) New York: Columbia University Press, 1940. Pp. 147. \$1.50.

This well-documented historical monograph will be of interest to students of sociology in so far as it throws a light on human nature as manifest in the observance of holidays. From a certain point of view the establishment of holidays is a rational act in that it gives a needed period of relaxation and relief from toil. Actually, however, the holy days of the church were intended not so much to give surcease from labor as to give the individual an opportunity to participate in religious activities. But human beings cannot maintain tension continuously.

Therefore, the holiday interval tends always to become a period of relaxation and release of tension, often becoming license. Moreover, when the holy days multiply to such an extent as they did in the Middle Ages, it becomes not only emotionally difficult but also impractical to maintain them all, and thus a constant process of secularization goes on. The holy day becomes a market day, or is used, as it was by the English Crown at one time, to improve national defense by encouraging the peasantry to use the freedom from work to practice archery. Only a few genuinely holy days, rooted in tradition, survive. Such conclusions appear to be implicit in the book, although as a historian Miss Rodgers deals with historical fact rather than with generalizations.

MARGARET PARK REDFIELD

Glenview, Illinois

A Comparative Study of Religious Cult Behavior among Negroes with Special Reference to Emotional Group Conditioning Factors. By RAYMOND JULIUS JONES. ("Howard University Studies in the Social Sciences," Vol. II, No. 2.) Washington: Howard University, 1940. Pp. v+125. \$1.00.

The author seeks to show the similarities that prevail between various significant features of religious cult behavior among Negroes and religious magical behavior among certain primitive peoples. Having established such similarity, he presents the thesis that such cult behavior is a psychological compensation for social and economic frustrations. The persistence of an animistic slant from his original African heritage has imparted a certain psychological coloring to the cult behavior of the American Negro. The discussion, while interesting, reflects a study done on too limited a scale and with too much a priori ordering to command scholarly acceptance. The Appendix of the volume contains a series of descriptive accounts of cult group meetings which the student will find to be of primary value.

HERBERT BLUMER

University of Chicago

*The Cameroons and Togoland: A Demographic Study.*¹ By R. R. KUCZYNSKI. New York: Oxford University Press, 1939. Pp. xviii+579. \$10.00.

This large volume is apparently a report to the League of Nations on the population growth and health conditions of the mandated territories in the Cameroons and Togoland. The conclusion is that nothing is known about population growth since the mandates were established, and that very little is known about an improvement or deterioration of health conditions. It has taken five hundred and forty-nine pages to say this. It is difficult to see how such a report could be of as much use to the Mandate Commission as one of a tenth the size.

¹ The reviewer's copy is bound page proof without Table of Contents, Preface, Introduction, or Index.

Summarizing the findings and showing whereir. the so-called censuses and health reports have been inadequate would have provided the commission the information it needed.

If the purpose of the Mandate Commission was to see whether the natives in these territories were being exploited more than might be considered good form, there is little here that would help it to a fair judgment. There should be more efficient and convincing ways of finding out how honestly and conscientiously the powers exercising the mandate were using their authority than by a report on population growth compiled from official reports which were known to be largely valueless before the study was undertaken (internal evidence).

WARREN S. THOMPSON

Miami University

Social Problems. By CARL M. ROSENQUIST. New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1940. Pp. xix+519. \$4.00.

The author defines a social problem as any social condition or process which, being popularly recognized as bad, people attempt to eliminate or cure. The book deals with the conventional social problems, such as divorce, desertion, illegitimacy, child dependency, child labor, economic and political maladjustments, physical defectiveness, mental deficiency, health, delinquency, crime, and race and nationality problems. Each problem is described with reference to the general social characteristics of the community and the social processes of change. While the author frankly admits that he is going to engage in evaluations, and while some of his value judgments disturb one who attempts to view all behavior in an objective, nonmoralistic manner, the book on the whole is non-evaluative. The book does not include as much factual data as is found in some problems texts. This is compensated for somewhat by interpretative principles generally accepted by sociologists.

HARVEY J. LOCKE

Indiana University

Jewish Emancipation: A Selection of Documents. By RAPHAEL MAHLER. ("Pamphlet Series: Jews and the Post-war World," No. 1.) New York: American Jewish Committee, 386 Fourth Avenue, 1941. Pp. 72. \$0.20.

This pamphlet is the first in a series of pamphlets that is going to be published by the Research Institute on Peace and Post-war Relations of the American Jewish Committee. It consists of an introductory note and of carefully selected legal documents of Jewish emancipation, comprising (1) "The Fore-runners (seventeenth to eighteenth centuries)"; (2) "The American and French Revolutions"; (3) "The Era of 1830"; (4) "The Revolutionary Upheaval of 1848-1849"; (5) "National and Constitutional Consolidation (1860-1871)"; and (6) "The First World War." The last document is the Balfour Declaration,

indicating that the author considers equality as to national status the crowning event of what began with a liberation of individuals. Whatever may be said as to Mr. Mahler's basic philosophy, he is certainly right in assuming that the emancipation movement can regain its momentum only if the forces of democracy win the war.

WERNER J. CAHNMAN

Chicago

Our Opinions and the National Effort. By A. P. ELKIN. Australasian Medical Publishing Co., Ltd., 1941. Pp. 80.

For this survey of Australian opinion on various aspects of the war effort, opinions were obtained from various segments of the population on such things as the validity of Allied war aims, willingness to participate personally in civilian war projects, satisfaction with the government's conduct of the war, the adequacy and reliability of the news. The author concludes that the Australian public was, at the time of the survey (summer of 1941), far from united and not wholeheartedly behind the war effort.

There was widespread criticism of the conduct of the war and of the unreliability of the news, as well as a certain amount of indifference and apathy toward the war as a whole. Concrete suggestions are offered for the improvement of morale.

DONALD RUGG

Office of Public Opinion Research
Princeton University

The Amazing Story of Repeal: An Exposé of the Power of Propaganda. By FLETCHER DOBYNS. Chicago: Willett Clark & Co., 1940. Pp. xi+457. \$3.00.

Dobyns attributes prohibition repeal to propaganda by wealthy men, chiefly through the Association against the Prohibition Amendment, to restore the liquor traffic for taxation in order to reduce their own income taxes. This simple explanation does not account for many of the opponents of prohibition denounced in this book.

Repeal propaganda, considered as "an illuminating case study of the whole propaganda problem," is defined as lies, half-truths, and appeals to passion, ignorance, prejudice, and fear. But as a die-hard dry, believing liquor drinking is inherently evil, while prohibition is moral and right, the author condemns the wets for the same tactics used by the dries to bring about prohibition. The dry tactics are called truth and education. This is scarcely objective. It throws no light on the role of propaganda as a general social process in a controversial situation.

HARRY B. SELL

Central Y.M.C.A. College

Faiths That Healed. By RALPH H. MAJOR, M.D. New York: D. Appleton-Century Co., 1940. Pp. x+290. \$3.00.

This is a popular account of some of the obscure and mystifying forms of dealing with illness and disease that have sprung up over the centuries. Most of the discussion deals with psychic epidemics, religious obsessions, and faith cults. This book will stimulate the curiosity of the lay reader. It is too brief and cavalier to be of much use to the student of collective behavior.

HERBERT BLUMER

University of Chicago

Corporal Punishment: A Social Interpretation of Its Theory and Practice in the Schools of the United States. By HERBERT ARNOLD FALK. New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1941. Pp. 162. \$2.10.

This is a doctoral dissertation from Teachers College. The writer divides American history into four periods and starts out to find the explanation of the changing practice of corporal punishment in the social and political conditions as they, in turn, changed. It might be convincing to a reader who knew nothing of what was happening in Europe where there was no frontier, in the American sense, and where there was no war fought for the emancipation of slaves. An adequate acquaintance with the history of theories of punishment would have obviated many errors. Two verses from the Proverbs of Solomon were not the reason why children were punished in Colonial America; the practice is older than Solomon. Some four or five questionnaires revealed that the practice is still going strong.

ELLSWORTH FARIS

Lake Forest, Illinois

Sociología: teoría y técnica. By JOSÉ MEDINA ECHAVARRIA. Mexico: Fondo de cultura económica, 1940. Pp. 202.

This is in effect a supplement to the author's earlier work, *Sociología contemporánea*, which was so much less adequate as an interpretation of trends in North-American sociology. The author envisages three major sociological problems in the present: (1) the challenge of the present world-crisis to sociology, (2) the present growth and trends in sociology, and (3) the significance and value of the new methodological criticisms of the older sociological methods. Without disregarding any of these problems, he concentrates on the second and illustrates largely from the third. This little book consists of five lectures delivered before the University of Morelia (about 100 miles west of Mexico City) and was inspired by the active revival of interest in sociology in Mexico and other Latin-American countries. The author's main points are that sociology is emerging from philosophy into science and that it must justify itself by providing concepts, principles, laws, and technologies which may be instrumental in the reshaping of human social adjustment. Relative to these new trends he discusses the conflict within sociology between naturalism and culturalism and the tendency to abandon mere abstract generalization for the investigation of

concrete reality. In illustration of this last trend he devotes his final lecture to an exposition of the recent methodological developments in North-American sociology. This is not a treatise on method but a book about sociological trends in general and methodology in particular.

L. L. BERNARD

Washington University

Escape from Freedom. By ERICH FROMM. New York: Farrar & Rinehart, Inc., 1941. Pp. ix+305. \$2.50.

This impresses the reviewer as a noteworthy book in two different respects. It presents an interpretation of the contemporary crisis of civilization and of its historical background from the Middle Ages through the Renaissance and Reformation and modern history, in terms of what may be called a quasi-psychanalytic point of view. In contrast with most of the interpretations of the crisis which one picks up these days, this account shows real penetration and knowledge of history and culture history. And it is perhaps equally significant as a reinterpretation of psychoanalysis itself, which moves very far away from the original Freudian conceptions in the direction of good sense. The literary embodiment, amplification, and application of the thesis are perhaps more significant than the thesis itself, which rather lies open to common observation.

The theme is, first, that modern individualistic civilization, with its use of science and machinery, its large-scale organization and high degree of mobility, has broken up the stable framework of familiar custom and authority and essentially small-group life which characterized medieval society and other civilizations prior to our own. And, second, that as a result the individual is indeed "free" in a new sense, but he is thrown upon his own, placed in a position of great insecurity, and confronted with problems and responsibilities in the face of which he feels inadequate, helpless, and lost. The result is various movements or gropings in the direction of escape. Three mechanisms of escape are discussed at length—authoritarianism, destructiveness, and automaton conformity. In the final chapter, on "Freedom and Democracy," and even more in a lengthy Appendix, on "Character and the Social Process," there is some disposition to overwork paradox for literary effect. But the author's whole treatment of freedom reflects unusual insight and ability to get below the surface to realities. At the end, a reader may wonder whether all the profound analysis and literary display add much to the famous aphorism of Schopenhauer, comparing human beings to porcupines out in the cold; they freeze if they get far apart and stick each other if they get close together!

FRANK H. KNIGHT

University of Chicago

Creative Factors in Scientific Research: A Social Psychology of Scientific Knowledge Studying the Interplay of Psychological and Cultural Factors in Science with Emphasis upon Imagination. By AUSTIN L. PORTERFIELD. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1941. Pp. xii+282. \$3.50.

Though not specifically identified as such, this book was apparently written as a Ph.D. dissertation; at any rate, it has some of the characteristic deficiencies

of such compositions. It relies so heavily upon scissors and paste pot that it does not read very smoothly; and it emphasizes unduly the ideas and contributions of Professors Ellwood and Jensen of Duke University, under whose direction it was apparently written. The material gathered from numerous authors is, however, on the whole well chosen; the volume is well outlined; and it serves very well the purposes of a brief or outline of the case against the extreme materialism and reliance on statistical methods which has characterized one school of American sociological thought in the past few years. The case for insight, creative imagination, and the use of subjective as well as objective data is not stated with particularly great subtlety or in an overly persuasive way in this book; nevertheless, it has not had as much attention as it merits at the hands of American sociologists, and we may, accordingly, welcome this survey of the problem.

FLOYD N. HOUSE

University of Virginia

Norwegian Migration to America: The American Transition. By THEODORE C. BLEGEN. Northfield, Minn.: Norwegian-American Historical Assoc., 1940. Pp. xii+655. \$3.50.

Mr. Blegen's work is essentially a readable history of the Norwegians in North America. The emphasis lies upon the development and course of change of Norwegian-American institutions—the church, the schools and colleges, and the press. Although at times he lapses into anecdote and nostalgic chronicle, the main crises and lines of change stand out.

A contribution to the understanding of the attitude of immigrant populations to issues in a new country is to be found in the account of the slavery controversy in the Lutheran church. Although Norwegians were fundamentally unfriendly to the practice of slavery, many of them, and especially the clergy, would not subscribe to the doctrine that slavery was sinful. The controversy continued even after the Civil War was over, for the leaders of conservative Lutheranism saw in the antislavery doctrine a dangerous tendency for people—especially laymen—to speak of natural rights and justice, thus to cloud the clear eternal rays of doctrine, which emanate from the Bible through the lens of the ordained and learned clergy, with the changing colors of times and human institutions. The slavery issue furnished the occasion for the defense of an essentially Lutheran attitude against the more volatile and disruptive forms of American protestantism.

EVERETT C. HUGHES

University of Chicago

Time and the Mind. By HARRIET BABCOCK. Cambridge, Mass: Sci-art Publishers, 1941. Pp. 304. \$3.25.

Dr. Babcock undertakes to summarize the findings of a considerable amount of experience with a battery of "mental efficiency" tests which, she claims with some supporting evidence, reveal abilities that are not identical with level of intelligence but which may be above or below the intelligence level and may reveal typical profiles associated with various types of mental abnormality.

Some of these claims and interpretations will undoubtedly be disputed, as the author appears to realize, since she lays about her in advance in various directions, stating in a few phrases what is wrong with each of the conflicting schools of thought. Among the pretentious features is a list of axioms which include such assertions as "The human mind does not function without a human body" and "Persons are not interested in things they cannot mentally perceive." Such "results of the author's investigations" as that higher intelligence is the acquisition of automatic habits, and similar commonplaces, are seemingly presented as original. The limited Bibliography suggests a superficial acquaintance with the general literature in psychology. There is nevertheless a residue of useful information which can be separated from the argument about it.

ROBERT E. L. FARIS

Bryn Mawr College

CURRENT BOOKS

- ALFORD, HAROLD D. *Procedures for School District Reorganization*. ("Teachers College Contributions to Education," No. 852.) New York: Bureau of Publication, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1942. Pp. vii+165. \$2.10.
- AMERICAN COUNCIL OF LEARNED SOCIETIES. *Conference on Non-English Speech in the United States*. (Bull. 34.) Washington, D.C.: American Council of Learned Societies, 1942. Pp. 89. \$0.25.
- ANSHEN, RUTH NANDA (ed.). *Science and Man*. New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1942. Pp. viii+494. \$4.00. A series of "twenty-four original essays" by a distinguished group of contributors. The articles are grouped under the following heads: "Science and the Universe"; "Science: Its Materials, Methods and Ends"; "Science and Society"; "Science and Internationalism"; and "Science and the Individual."
- BAKER, JOHN NEWTON. *Sex Education in High Schools*. New York: Emerson Books, Inc., 1942. Pp. xiii+155. \$2.00. Prepared for school superintendents and teachers on the basis of a survey of forty-eight state departments of education, of representative high schools, and of informed individuals.
- BENDER, IRVING E., et al. *Motivation and Visual Factors: Individual Studies of College Students*. Hanover, N.H.: Dartmouth College Publications, 1942. Pp. xix+369. \$4.00. Report of investigation of the relations between "visual factors" and personality in a hundred and twenty-four Dartmouth students. Data include interviews, attitudinal autobiographies, and records of scholastic performances, as well as visual measurements and psychological tests.
- BENEDICT, RUTH, and ELLIS, MILDRED. *Race and Cultural Relations: America's Answer to the Myth of a Master Race*. Washington, D.C.: National Education Association, 1942. Pp. 60. \$0.30.
- BERNARD, L. L. *An Introduction to Sociology*. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Co., 1942. Pp. xii+1041. \$3.75. A comprehensive text dealing with "The Development of Human Society"; "Physical Factors and Processes in Social Change"; "Biological Factors and Processes in Social Change"; "Psychological Factors in Social Change"; "Cultural Factors in Social Change"; "Social Organization and Social Control." The central theme is man's adjustment to his natural and cultural environments.
- BOWLBY, JOHN. *Personality and Mental Illness*. New York: Emerson Books, Inc., 1942. Pp. viii+280. \$2.75. An extensive discussion of psychiatric classification aiming toward a more reliable scheme for prognosis. Uses case material. Of interest to psychiatrists and social psychologists.
- BREWINGTON, ANN, and BERG, EVELYN VAN EMDEN. *The Women Graduates of a Collegiate School of Business*. ("Studies in Business Administration," Vol. XII, No. 2.) Chicago: School of Business, University of Chicago, 1942. Pp. ix+99. \$1.00.
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- of Chicago, prepared under the direction of Homer Hoyt and including a valuable table of population changes from 1910 to 1940.
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- CHRISTIAN, JOHN L. *Modern Burma*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1942. Pp. x+381. \$3.00. A wide-ranging survey, starting with a history of Burma, but devoting most of its space to its current life and problems.
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- ELIOT, MARTHA M. *Civil Defense Measures for the Protection of Children*. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Labor, 1941. Pp. vii+179.
- FERRERO, GUGLIELMO. *Pouvoir*. New York: Brentano's, 1942. Pp. 345. \$1.50. A political and historical essay in which the author, an Italian, sets out to show by comparing the present world-situation with that of the Napoleonic era that revolutionary governments bring on wars and that peace can be established and maintained only by "legitimate" governments. The concept of legitimacy is developed in an early chapter and is applied to the legitimate democracy in later chapters.
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- GRAHAM, FRANK D. *Social Goals and Economic Institutions*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1942. Pp. xxii+273. \$3.00. First part devoted to the nature and possibility of social goals. Middle parts relate the author's desired goal of "power with freedom" to economic institutions. The conclusion is a discussion of the prospects of liberalism.
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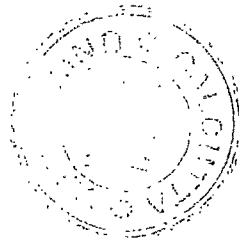
on recent scientific findings and upon case records secured by the authors in their experience as marriage counselors.

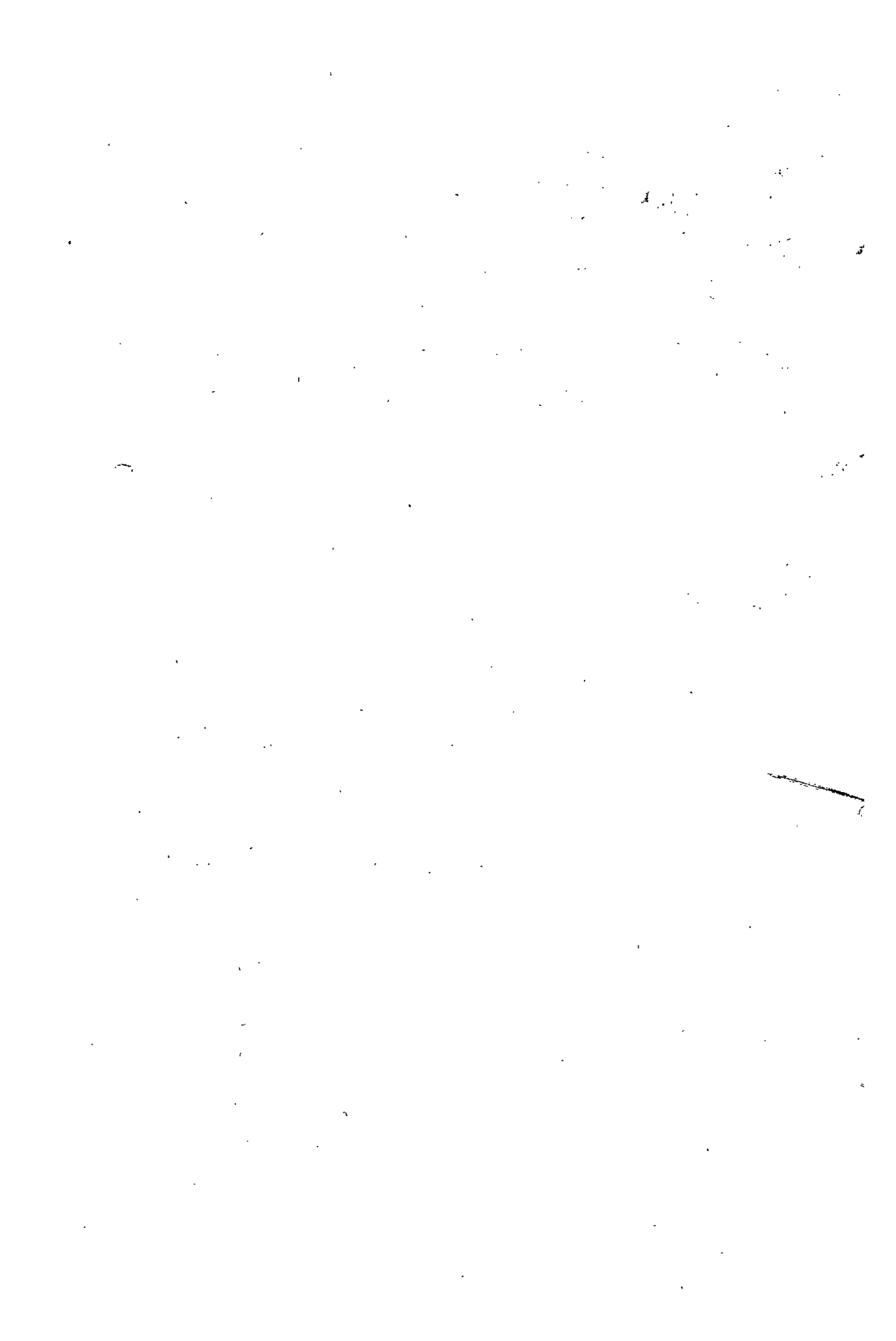
- GROVES, GLADYS HOAGLAND. *Marriage and Family Life*. Cornwall, N.Y.: Cornwall Press, 1942. Pp. x+564. \$3.00. A book on preparation for marriage and family life written in nontechnical style to meet the needs of those who marry.
- HAGEN, PAUL. *Will Germany Crack?* New York: Harper & Bros., 1942. Pp. xvii+283. \$2.75. An intimate picture of the effect of the war on the German population; an analysis of the resources and factors of solidarity; an estimate of the chances of disintegration; a consideration of the underground opposition.
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- PINK, GERHARD P. *The Conference of Ambassadors (Paris 1920-1931)*. ("Geneva Studies," Vol. XII, Nos. 4-5.) Geneva: Geneva Research Centre, 1942. Pp. 293. \$0.40. A study of an important unit of international organization, hitherto neglected.
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- PREHER, SISTER LEO MARIE. *The Social Implications in the Work of Blessed Martin De Porres*. ("Studies in Sociology," Vol. IV.) Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 1941. Pp. xi+161. \$1.50.
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- REEVES, FLOYD W.; BELL, HOWARD M.; and WARD, DOUGLAS. *American Youth Faces the Future: Responsibilities and Opportunities for Youth in the World of Today and Tomorrow*. Washington, D.C.: National Education Association, 1942. Pp. 72. \$0.30.
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- ROUCEK, JOSEPH S., and ASSOCIATES. *Sociological Foundations of Education*. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Co., 1942. Pp. x+771. \$3.75. An introductory text dealing with topics upon educational processes and trends and upon education as a means of social control, with chapters contributed by sociologists and educators.
- RUSINOW, IRVING. *A Camera Report on El Cerrito, a Typical Spanish-American Community in New Mexico*. (Misc. Pub. No. 479.) Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1942. Pp. 136. \$0.45. A book of photographs to accompany the recently published monograph on El Cerrito.
- SACHS, HANNS. *The Creative Unconscious*. Cambridge, Mass.: Sci-Art Publishers, 1942. Pp. 239. \$2.75. An exploration of the fundamental problems of aesthetics from the Freudian point of view.
- SEGAL, SIMON. *The New Order in Poland*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1942. Pp. xii+286+x. \$3.00. A searching analysis of the Nazi regime in Poland. Discusses the Nazi policies of population, economics, industrial exploitation, and religious and cultural life. Contains an interesting statement of the underground movement in Poland.
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- STRIPLING, GEORGE WILLIAM FREDERICK. *The Ottoman Turks and the Arabs, 1511-1574*. Urbana, Ill.: University of Illinois Press, 1942. Pp. 136. \$1.50.
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- TART, DONALD R. *Criminology: An Attempt at a Synthetic Interpretation with a Cultural Emphasis*. New York: Macmillan Co., 1942. Pp. xii+708. \$4.50. This textbook dealing with the explanation of crime, the treatment of the adult criminal, the juvenile delinquent, and crime prevention seeks to integrate a cultural emphasis with a

- synthetic approach and to harmonize the views of the theoretical criminologist with those of the practical administrator of penal policies.
- TOWNSEND, MARY EVELYN. *European Colonial Expansion since 1871*. Chicago: J. B. Lippincott Co., 1941. Pp. viii+629. \$4.00. A historical review, each part devoted to a part of the world. Some attention to effects of expansion upon native cultures and to nationalist movements.
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- WARNER, W. LLOYD, and LUNT, PAUL S. *The Status System of a Modern Community*. ("Yankee City Series," Vol. II.) New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1942. Pp. xx+246. \$3.00. Relates membership in the social classes in Yankee City to position in family, cliques, associations, and in economic, political, educational, and religious institutions, as well as to the ethnic divisions of the population.
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MASS-OBSERVATION

H. D. WILLCOCK

[EDITORIAL NOTE.—The editors of the *Journal* are fortunate in securing this statement of the nature and operation of Mass-Observation in Great Britain. Mass-Observation is an interesting form of collective research and promises to carve out a new approach to the sociological study of group life.]

ABSTRACT

Many new techniques and some familiar ones are utilized by Mass-Observation in a unique continuing study of all England's social institutions. Volunteer field workers record their observations of important events and keep detailed diaries on the war as they experience it. Two urban areas are constantly under survey, and rural community studies are made periodically. Book-length reports on pubs, politics, religion, and the human side of industry have been published. Trained investigators are making separate continuing studies of particular institutions. Even at the blackest periods of the war, the record of war's effects on ordinary peacetime habits has been kept going. A library including important journals as well as many minor leaflets and bulletins published by assorted social groups has been built. Opinion-sampling methods are employed, but the techniques of observation and subjective accounts are being more and more depended upon for the recording of social change in Britain at the deeper, more significant levels.

Mass-Observation first started work in England in 1937.¹ Before that, sociological research in this country had been confined to a handful of individual studies covering the life of specific areas. No attempt had been made to make sociology a live interest to the people studied, and methodological experiment was very much in its infancy.

¹ Founders of the movement were two young men, both in their mid-twenties. Tom Harrisson was an ornithologist in his schooldays. Before he left school he had published a book on *The Birds of the Harrow District*. In his last term at school he went as anthropologist on the Oxford University expedition to the Arctic. Next year at Cambridge he organized an expedition of Oxford and Cambridge scientists to the Atlantic island of St. Kilda. He became more interested in the study of man and less in the study of birds and shortly afterward led an Oxford

M.-O.'s object was to develop new approaches to the study of the habits, lives, and beliefs of the British, and to use the technique of anthropology, hitherto used in studying distant and little-known races, on the people at home.

The first move was to find out how far people were interested in the idea and

expedition to central Borneo. This expedition made the first ascent of Sarawak's highest mountain, Mount Mala, mapped large areas, and made many discoveries of new animals, birds, plants, and insects.

Here Harrisson had his first taste of primitive society, spending many months among the tribes of the interior and studying and taking part in their feasts and dances and funeral rites. The story of this expedition is told in Tom Harrisson (ed.), *Borneo*.

Immediately after his return from Borneo, Harrisson set off on his biggest and most difficult expedi-

to elicit their help. It has always been M.-O.'s policy to avoid the closed circle of academic aloofness and to interest the people they are studying in both the collection of the facts and their final correlation and interpretation. Letters were written to the press, explaining the idea, and asking for volunteers to help in the first job. On February 12, 1937, the first thirty observers—who had never met before and lived in widely scattered parts of the country—made the first embryonic M.-O. study. They wrote down in detail all that happened to them on that day.

M.-O. was well under way on Coronation Day, May 12, 1937, though it still had much to learn about method. On this day observers from all over the country, already numbered in hundreds instead of tens, again reported all that happened to them, all they thought and saw and talked about, from the time they woke up until the time they fell asleep at night. The machinery had not yet been developed for a proper sifting and analysis of the millions of words of material, but the results of this survey, *May 12th* (London: Faber, 1937), did give a picture of Coronation Day as ordinary people experienced it, which no other method then devised could have done.

Early in 1937 the first six field workers settled into work in a northern industrial

town which was to remain one of the main study areas of M.-O. They devoted their whole time to the study of human activity in this one area, recording objectively what they saw and heard. Work in the first year was largely devoted to a study of some of the big mass habits, the extent to which they were practiced, and the motives and fulfillments behind them. First studies of smoking, pub-going, and the filling-in of football-pool coupons were made in this period. Results of some of these investigations and an account of the early work of M.-O. are given in Lindsay Drummond, *First Year's Work* (London, 1938). This book also contains a long chapter by Professor Malinowski, in which he welcomed the appearance of M.-O. and foresaw its development into a nationwide intelligence service. Here, as an example of these early studies, is an extract from a chapter on smoking, summarizing people's motives for starting to smoke and for continuing to do so:

In answering the question, "Why did you start to smoke?" half the Observers gave social or imitative reasons such as: "In order to be sociable," "Because other people did," etc. Forty-three per cent of the remaining answers were either, "Because it was forbidden" or "In order to feel grown-up." (Only 6 per cent of the females started in order to feel grown-up, as against 31 per cent of the males. It is natural that women, starting later, should emulate others of their own age rather than their par-

tion, to the New Hebrides. The first year was spent with five other scientists on the Island of Santo. The following year he stayed—the only white man—in the interior of the Island of Malekula, last Pacific island where cannibalism is still actively practiced. Here he lived among the natives as one of them. He made a full study of their culture and took a census of the whole population of the island. His record of this expedition is given in *Savage Civilisations* (London: Gollanz, 1937).

With the support of such bodies as the Royal Geographical Society, the British Museum, and the universities, Tom Harrison traveled over much of the world into remote places studying the habits of distant people. It became clear to him that much

of what he had been studying in these little-known races had never been studied among the British Islanders, and most of their beliefs, habits, and culture were understood far less than that of the natives of these islands.

From quite another angle Charles Madge, newspaper reporter and poet, arrived at much the same conclusion. Working on London's tabloid daily, the *Mirror*, at the time of the Mrs. Simpson crisis, he realized the great gulf of nonunderstanding which existed between the world of newspapers and the world of ordinary people in the next street. He threw up his job and joined Harrison in launching Mass-Observation.

ents: the little boy's reason for wanting to smoke is, often "to be like father.") Twenty per cent of the Observers gave more than one of these reasons: we can probably assume that all are in some measure component motives in the history of a normal smoker.

The next question was, "What made you continue smoking? Did you acquire the taste at once, or did you have to persevere? If so, why did you?" Half the Observers say they had to persevere, and of those who give reasons for doing so, the great majority give social reasons—that is to say, they went on smoking because they did not want to be "out of the swim." This reason is even more marked among women than among men.

The smokers were then asked: "What are your present motives for smoking?" Over half refer to habit, craving or nervous relief. Twenty-nine per cent give pleasure as their motive, and 19 per cent give social reasons. It is therefore clear that the pleasure-motive and the social-motive, which were equally important in making the novice continue his smoking, have dwindled away now that the habit has become settled—pure "habit" is now a sufficient motive in itself. "My present motive for smoking is to avoid the extreme discomfort which accompanies cessation," says one Observer. "I am actually not sure," another says, "of my present motives for smoking. I can best recall the belief that a cigarette soothes the nerves, and that it satisfied the nervous twitchings of my fingers." A third: "My present motive for smoking is simple enough to put. I simply cannot go without." A fourth: "I turn to a cigarette as to a friend."

The discomfort which smokers feel when deprived of tobacco is similar to social embarrassment. Suppose that a young man is among a crowd of smokers who offer him cigarettes, he too must smoke in order to feel at ease, and he must have cigarettes to offer round. If he is very young, the tobacco may make him feel ill, or at least he may be indifferent to it for its own sake. After a time he will associate the act of smoking with the feeling of self-confidence it gives him, to such an extent that even when alone he may light up "for companionship." Sixty per cent of the smokers say that they smoke more alone, and 14 per cent equally in either case. Three-quarters of the solitary male smokers are pipe smokers, which is interesting since a frequently mentioned disadvantage of pipe-smoking is that you cannot offer a pipeful of

tobacco so easily as a cigarette. On the other hand, 85 per cent of the smokers agree with a statement that "offering a smoke is used for breaking the ice."

We saw that one common reason for starting to smoke was "because it is forbidden." In answer to a question, "Do you ever feel ashamed of smoking?" 86 per cent deny, often indignantly, that there is anything to be ashamed of: however, there is a minority of 14 per cent who admit that they are ashamed. But in answer to the next part of the question, "Do you feel that smoking is a bad habit?" 48 per cent admit that it is a bad habit, often adding, "when carried to excess." It is frequently compared to drinking, which has far more obvious moral implications. Smoking is half-humorously called "a vice," but it is a vice which society permits one to indulge. "Don't feel ashamed of it. Too common with everybody for that," says one Observer; and another says, "Can't say I ever feel ashamed of smoking, as it is indulged in by all the leaders of thought, industry, and politics as well as by the leaders of the Church, so I reckon I'm safe on that score, anyhow." Habits which in this country have not the same social sanction are condemned outright: "Chewing gum is a modern invention of the devil"; "Of course I don't feel ashamed of smoking. I don't see that in moderation it does any harm and it is far better than chewing filthy gum." The small guilt may replace a larger one: "If I did not smoke a few cigarettes a day, I should feel a great longing to do so, or to do something worse"; "I always felt daredevil over smoking, perhaps because of my education at a public school where smoking attains the interest of sex since it is forbidden"; "My first cigarette gave me sexual excitement, though this never happened again. My first pipe made me feel slightly drunk, though this too never occurred again."

An essential part of the social satisfaction obtained from smoking comes from certain tricks of behaviour which have become standardised through imitation. In many cases we may suppose this imitation to be barely conscious, but in some cases the young smoker makes a definite effort to acquire complete correctness in his smoking behaviour. . . .

The first reception of M.-O. by press and public was one of considerable interest, plus some suspicion and some ridicule. Suspicion mainly centered round

the busybodying potentialities of this new method of studying the lives of the masses. Typically, G. W. Stonier in the progressive intellectual weekly, the *New Statesman and Nation*, visualized himself "being chased by three observers and their families" and drew a vivid picture of the typical observer with "a loping walk, elephant ears, an eye trained to key holes." These criticisms, mainly good humored, sometimes uneasy, often puzzled, but definitely interested, all helped to bring M.-O. to the notice of more and more people. By the end of the year there were some thousand voluntary observers on the lists, and special subjects for study were being sent out to them in monthly directives. At the same time the field work side was expanding. People who felt that the job was worth doing were working for very little, very erratic, pay and putting an immense amount of energy into the work.

Investigation was centered on two main study areas, "Worktown," a typical town in the industrial north, and "Metrop," a London borough. From time to time country units were set up to make intensive studies of small non-industrial towns and villages.

In 1938, with war apparently imminent, M.-O. concentrated much of its energy to recording the deeper feelings and reactions of ordinary people to approaching disaster and to the figure on whom hopes and fears centered—Mr. Neville Chamberlain. In the weeks surrounding the Munich Accord, specially intensive study was made of the mood of the people, and some of the results of this work are given in a long chapter in M.-O.'s third book, *Britain* (London: Penguin, 1938). Expressed in figures, this study shows the rapid rise and fall of Chamberlain's popularity from 1 per cent "anti—" on September 15-16, after

his first flight to Berchtesgaden, to 4 per cent after his terms became known, and back again to 10 per cent after his "peace" pact at Munich on September 29. It records what happened and what people said in Downing Street, in the lobbies of the House of Commons, and in their homes during these historic days. It records the frantic fitting of gas masks at local centers all over Britain, the fantastic rumors which spread across the country, and the whole atmosphere of mixed bewilderment, chaos, logic, and semipanic.

M.-O. often uses standard interviewing and opinion-sampling methods in its work, but it differs from other opinion-sampling bodies in an increasing use of purely observational technique. On Nuremberg night, September 12, 1938, for instance, investigators were covering all the focal points in London where crowds gathered. They were not there, like the journalists, to get a good story, but to record exactly what happened and what people said and did. Here is an extract from one of their reports:

Wherever I went on this path from Whitehall to St. James's Park the scraps of conversation were about Germany, Hitler, the last war. In all the talk groups where they were of mixed company, built up from those gathered around, the talk came down from the crisis to how they lived in the last war and the present conditions.

At about 5:45, when the office workers began to leave the offices, we saw a crowd begin to gather on the river side of Whitehall, this slowly from the 20 or so at 5:35 P.M., went on increasing until at about 9 P.M. there would be no less than 9,000 in and about Whitehall.

Every motor car which went up Downing Street was closely scanned by the police and the people peering at it. . . . When the red van of the G.P.O. appeared there was some excitement. A woman: "They're bringing dispatches." Answered by a man: "Naw, lady, them's his love letters." Laughter, followed with one from a woman: "Who'd fall in love with Chamberlain's front teeth, not me, I want something to look at. . . ."

Up at the theatre at the top of Whitehall, "Glorious Morning" is being played. We pass and see the dressed ones leave their cars, a crowd of 40 watching them enter. We hear "They've got a nerve on a night like this to be going to the theatre, haven't they?" A man of 40, ex-soldier: "Nuffing ever will worry them, it's all the same whether he has war or not, they come out all right, mate."

Then into Piccadilly. Here we see the first of the vans with the placard on the side; it screeches as it brakes to the kerb. The sellers make a drive to the back of the van, twelve of them all waiting to grab their bundles. The men are not slow to stand behind them, no asking for either of the three papers, they take the one it happens to be, it's the *Evening News*. The sellers shout "Here you are, lady, all about the Great Speech," then calling out at the top of their voices "Hitler threatens the Czechs," "Hitler will fight," "Here it is at last, Hitler's great speech," "Read the yellow dog's speech," then to one of the men a seller said, "The bastard."

They are selling very fast, people are stopping, you can see that the people on the pavement are not moving about the same. The Commissionaire at the Criterion Cafe is excited, he is looking over the shoulder of a man in evening dress to see what it is.

People are buying the papers and then stopping, moving on to the pavement edge to read them. Others, and these are the greater number, are stepping up to the windows, others into doorways to do the same. There is the same way of holding the papers, we see the papers held sideways, they are all reading the Stop Press news. This finishes at the point where Hitler is threatening the Czechs. Many of the same people are then moving back to catch the new papers, this time the *Star*, they do the same. Others are moving slowly along reading the papers sideways. Then the performance is repeated when the *Standard* arrived. . . .

A man of 45, well-dressed, said viciously to the seller, "Shut up," as he called "Hitler's sensational speech." Then he walks on and observer followed to ask why. Reply, "I'm fed up with these sensation-mongers, they make it a lot worse than it is, in any event they don't help any."

As I walk about with the paper open, others, mainly the younger women, can seen be looking

at the back of the paper, they then go and buy one.

Six-foot man, well-dressed, to the evening-kitted man on the door of the Criterion: "Well, what's he got to say?" Reply: "Oh, nothing, only it looks bad, he tells us what he thinks. It's a lot of angry phrases. I don't think anything will happen unless it's in the later editions."

In a group of 56 people, Observer counted those with and without papers; 39 had them, all of them the special editions. . . . This was on the Criterion side, in a space of less than 4 minutes.

This book also contains an M.-O. study of "The Lambeth Walk," how it originated and what people liked about it in the dance halls. In Lambeth Walk itself investigators talked to cockneys about the origins of the dance, went to private parties in Lambeth at which it was danced and sung with variations, and incidentally unearthed much fascinating social history of this part of London which existed hitherto only in the memories of older cockneys.

Studies of all-in wrestling and a preliminary note on astrology—a subject which has claimed much of M.-O.'s attention during the war—are also included in this book.

In September, 1939, M.-O. had three major book-length studies scheduled for autumn publication. They were to be called "The Pub and the People," "Politics and the Non-voter," "How Religion Works and Doesn't," and "Blackpool." These four books covered three of the great mass institutions of Britain and studied in minute detail the fortnight's break in the year's round of work which centers in the North on the great holiday resort of Blackpool. Unfortunately, war intervened, and these books are still in the publishers' hands. But "The Pub and the People," already in page proof, will probably be ready very soon. It

deals with the whole question of pub-
going, drinking, and the social fulfil-
ments and atmosphere of the public
house.

At the outbreak of war another big
study of jazz, dancing, and dance halls
was nearing completion and has been
brought up to date during the war. This,
too, is waiting for the end of the war for
final drafting and publication.

M.-O. started the war with a panel of
some fifteen-hundred volunteer observ-
ers all over the country, from all walks
of life, and with all sorts of interests and
beliefs. One of the first war jobs it be-
gan—on August 28, 1939—was to ask as
many of these people as could spare the
time and energy to begin keeping day-to-
day personal diaries of everything that
happened to them, the conversations
they heard and took part in, their gen-
eral routine of life, and the impact of the
war on it. A big nucleus of observers has
been keeping this up all through the war.
These diaries have proved of the very
greatest value throughout the war and
will be of even greater interest in com-
piling the social history of war on the
home front when it is over. From them
the impact of any event, any new war-
time restriction, any speech or appeal,
can be estimated in its effects on people's
private lives and opinions. The gradual
acclimatization of the housewife to war-
time household difficulties, of the soldier
to his new existence, of the war workers'
and the evacuees' readjustments to their
new way of life, are all detailed in these
diaries in a way which the most careful
external study could never achieve.
Here, too, are firsthand accounts of the
personal effects of air raids on people,
written on the spot at the time the
bombs were falling—under a kitchen table
in a Birmingham fish and chip shop, in
London shelters, and in Sheffield houses.

At the outbreak of war fifteen full-
time, trained, scientific investigators
were working in M.-O., each taking part
in the routine day-to-day investigations
of opinion, but each also concentrating
on a special subject of which he was mak-
ing a long-term continuous study. Art,
sport, cinema, music hall, religion, jazz,
fashion, shopping habits, astrology, and
pacifism are a few of these. These stud-
ies have been kept up during the war and
are, of course, greatly strengthened by
the detailed information available about
"normal" peacetime trends of feeling and
belief.

But war naturally meant a certain re-
focusing of M.-O.'s attention on the more
specifically wartime phenomena. Large
studies were made of the army of volun-
teers enrolled in the Air Raid Precautions
Services, their reasons for joining, and
the sort of people they were. The human
problems of evacuation from the cities,
already studied in the false alarm of Sep-
tember, 1938, were again studied in de-
tail in September, 1939—and again, of
course, in September, 1940, when the big
blitzes were at their height. But in the
meantime, apart from a few weeks of al-
most total eclipse at the beginning of the
war, peacetime activities carried on, in
new forms and in different surroundings
sometimes, but representing the desire of
people not to make total war a total
blackout.

M.-O.'s first major wartime publica-
tion, *War Begins at Home* (London: Fa-
ber, 1940), shows the impact of war
on the norms of peacetime, the actual
blackout of darkened streets and prowling
air-raid wardens and the psychological
blackout which at first fell on leisure
pleasures of all kinds. This book de-
scribes how, gradually, normal life re-
turned as the war kept away from home,
and how lack of news instead of expected

momentous news started the period of "phony war" thinking which was so suddenly disturbed by the invasion of Holland and Belgium. Chapters in the book deal with the impact of war on dance halls and sport. The first feelings about rationing, effects of war on spending and saving, the rumors which persistently cropped up from nowhere in the early days, the effects of the first bits of official wartime propaganda, and the way commercial interests cashed in on the war in their publicity, are dealt with.

This book appeared in March, 1940, in the calm before the storm and was exceptionally well received by the press and elsewhere. It had not been out long before the phony war gave place to Hitler's spring offensive.

The period from the invasion of Belgium to Dunkirk was the most intensively active of M.-O.'s existence. Detailed records of people's reactions to the news were kept daily, both through the direct method of questioning and by recording all sorts of overheard remarks and conversations in the street, in pubs, cafes, and buses. People were observed in their homes listening to the news on the radio, their day-to-day and sometimes hour-to-hour expectations and fears were recorded, and through the diaries long records of their private conversations and actions were collected. Rumors, including the first versions of the parachutist-nun with hairy hands which persisted for months later in various forms, were carefully collated and sifted each day. In March, M.-O. began asking the question, "What do you think of the news today?" a standard question which has been asked on at least two days a week for the whole war period. Analyzed in a standard scheme, answers to this question give one index to the blend of hope, expectation, interest, and forward-looking which

help to make up that elusive quality, "morale."

Even at the blackest periods of the war—which are from the sociological point of view the most vitally interesting—M.-O. has kept up its record of war's effects on the ordinary peacetime habits such as pub-going, sport, dancing, and so on. The second period of intense organizational pressure occurred, of course, when heavy air raids began in autumn, 1940. The London blitzes and the complete upheaval of deeply rooted lifetime habits which they involved presented a unique opportunity for studying human beings under almost clinical conditions. The huge makeshift shelters and the tubes of London, the great halls full of evacuated people in the provincial towns, provided a section of humanity brought together by no common bond but the common danger. The blitz period, despite and even partly because of its human tragedies, was a field day for M.-O. Investigators spent days and nights in all the various types of shelters in London, keeping a careful record of all that was said and all that happened. In the most blitzed part of London's East End a girl investigator went to live in a vast railway goods yard, taken over by the people (as London's tubes were taken over), for shelter. Here were thousands of people in this high, empty, arched goods yard, with no conveniences of any kind, no sanitation, no food, no social amenities or organization, no common level of belief or interest. They came along early each evening before the sirens blew, with their bundles of bedding, and settled on the floor individually or in parties. The record which this investigator kept of the slow fluctuation of order into this chaos is perhaps one of the most fascinating sociological studies ever made. Here is a small descriptive section

from one of her reports, written on September 13, 1940, showing spontaneous entertainment beginning to grow up among the shelterers:

Entertainment.—None provided, but some arches provide their own. Entertainment of sort to be described takes place mostly in the middle shelters among the Cockneys. In one middle arch, on Friday, a girl played an accordion, while men danced burlesque dances round her. She was a tall, pale girl with long straggly hair, and played effortlessly, with a vacant face. Highly made-up, badly dressed, very poor.

A crowd of rubberers,² watching, were constantly being broken up by the wardens.

After a while, a man in the arch took hold of a woman's hat, and put it on back to front. Then he sidled up to his mate, Mae West-wise, and made some sort of wisecrack. The crowd roared. Gradually, the two worked up some spontaneous cross-talk, which it was impossible to hear from investigator's position. The girl got on to a box of lard, and played louder. The crowd joined in lustily.

In another shelter, a young coster was playing the accordion. He played it well—with fire. A coster girl, about 20, sang a gypsy melody in a clear, high, plaintive voice that would have sounded in place on the stage of the Holborn Empire. Young costers were grouped picturesquely all round the arch, centring the singer in a frame of faces and bodies.

Another archway was playing "Knees-Up-Mother-Brown," running round more and more furiously.

A crowd of drunken seamen (not uniformed) made a chain, and ran round and round the aisles, chanting sea-songs. All effort on the part of wardens to break them up proved fruitless.

Cards were played a good deal, particularly by the Indians, who squatted on the floor and didn't need rugs or blankets.

Not many people were reading—the light was bad. Most people slept.

At this time, too, investigators set off on five routes radiating from London into the remote countryside to record the second great evacuation from London.

² The word used for "rubbernecks" who wandered round the shelter looking for any interesting incident.

These are simply examples of some of the major studies M.-O. has made. It is impossible in the space of an article to give more than a broad idea of the scope of its work. A great many special jobs on wartime problems are combined with the continuing study of the effects of war on all sorts of normal social and communal activity. In the former category are the many investigations into the effects of government propaganda, which are summarized in the report *Home Propaganda* (London: Advertising Service Guild, 1941). The effects of individual leaflets, posters, broadcasts, etc., have been the subject of extensive investigation since war began, and an investigation into people's reactions to the first two posters issued by the government in September, 1939, was the first big job M.-O. did during the war. The effects of official instructions on what to do in invasion or if poison gas is used, attempts to educate the public in food matters, attempts to persuade them to carry their gas masks, to wear a white arm band in the blackout, to join the women's services, to eat whole-meal bread (since become the only available loaf); these are some examples of the sort of work M.-O. has done in these times.

One of the government's advertising campaigns urged people to carry their gas masks with them, another to wear or carry something white in the blackout, so that they could be seen by motor and bus drivers. Since the start of the war M.-O. has made regular counts each week of the proportion of Londoners carrying their gas masks at a number of standard places. Seventy-five per cent carried gas masks in September, 1939. In the following months the figures fell to 60 per cent in October, 35 per cent in November, and steadily down to under 5 per cent in March, 1940. Then, as the war

news became worse they rose, but only to a peak of 30 per cent with the fall of France. By August, 1940, they were again down to under 10 per cent, and again only went up to 30 per cent at the beginning of the blitz period in September. Toward the end of the blitz period in January, 1941, they were again down to between 5 per cent and 10 per cent. The Balkan offensive in April, 1941, only brought the figure up to 20 per cent, and from then on it varied between about 10 per cent and 1 per cent or less. At the height of the propaganda drive figures of 1 per cent and under were recorded in provincial centers. The campaign had no appreciable effect, and a steady fall in gas-mask carrying continued.

Another example of M.-O.'s investigations into the effects of official propaganda was the "Arm White" campaign. This was carried out on an extensive scale by advertisements in the *National Press*, rising to a note of increasing urgency. A typical advertisement showed the outline of a bowler-hatted man proceeding cautiously in the dark wearing a white arm band. Streamers across the black background said:

When walking after dark tonight,
For Safety's sake wear something WHITE.

A hand pointed to heavily leaded and underlined capitals announcing:

THERE WERE 1,146 ROAD DEATHS
LAST MONTH—MOST OF THEM
AVOIDABLE

Throughout this campaign, which lasted many months, M.-O. made counts of the proportion of people in London's blacked-out streets who were carrying anything white. From the beginning to the end of the campaign there was no appreciable improvement whatever in and during the whole period. An average of only one person in a thousand was wear-

ing a white arm band in London, although this was the point primarily and repeatedly illustrated in advertisements.

In this book many other government publicity campaigns are examined, some of them, notably those of the Ministry of Food, having had a relatively good effect, some, like the above, having a practically negligible one. Suggestions are made as to why some campaigns failed and how failure could be avoided in future. The report was widely noticed in the press and very favorably received.

One of the latest major investigations, conducted for six months from October, 1941, was into the human side of industry. A lengthy report on this called *People in Production* was published recently (Advertising Service Guild, 1942). This book attempts to put the question of optimum industrial production into the context of human needs and desires. It shows how minor internal frictions within works and factories can affect efficiency, the effects of travel and shopping, difficulties, household worries, provisions for eating, rest and recreation within the factory, on-the-whole enthusiasm and morale of the factory worker. The results of this investigation, the most ambitious single job that M.-O. has tackled during the war, received very high praise from very diverse quarters in big business, medicine, the technical and trade press as well as the general press, and privately from numerous individuals in the civil service, politics, and science.

The *Sunday Observer* carried a long commentary on this report on its leader page (April 26, 1942) which included the following:

It is important that we should arrive at some definite conclusions about the immense process in which millions of British citizens are now engaged. No better guide could be found than the book just brought out by Tom Harrisson. His book, though it masquerades under an official

title, provides not only better reading than most fiction, but also a new and lively approach to one of the most vital problems of war and peace—the human factor in industry.

A loud noise needs to be made about that word "human." When we summon up figures of man-hours and machines we are apt to forget that the associations, tastes, nerves and metabolism of each human individual are vital factors of output. The bureaucratic or mechanistic yardstick simply will not do. In the words of the author of this book, "It is almost impossible to separate fact, feeling and fantasy. . . . Ideas that people have about what is going on determine their behaviour as much as, and often more than, what is actually going on in the thing they have ideas about. And if there is a gulf between the thing and the idea that people have about it, the popular idea is likely to modify and upset the thing itself, in the long run if not in the short one."

The *Times* industrial correspondent contributed a long article summarizing the report (April 18). The liberal *Manchester Guardian's* first leader (April 17) was a commentary on it, and concluded:

The Mass-Observation report does show how much slackness and friction can be traced to the lack of the sense of urgency, to the failure to grasp the value of one's job, and more than anything else to the persistence of pre-war habits of mind. The skilled man is resentful at training a woman; the employer is resentful because he is compelled to put up a canteen; over all hangs the fear of an inevitable economic depression after the war. But the Government departments are often equally remiss. The Select Committee reports that one Production Department "clearly indicated that it did not regard the economical use of labour as its business." The Mass-Observation report quotes an official who said that his Supply Department was only a customer. "It's not our business to find out how efficient firms are or are not." We have all much to learn and not too much time to do it in.

The report was widely recognized as contributing something new in the study of the human side of industrial efficiency and mood. It is about to be brought out in popular abbreviated form by Penguin Books.

Much of M.-O.'s current work is concerned with people's ideas for post-war reconstruction both internally and internationally. A big investigation has just been completed on people's post-war housing needs, run concurrently in the main types of housing area—flats, housing estates, rows of houses, garden city, etc. Present needs and future hopes have been investigated in detail in all these areas, and much information made available for planners, who tend sometimes to be divorced from the actual desires of the people they are planning for. Post-war desires for educational reform, the social services, medicine, and politics are also being investigated.

Meanwhile, in the midst of these special jobs, the routine work of M.-O. carries on. There are one hundred major subjects, embracing every important facet of human activity, which M.-O. decided to cover at the beginning of the war. Here are some of these subjects:

Astrology	Pets
Amateur dramatics	Private conversations
Adult education	Private letters
Ballet	Photography
Bags and wrappers	Politics
Books and reading	Pacifism
Cinema	Pamphlets
Clubs	Radio
Children's stories	Rumor
Civil service	Religion
Civil defense	Services
Fashion	Science
Finance, saving, and spending	Schools
Food and menus	Sport
Gardens	Shop displays
Government propaganda	Temperance
Health and medicine	Theater
Jazz	Trade
Music hall	Trade-unions
	Works and factories
	Youth organizations

A regular watch is kept on all these items, and many more, as their impact is felt by people in their everyday lives. Since

the war began, thirty-three directives of half a dozen questions have been answered by the National Panel, on carefully selected key questions, making some two hundred detailed investigations undertaken in this way alone. The trained staff of investigators is continually on the job, working on a carefully arranged and indexed plan to keep information on all these subjects always up to date. Backing and expanding on these records are the diaries, running now into many millions of words, which supply a wealth of supplementary material from the personal experience of the ordinary people at home.

Another side to M.-O.'s work which is not observational, but without which the interpretation of the results of observations would be incomplete, is the war library. This contains the published material of the war, a cross-section of the innumerable written and printed things which people come across in their everyday lives and which help to form the opinions, feelings, and beliefs which M.-O. investigates and records. Besides the big journals and newspapers and major official propaganda, specimens are collected of the publications of all sorts of minor organizations, their leaflets, posters, catalogues, broadsheets, and bulletins. Ephemeral pamphlets, disappearing a few days after their distribution, the leaflets put out by shopkeepers, the posters and publications of temperance organizations and church bodies, pacifists, horticulturalists, and pet owners are all focused these days to varying extents on the war. Their effects on the people who read them and whose particular interests they represent may be just as great as that of national newspapers and big weekly and monthly periodicals. Yet it is the job of no central organization to preserve them. M.-O. realized the

need for social history after the war to have access to this type of material and has been assembling this war library since 1939 with the help of its fifteen hundred observers, who assure specimen material from all parts of Britain.

There are thus three main levels at which M.-O. records human behavior and social change in wartime Britain: (1) through its trained staff of investigators, who record public opinion by reliable sampling methods and whose training in objective observation enables them to obtain an accurate record of external behavior; (2) through the National Panel of Observers, who report largely on their own opinions and subjective reactions, thus giving information about private opinion and feeling; (3) through the war library, which provides the background of published opinion and gives a key to the influences impacting on people and helping to develop the opinions and behavior recorded through (1) and (2).

It will be seen that M.-O. has set itself a fairly stiff task in recording the effects of this war, but, since it is the only organization which is attempting this job in Britain or which is equipped for it by pre-war experience, an ambitious program seems essential. The organizers of M.-O. feel that purely quantitative methods—the only methods used to any great extent by any other organization engaged in work at all similar—are inadequate by themselves for recording the social history of this war, though they have, of course, many uses and are used extensively by M.-O. itself. M.-O. seeks to get at the depth and quality of opinion, to find out what people are thinking and doing privately, among their friends, in their homes, and in their own minds.

M.-O. has no big, steady financial backing or grants. It lives by the jobs it

does for all sorts of official and unofficial bodies, for disinterested individuals, and by its own articles in the press and broadcasts over the B.B.C. Though it has developed a great deal since 1937, and has learned much through the special stresses and conditions of war, that part of its work which is most original is at the same time most experimental. There is still a great deal to learn and much experimentation in technique to be developed.

On many subjects there is a considerable difference between what a person will say to a stranger, such as a doorstep interviewer, and what he says in the privacy of his own circle of friends. This is particularly true in wartime when the social sanction against expressing, for instance, opinions critical of war leaders or of the direction of the war itself is exceptionally strong.

Since the war began, M.-O. has devoted more and more attention to indirect methods of approach, to overheard conversations, to purely observational work among people. Technique for this qualitative study of behavior and opinion at a more intimate level than that recorded by the doorstep interviewer is at present in an early experimental stage,

but, though it has a long way to develop before it reaches technical perfection, it can be used in studying many questions where "interviewing" yields little result. For instance, the effects of war on religious faith, on feelings about death, on sex life, on people's more detailed beliefs about what they want in the post-war world, have been investigated in this way in recent months through the National Panel. In such cases either a more intimate approach than the doorstep interview or more time for thought than a verbal question allows is required. M.-O. is particularly concerned with people's behavior, their subjective feelings, their worries, frustrations, hopes, desires, expectations, and fears. The complex machinery which it has built up for recording these things has developed now over a period of five years and been strengthened by the experience of war. Though still in a highly experimental stage, it is the only available machinery for recording social change in Britain at these deeper and more significant levels, and all its efforts are devoted to keeping this record as objectively and in as great detail as time and technique allow.

MASS OBSERVATION
LETCWORTH, HERTS, ENGLAND

COMMENT ON THE SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY OF SHAME

KURT RIEZLER

ABSTRACT

Shame is neither a purely social nor a merely sexual phenomenon. Its universality points to a fundamental pattern of human life. Shame has a function in a process of formation which is both individual and social. This functional meaning can be constant though the contents of shame vary and change. An analysis of the connotations of the words for shame in different languages suggests the relation between shame and awe. *Pudenda* and *veneranda* are interrelated.

I

Anthropologists, in comparing cultures, find different tribes ashamed of different things. Obviously they could not make such comparisons unless they had a certain knowledge of an attitude called shame as distinct from the contents of shame, the *pudenda*. The variations the anthropologists report seem to concern the content, not the attitude. In many a study of the genesis of social norms man is a clean slate on which different conditions write different stories. Shame, we are told, has to do with habits. Habits are products of yesterday's conditions. But how is it that each of the different stories has a chapter about shame? Everywhere man blushes and conceals. Human life, under all conditions, seems to move within the frame of a fundamental pattern in which an attitude called shame may have a hidden place.

The phenomenon called shame is broad. Man, as his own observer, can be ashamed of things of which no one knows. It is not a matter of course that the individual is ashamed of merely violating the moral code of the group to which he belongs. Nor is it a matter of course that shame should be tied up with sex. A human being can be ashamed of a cowardly or mean act that even the psychoanalyst may fail to connect with sex. Man can be ashamed of himself and his actions or of others—friends, parents,

children—and their actions, ashamed even of his country.

At the threshold of any inquiry into human attitudes and emotions we stumble over a difficulty that concerns the relations between things and their names. In different languages the same things have different names: stone, flower, horse. The name, then, does not alter the thing. But emotions or attitudes merge into one another in countless nuances, transitions, and mixtures. There are no sharp, unmistakable frontiers. Different languages do not draw exactly the same distinctions. Where the human heart is concerned, languages seem to be attempts to lay hands on an evasive subject matter. Each tries to solve an unsolvable problem in its own, and never entirely satisfactory, manner. We admire the subtleness of one for the shades of emotion it can express and deplore the clumsiness of another.

Names lead our thinking, but they do not create things; whenever they seem to create things, these things are not necessarily the right ones. At any rate, we do not determine what shame is by determining the meaning of the term, that is, the conventional use of "shame" in English. English and German have one word for "shame"—*Scham*; French and Greek each have two: *pudeur* and *honte*, *Aischyne* and *Aidos*. The use of two words emphasizes a difference; the use of

one, in blurring the difference, stresses a kinship. Each usage may have its strength and its weakness.

Let us begin with a simple case. A mother scolds her child for a mean act. "Aren't you ashamed of yourself?" "Schämst du dich nicht?" "N'as-tu pas honte?" Mothers in all civilizations talk in this or a similar manner to their children, whatever moral or social code determines the things of which the child should be ashamed. The attitude called shame may be the same, though the content may be different.

A boy is eager to ride on a pony. A little afraid, he hesitates. The mother reproves him: "Aren't you ashamed?" Even if she adds, "Imagine if someone saw that you are afraid," she wants her son to be ashamed of himself as his own observer. Do we really need the social group and its moral code demanding courage? There is something in the soul of the boy that corresponds to the moral code of courage and to the motherly reprimand; without this something the boy would hardly respond.

Perhaps the mother can teach him merely the things of which he should be ashamed, thus directing his shame toward certain contents. To an entirely shameless being, shame cannot be taught. The teacher of such a being could only substitute fear for shame.

What part in an appeal to shame does the observer play? He does not represent merely a social or moral code imposed from without. The boy is anxious lest someone see that he is afraid. He tries to conceal his fear, at least from others; not because shame is merely social and always with respect to others, but because, if others know, the fact is established and his image of himself is put beyond his own power of forgetting and remembering. One cannot prevent others from knowing

unless one possesses the power of killing. A powerful man, wishing to save his own image of himself, may on that ground alone cause another man to die.

Though not "merely" social, shame is still a social phenomenon. The individual himself is a social phenomenon. The boy builds up an image of himself for others as well as for himself. He cannot help being to himself what he is to others. His life in others is part of himself. He wants to be something to others. If he cannot be what he wants to be, he tries to appear to be what he cannot be. If he is not contented with himself as others see him, he tries to console himself with his own self-image; if he does not approve of his self-image, he seeks consolation in what others think about him. We adjust ourselves to the norms of others and try to adjust others to our norms. Our "being-to-others" and our "being-to-ourselves" are not side by side. They have been correlated ever since man's beginning. Life is their give and take, the play of their concord and discord.

Shame is a phenomenon as old, if not older, than man. What is its function?

Man, in being something to himself, behaves toward himself. Even in behaving toward others, he cannot help behaving toward himself. He can love and hate, respect and despise himself. He can be content and angry with himself. He can be truthful and a liar to himself. This behaving toward himself does not presuppose introspection, self-observation, a conscious act in which a man directs his attention toward his self. The phenomenon springs the bounds of these terms. Man is a finite creature, in need and danger. He is moved and acted upon. But in being moved he moves; in being acted upon he acts. He builds up his world in relation to himself, himself in relation to his world. Since he is finite,

his world is never quite the world. The self he builds is never quite his self. He is both creator and creatum. There is a double nature in man, but the creator is not necessarily the creatum. When we say that man builds up his "self" we should realize that the builder is not the building. We can differentiate the I and the Me. At any moment the I puts another Me, which should be and perhaps never will be actual, ahead of the actual Me. The I may even draw beyond all actual Me's an image of a Me for his own eyes or for the eyes of others, believing and making believe. The distinction between an unconscious and a conscious ego by no means corresponds to this distinction between the I and the Me. Both the unconscious and the conscious have their share in this formative process and a part in both the I and the Me. In this process in which a finite creator builds up his self as his creatum shame resides. It covers and conceals the vulnerable spots and protects man against himself and against others. The root of the English "shame" and the German "Scham" is in a Gothic word "Schama" which signifies cover and which is also the root of the German "Hemd," shirt, and the English and French "chemise."

II

To begin from another angle, wise men in all countries and ages have advised their friends never to put a man to shame lest they create a kind of hate keener than the hate from any other source and slower to heal. Man resents being put to shame, being compelled to confront not only others but also himself, bared in all his meanness. There is no doubt about the strength and tenacity of the resentment created. The less the opportunity left a man to save his face, at least in his own eyes, the deeper and more persistent

the resentment. The reason the needy find it difficult to be grateful for help and gifts is because they are prone to be ashamed of their neediness. The man who puts us to shame interferes in the delicate process by which the I builds up the Me. If such interference destroys the unconscious work, the response of many a man is hate.

Whenever parents and teachers, in educating children, put them to shame they take or should take care, that they merely guide and do not disturb their children's development. To this end, they should avoid shaming a child before strangers. Enmity, on the other hand, prefers to shame in the presence of others and gloats over the moral destruction in which the I of the foe faces the debris of his Me.

To avoid putting anyone to shame is the first commandment of a social code, called "tact," one of the few that can be formulated. Tact is common to all civilizations and not merely a refinement of an advanced society. If tact is not confused with good manners, we may discover that primitive tribes or free peasants are distinguished by their native tact. This kind of tact may lead us to some fundamental norms that hardly change in history, provided they are formulated in terms of man's relation to man. Not to put a man to shame is one of these norms.

In social life, in both fiction and reality, there are what we call embarrassing situations. Social tact demands that we avoid creating such a situation. Whenever someone is openly put to shame, we suffer even as mere observers with the person involved. We cannot help feeling his shame. This phenomenon points to the queer fact that social life tends to be sociable. It creates, always and everywhere, certain norms of behavior as th

basis of sociability. Some of these norms do not change. Sociability presupposes some feeling for the ways of others—the will not to hurt, not to touch sensitive spots, not to disclose delicate secrets at the bottom of other souls, not to disparage the things others venerate. It demands something that could be called a sixth sense, a feeling in the tips of one's fingers, a kind of intuition of the other fellow's subconscious bases or of the formative process in which his I builds up his Me. This process is everyone's secret unknown to himself. It should be respected. If it is not, friendship is not friendly and social life not sociable.

There is much talk about inferiority complexes. The term means a behavior of man toward himself, a particular relation between the I and the Me. The proprietors of inferiority complexes are unconsciously ashamed of themselves. They waver between depressions and attacks of hatred; extremely suspicious, they ascribe to everyone they meet the contempt in which they hold themselves. Goethe complains of people:

denen das Wesen wie du bist
stets ein stiller Vorwurf ist.

They are avid for praise, public honor, or visible success, hoping in vain to convince themselves of a value with which they cannot credit themselves. When put to shame, they neither forgive nor forget. Retaliation, even success, is no cure. Resentment is one of the most potent forces in history and can give to both individuals and social groups the vigor essential to conquer the realms of happier but perhaps weaker people who, pleased with themselves, acquiesce in an accomplished unity between the I and the Me. Experience decides against the smug. The tension between the creator and the creatum alone gives strength.

Man's essence is motion; he is a being directed in itself that is never entirely what it wants or ought to be. This is but another way of expressing what I call the tension between the I and the Me. It belongs to the structure of a formative process in which shame has its function.

III

Shame is so closely connected with sex that many seem almost to forget that there are things apart from sex of which man can be ashamed. Our Christian tradition suggests that sexual matters are sinful and therefore things to be ashamed of. The association of a bad conscience with sexuality as such is a Christian peculiarity. But it was not Christianity that brought shame into sex.

We ought to be very careful ere we assume that there are "shameless" tribes. Numerous tribes seem shameless according to our codes. They have their own codes, however, within which our acts do not have our meanings. Their codes, however shameless they may seem to us, differentiate as well as ours between shame and shamelessness. Nature herself seems to connect sex with shame. Every inquiry into this problem meets great difficulties. The preconceptions in our theories of sex prevent us from discovering the facts. Some people even distort the facts before trying to observe them.

A few undeniable facts that concern different functions of shame in matters of sex may help to articulate the problem, at least in a preliminary way. The phenomena are tender; words are harsh.

1. Shame asks for the concealment of our sexual actions. It guards their privacy. All peoples exclude the observer. The observer or he who consents to being observed is shameless. Thus shame seems to be concerned less with the sexu-

al actions themselves than with their observation. Talk offends more than action. Mephisto says in Faust:

Du darfst es nicht vor keuschen Ohren nennen,
Was keusche Herzen nicht entbehren koennen.

The devil, shameless by nature, sneers at what he fails to understand. Though codes differ widely, we may say that within each the offense to shame by talk is greater the less familiar people are with one another. Societies that admit, relish, or even cultivate a way of talking about sex that to puritans seems utterly shameless have their own way of bowing before shame. They usually develop a code of their own which stipulates at least that the veil shall not be removed unless with wit or grace.

2. All peoples require a sense of shame in youngsters, especially in young girls. Shame suits youth and protects the growth of sexual maturity. It plays a role in the selection of the first sexual companion. The nurse upbraids Juliet: "Have you no modesty, no maiden shame?" Everyone makes allowance to Juliet for the strength of her passion. She may violate the social code as interpreted by nurses; she does not violate the human code. Each of her sweet words is full of "modesty and maiden shame." Obviously our judgment of whether an attitude is shameless or not depends on the presence or absence of a mysterious something called "love," whatever it may be.

In Sanskrit the word for shame means the reserve and defense that in the game of love is appropriate to the female part even in the eyes of the libidinous male. Poets of most ages and countries praise this sort of shame. As males writing for audiences of males, they suggest that to love alone should shame yield through love.

Obviously we cannot deal with shame in sex without introducing love. Love is not coextensive with sex. There is sex without love and perhaps even love without sex. Since, however, man has fancied that he could reduce love, as a sublimation of a biological urge, to sex, a few words in defense of my view are a necessity today. I am not sure whether the word "sublimation" has a definite meaning. It seems to me that its role is to de-sublimate love by suggesting that love is nothing but sex, i.e., a biological urge. Armed with such a preconception, the psychologist does not have to describe the sublimation and look at what really happens between a man and a woman in love besides the satisfaction of a biological urge. Hence the blindness in the modern scientific literature concerning matters of Eros. I do not dare to set forth a theory of love. When I use the word, I refer to the plain fact that relations between human beings can be such that the I and the You build up a We as the whole of an intimate world in which they are obliged to be to themselves what they are to each other and are permitted to be to each other what they are to themselves.¹ This phenomenon cannot be reduced to sex, though it may require and create, or be required and created by, sexual intercourse. Shame seems to safeguard the youthful genesis of love against the biological urge and thus to watch over the sublimation of sex.

3. The further role shame plays between two sexual companions depends on love. Mutual love banishes shame. In a sexual intercourse that we imagine to be the mere satisfaction of a biological urge and without a tinge of love shame insists on being present; without love,

¹ Cf. my article, "Jack and Jill," a comment on some basic sociological concepts, in *Social Research*, November, 1939.

the companion becomes the observer. Shame decreases with increasing love, increases with decreasing love. It takes its leave when love reaches its peak and reappears when love takes its leave. Shame protects love in sex against sex without love.

The matter is so delicate, however, that the more precise one tries to be the more inadequate the description becomes. It seems to shun bright light. Are we really right in saying that shame disappears in passionate love? Perhaps we should say that it merely changes its code. Intimacy seems to prescribe and create its special code, a subtle thing, which guards the I against the You as well as the You against the I and perhaps even the We against both the I and the You. We may say that this fragile thing is not shame but tact. Tact, however, implies shame. Mutual tact respects mutual shame.

These meager remarks merely indicate a diversity of function under different conditions. Even they, however, give an outline that thorough analysis can certainly enrich but scarcely alter. I am aware of the countless variations in each civilization or period that enliven the story of shame with unique shades and inflections. But historic interest should not induce the student of human nature to miss the sameness of the theme. The melody is faint but audible.

The melody, the same despite all the variable *pudenda* and their diverse manifestations, compels us to admit a meaning of shame that is not a creation of man-made moral codes or of interests of social groups. This shame is not a *creatum* but part of the inner structure of a creative process in which men build up their selves and their countless worlds. The contents of shame, the *pudenda*, depend upon the different worlds man cre-

ates; shame itself preserves the sameness of its function provided we are careful to determine it in terms of an inner structure of human life instead of using the identities of a material world as the frame of reference.

Although Nature dislikes to divulge her secret, I may inquire whether the language is right in using one and the same word for shame both in and outside sex.

We react to both kinds of shame in one and the same way: we blush and we conceal. Since the reaction does not depend upon social codes or historical changes we might follow the lead Nature seems to indicate. In and outside sex shame prevents us from doing what, if done, would make us blush and conceal. Shame guides a process of formation and shields its vulnerable spots, solicitous for what is frail and fragile. This may be our own Self, the Me or the image of the Me in our own eyes or in the eyes of others. It may even be another self, in whose name we feel shame or whom we avoid putting to shame. It may be the privacy of our sexual life, the mysterious something called love, its growth or its intimacy, the We and its barriers. Shame stresses the secret. Every creator has his secret, beyond his *creata*.

Both the French and the Greek use two words. Their distinction, however, does not correspond to the distinction between sexual and nonsexual matters. *Pudeur* means a kind of shame that tends to keep you from an act, whereas you may feel *honte* after an act. Customary loose usage tends to blur the distinction and to forget that you may feel *pudeur* outside sex and *honte* within sex.

IV

The Greek distinction between *Aidos* and *Aischyne* does not correspond to the

French between *pudeur* and *honte*; nor has it anything to do with a distinction between sexual and nonsexual matters. The old grammarians² define: "*Aidos* est pudor profectus ex verecundia. *Aischyne* est pudor profectus ex turpitudine." The origin of *Aischyne* is dishonor, of *Aidos*, awe. Dishonor puts the emphasis on man-made codes. If you are ashamed of violating or having violated such codes, the Greeks use the verb that corresponds to the noun *Aischyne*. *Aidos* is not concerned merely with man-made codes. You feel *Aidos* when confronted with things nature tells you to revere and not violate. Shame in sexual matters is *Aidos*, not *Aischyne*. In the *Odyssey* Hephaistos catches his wife, Aphrodite, with her lover, Ares, in nets he spread around Aphrodite's bed. He calls all the gods and goddesses to look at the adulterous couple. The gods hurry to the place, but the goddesses stay at home out of shame. Homer calls this shame *Aidos*.

A mighty personality, be it a king, poet, or philosopher, is *Aidoios*. *Aidoia* is the word for the sexual organs. You feel *Aidos* when you enter a temple, a holy grove, the shadow of a cave, the dark of a wood. These things have a secret you should respect. In the courts of Attica the defendant had his place beside a stone dedicated to *Aidos*; the stone on the opposite side, the place of the prosecutor, was dedicated to *Anaideia*, shamelessness. The one is entitled to conceal, the other obliged to unmask.

In Euripides' tragedy, *Hippolytos*, the pure youth, Hippolytos, enters the holy grove of Artemis at dawn and offers the goddess a crown of flowers.

My Goddess Mistress, I bring you ready woven
This garland. It was I that plucked and wove it,

Plucked it for you in your Inviolable Meadow.
No shepherd dares to feed his flock within it:
No reaper plies a busy scythe within it:
Only the bees in springtime haunt the Inviolable Meadow.

Its gardener is the *Spirit Reverence* who
Refreshes it with water from the river.
Not those who by instruction have profited
To learn, but in whose very soul the seed
Of Chastity towards all things alike
Nature has deeply rooted, they alone
May gather flowers there! the wicked may not.³

The *Spirit Reverence* of the translation is *Aidos*. These lines, I think, are eloquent enough to disclose the particular flavor of the term. We should not disregard the wisdom of such wording as an arbitrariness of a language, or a Greek peculiarity that may interest the historian alone. *Aidos* links shame to awe: this link may be in the things themselves, whether or not the language retains it in the connotations of its words.

Shame is rooted, as I have said, in the formative process we call the life of man. So is awe. Shame protects, awe guides this process. Man is a being directed toward a whither—creative but finite. As he is finite, he is in need and danger, dependent on things that are beyond his power. Thus he is bound to take heed lest he go astray. As he is creative he is bound to revere consciously or unconsciously, building up before himself an image and tending to transcend every present actuality of his Self. It is in the name of such an image that shame warns, protects, and conceals. As a finite being endowed with a bit of creativity gropes its way, it is, in any phase, both limping behind and running ahead of itself: between shame and awe. Neither a noncreative finite being nor an infinite creator can feel either shame or awe.

² *Thesaurus Stephani*, under *Aidos*. Others quoted, Damascenus, Aristoxenus, Ammonius, stress the same point.

³ Translation by David Grene, *Three Greek Tragedies* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1942).

Both God and the devil, the infinite creator and the infinite destroyer, are beyond shame and awe.

V

If a boy is ashamed of wearing childish pants, he looks up to another kind of pants he or his group holds in higher esteem. *Pudenda* and *veneranda* imply each other. Behind every *pudendum* is hidden a *venerandum*, though man may refuse to recognize it as such. *Pudenda* may lose their *veneranda*. You may inherit a *pudendum*; its origin may be a *venerandum* of a social group of times forgotten. *Pudenda*, in outliving their *veneranda*, outlive themselves.

History tells a tale of impervious complexity. Civilizations, social groups of all kinds, individuals as they grow, build up systems of *pudenda* and *veneranda*. These systems may be called moral, social, or religious codes, rules of taboo and mana, or have no name at all. They may be conscious, half-conscious, or unconscious. They tend to be systems. Man tends to build up his self and his world as consistent wholes, not as aggregates. As a social group or an individual develops, aggregates converge toward a focus. An elaborate whole is shaped. In this process man adjusts conditions to himself as well as himself to conditions. An "environment" becomes a "world." In achieving a personality man drops those of his *pudenda* and *veneranda*, opinions or lines of behavior which were merely casual, or alters their functions and meanings, relates the one to the other, or shapes new habits that are less casual, thus building up himself, his "world," the conscious or unconscious norms of his behavior as a consistent whole. A civilization tends to follow the same pattern. The focus of this unity remains beyond our conscious thinking. In both a strong personality

and a high civilization we recognize the fact by admiring its secret.

As civilizations decay *pudenda* and *veneranda* become anemic; systems disintegrate into aggregates. Life quits the fragments. Man inherits petrified habits. Mothers still transmit to children pieces of a forgotten whole. Children outgrow fear and learn to disregard the lifeless pieces. Rules of mana and taboo in primitive tribes often seem to us but aggregates of unconnected superstitions. The tribes may have still better excuses for the inconsistency of their *pudenda* and *veneranda* than we have for ours. They may be very old, stabilized products of a long history they do not remember.

Growth and decay, however, are interwoven; most periods are both young and old at the same time. The official system of *pudenda* and *veneranda* need not be the real system; it may be but the system of yesterday and still govern institutions and terms, though no longer acts. Moreover, the real system governing the acts of parents and teachers may not be the real system of their children. While parents complain that their children have neither shame nor reverence, children may be shaping a system of their own, which sometimes promises to be both more consistent and more honest.

Since the individual shapes his self and builds his world in relation to others to whom he wants to be what he is to himself and cannot help that his being-to-others is part of his being-to-himself, growth and decay of individual and social systems are interlocked. The individual itself is a social, and sociability an individual, phenomenon. In a tensile civilization the system of *pudenda* and *veneranda* is the framework of the particular social systems built by individuals or groups; in a loosened civilization they

are often merely *disjecta membra* thrown together into jerry-built edifices. During all the phases of this indefatigable process of dependency and creation, shame and awe hold hands. Wherever there is still some creativity they are present. "Shameless" times, if there are any, are periods of destruction. So are times without any kind of awe. But even in such times shame and awe are present by their very absence—as need and want in human hearts.

As we move, the mental, social, or moral space in which we live goes on moving. Nevertheless, the codes of shame and awe may change; shame and awe themselves are not products of history but structural elements of the process itself and therefore neither younger nor older than man, though probably older than God and the devil.

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THE CONCEPTUAL STATUS OF SOCIAL DISORGANIZATION

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ABSTRACT

The sociologist is often guilty of reifying his constructs. As a result, it is necessary to clarify the use of social disorganization as a frame of reference. Social disorganization can be viewed most fruitfully as a process rather than a condition. In the effort to understand this process, we are confronted with at least five basic approaches which emphasize economics, cultural lag, semantics, psychiatry, and group breakdown. Only the concept of group breakdown has enough precision and scope to be really adequate. It can be used as a symptom, as a crucial factor, and as a frame of reference. It is important not to confuse these three uses. Thus, social disorganization refers to a dynamic state of interpersonal relations. This can be reduced to a study of the group-individual relationship which, in turn, can best be investigated by the full utilization of psychiatric materials.

I

Society, culture, family, group, and, lately, the individual—these have been the objects of much sociological inquiry, at least since the founding of “social statics” by Comte. Their reification has, however, been responsible for their not being considered for what they actually are: *conceptual frames of reference*. It is not difficult to see how, after being preoccupied with the study of “society” for many years, the sociologist would begin to believe that such a concept has an existence of its own, apart from the activities of a number of individuals. We often speak learnedly of “social processes,” or of “cultural change,” and forget the fact that they are not dynamic, they do nothing at all: “culture” does not change; it is Smith₁, Smith₂, . . . Smith_n, who are not behaving the way they formerly did.¹

We could describe the above-named concepts as “referential entities.” They are referential in the sense that they are simply focal referents in terms of which certain problems are oriented. “Entity” is used to indicate that, in actual practice,

these concepts have often been viewed as “real.”

There are three reasons for using these referential entities: (1) as a rhetorical device in order to convince people of some particular value, e.g., invoking society or the family as a moral force; (2) to point out things which might otherwise be overlooked; (3) because one actually believes that they really operate and function in the external world. Now we have no methodological quarrel with those who utilize them for the first reason mentioned, and, since there is no need to whip a dead horse, we can eliminate the third justification. Therefore, we shall concern ourselves with the general use of these terms as constructs in the explanation of social data. In dealing with a construct such as “social disorganization,” it is important to realize why we use it at all: what we are doing when we ascribe social disorganization to a given range of social facts.

We know that explanations are not possible in human affairs if one attempts to link the facts which have to be explained with other observable facts. It is methodologically necessary to introduce between any given range of directly observable facts a number of concepts or constructs so that we may derive, or ex-

¹ For further elaboration of this thesis see F. Allport, *Institutional Behavior* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1933); also R. Lynd, *Knowledge for What?* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1939).

plain scientifically, these observable processes.² Now scientific explanations are possible only if two conditions are fulfilled: (1) the conceptual properties are clearly defined; (2) an empirical process or operation is defined which permits one to determine whether or not, in a concrete case, the concept "exists."³ In this paper we shall be concerned only with an analysis of some of the conceptual properties of the construct "social disorganization" and a number of its implications and corollaries. Space does not permit a detailed analysis of those empirical operations that help us determine the existence of the phenomena in question.⁴

We must decide first whether or not a given range of social facts is an instance of a process or a condition.⁵ As a condition, social disorganization is synonymous with what are usually known as "social problems" or, more rhetorically, "social pathology." Disorganization is thus construed to be "abnormal," a symptom of a "sick" society. If one assumes this view, one becomes involved in trying to decide whether a given social event is a social problem or not. What constitutes a social problem is, in the last analysis, a matter of judgment as to what constitutes social welfare. When-

ever a satisfactory set of social problems is obtained, those who interpret disorganization as a condition can point to this aggregate and assert that this is social disorganization.

Probably the best ways to evaluate such a hypothesis are in terms of its ability to shed new light on the data in question and its fruitfulness in research. As for the first criterion, we find that it is not productive of any insight; rather it is nothing more than a static, unreal, and misleading definition. All that it does is to identify, in circular fashion, two groups of social phenomena, one not known to us any more than the other. We do not know anything more than that when there are social problems there is social disorganization. It is interesting to note that this notion, like many other social theories, is not a proposition as it claims to be, or a statement of fact, but is simply an arbitrary definition. Its lack of precision and scope, that is, its inadequacy, can be seen in the fact that whereas disorganization is, in the last analysis, a dynamic state of behavior, the "condition hypothesis" is static in character. That it is nonproductive, not only of insight, but also of possibilities of research, is seen in the fact that not one investigation has been able to use it. Moreover, those who talk in its terms have never felt it necessary to demonstrate its utility, and from this we may conclude that its static, definitory nature precludes scientific value.

The situation is very different when we come to evaluate the "process hypothesis" of social disorganization. Since "process" traditionally refers to a "mode in which a series of events involving human beings occur,"⁶ we see how much

² See Kurt Lewin, *Conceptual Representation and Measurement of Psychological Forces* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1938), for an illuminating discussion of the role of concepts in explanation.

³ Note the recent surge of interest of the psychologists in the operational definition of their concepts.

⁴ There are at least five of these techniques available to the sociologist: the life-history; sociometric techniques, including the psychodrama; the "casual breakdown"; psychiatric interview data; and various projective methods for personality study. I hope to make a discussion of them the subject of a second paper.

⁵ See E. Mowrer, "Methodological Problems in Social Disorganization," *American Sociological Review*, VI (1941), 839-49.

⁶ R. Park and E. Burgess, *Introduction to the Science of Sociology* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1925).

closer to reality this view comes. It is also significant that the best two studies of social disorganization have employed this conception of disorganization as a process. I refer, of course, to the investigations of Durkheim, and of Thomas and Znaniecki. Consequently, its dynamic character and fruitfulness in research would appear to warrant the use of disorganization as a process rather than a condition.

Our next problem is: How can we best understand the process of social disorganization? There are at least five different answers to this question as found in the current literature on the subject.

1. There are those who argue that we can best understand it in economic terms or, more specifically, in terms of the pecuniary calculus and motives of the capitalist system. We are all familiar with this whole approach, so I shall just attempt to summarize the main line of reasoning. The basic presupposition is that our economic system is based on profit with need playing a minor role. But the important thing is that we are living during the decline of this system—the evidence being what is usually termed “social disorganization.” No longer is capitalism able to provide people with the necessities of life; consequently, we see all around us an increase in crime and suicide. The failure of our system to provide a minimum measure of security for individuals has resulted in an increase in divorce, prostitution, alcoholism, delinquency, etc. Thus, social breakdown can be attributed to the breakdown of the capitalist system.

The more ideological aspects of capitalism are stressed by Lynd⁷ and by Karen Horney.⁸ They are concerned

with the effects of competition and individualism upon persons living in our culture. Lynd points out how the ethics of competition and co-operation result in an ambivalence which brings about individual disorganization and is subsequently reflected in social disorganization. Dr. Horney places the competitive emphasis of our life at the root of the neurotic's inability to adjust. The conflicts in our society are precisely the ones which the neurotic tries to reconcile. She and Lynd both believe that social disorganization, as we know it, is a relatively new phenomenon.

There is no doubt that “capitalism” is of vital importance in bringing about some of our present social problems. To argue, however, that it is the operation of the profit motive that is mainly responsible implies the belief that if we abolished this motive then disorganization would disappear. But this is nonsense, simply because the indices of social disorganization have appeared in other, widely variant cultures where the profit motive was not so socially powerful, e.g., Greece, Rome, the Bantus, etc.⁹ However, to deny a univocal causal relation is not to deny the fact that economic relations, among others, are very important. The significant point is this: How much do we know about disorganization if we view it solely in economic terms? We find that all we know are those aspects of the phenomenon that are economic in character. It does not have the broad scope necessary for an adequate frame of reference, since it leaves out the noneconomic aspects of a culture. We are not so much concerned with causal factors as we are with trying

⁷ *Op. cit.*

⁸ *The Neurotic Personality of Our Time* (New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 1937).

⁹ For a good example of a negative correlation between economic factors and disorganization, see E. H. Sutherland, “White-Collar Criminality,” *American Sociological Review*, V (February, 1940), 1-12.

to find a conceptual scheme that will help us understand the event; and, since the appearance of social disorganization in time and space belongs in the range of repetitious social facts, we must be sure that our construct is adequate enough to include those factors that are found together repeatedly. The sociologist must assert that there is something more to disorganization than economic relationships—that there is something “social” about social disorganization. What this “something” is, we shall discuss shortly.

2. There are those who maintain that we can best understand social disorganization in terms of a “lag” between social and technological progress. F. Schuman, in his last book, *Design for Power*,¹⁰ sums this up well when he asserts that we are trying to live in a twentieth-century world with eighteenth-century ideas. K. Mannheim,¹¹ too, speaks of the “uneven distribution of rationality” as responsible for the present instability. This lag is regarded as a natural phenomenon which is responsible for the complexity of our culture and is best manifested in the force of tradition. G. Lundberg¹² maintains that we are trying to function with two incompatible ideologies—the scientific and the theological—with a corresponding lag between the technological and the social.

It is necessary, however, to remind ourselves of the conceptual status of the lag hypothesis. In the last analysis, to say that social disorganization is the result of cultural lag is simply to give another name to social disorganization. Cultural lag does not explain anything; it is just a descriptive or a classificatory device. We are still left with the problem

of accounting for the process of cultural lag itself. We must, therefore, reject this second hypothesis as highly inadequate.

3. There is another group of writers—Korzybski, Burrow, Deveraux, and Lundberg—who view social disorganization as the inevitable outcome of the structure of interpersonal communication. They hold that language is the most important social mechanism and that, if its structure is antiquated, confused, and inconsistent, then the institutions resulting from the application of this language will be confused, antiquated, and inconsistent.

For example, Lundberg tells us that . . . the reactions of individuals and of groups will be relative to their own definition of the situation and this in turn depends upon the habit systems that obtain in their culture. These habit systems . . . consist largely of language habits which, in their larger systems, constitute ideologies. If persons or groups attempt to function according to ideologies that contradict each other . . . the resulting behavior is called . . . fantastic, wishful, escapist, schizophrenic, or by any other term denoting pathological orientation.¹³

T. Burrow¹⁴ is even more radical and argues that all social life, in so far as it depends on purely symbolic adjustments, is disorganized and pathological. Individual disorganization (which is really social disorganization) is the result of men attempting to adjust their organism not to the world of things but to a world of social images and symbolisms, thus frustrating normal adjustment.

G. Deveraux¹⁵ is a pupil of Count Alfred Korzybski,¹⁶ whose basic views un-

¹³ *Ibid.*

¹⁴ “Altering Frames in the Study of Human Behavior,” *Journal of Social Philosophy*, November, 1936.

¹⁵ “Maladjustments and Social Neurosis,” *American Sociological Review*, December, 1939.

¹⁶ *Science and Sanity* (Lancaster, Pa.: International Non-Aristotelian Publishing Co., 1941). The first part of this book contains the best state-

¹⁰ New York: A. A. Knopf, 1942.

¹¹ *Man and Society* (London: Kegan Paul, 1940).

¹² “Social Pathology and Sociometry,” *Sociometry*, February, 1941.

derlie the attitudes of all these men; namely, that it is the use of a language having an Aristotelian structure in a world having a non-Aristotelian structure that is responsible for our present state of disorganization. Deveraux says, for example,

Western European civilization does not suffer from dictators, or revolutions, but from politico-economic schizophrenia due to improper evaluation and hasty extrapolation.

According to these people, then, it is the use of an Aristotelian logic with its laws of identification and excluded middle that have brought about the present crisis.

No one will deny the importance of language as a social mechanism, but one can deny the monistic, causal role given to it by the semanticists. Granted that conflicting ideologies may make life more complex, it does not follow that the difficulties of adjustment are due to the language structure. The semanticists are guilty of their own error of "abstraction"—leaving out relevant factors—when they talk in this fashion. After all, we had social disorganization when the structure of the known world and the language employed were the same, e.g., in Greece and Rome. The value of the semanticists would appear to be a negative one.

4. Such writers as Lawrence Frank,¹⁷ Franz Alexander,¹⁸ Paul Schilder,¹⁹ and Harry Stack Sullivan²⁰ all believe that

ment of this whole approach. It is often difficult to realize that Korzybski is very serious in his assertions.

¹⁷ "Cultural Coercion and Individual Distortion," *Psychiatry*, February, 1939.

¹⁸ "Psychoanalysis and Social Disorganization," *American Journal of Sociology*, May, 1937.

¹⁹ "The Influence of Psychoanalysis on Psychiatry," *Psychoanalytic Quarterly*, June, 1940.

²⁰ "Conceptions of Modern Psychiatry," *Psychiatry*, June, 1940.

the key to the understanding of social disorganization lies in individual disorganization and that the latter results in the former. Their main problem is, then: How does individual disorganization come about? The conclusion is finally reached that its origins can be traced back to early childhood, to frustrations and deprivations on the part of the parents. This whole school of thought has been conveniently summarized thus: (1) social disorganization is an extension of individual disorganization in that it is a projection of the neurotic traits of disorganized individuals into the field of interpersonal relations; thus both of these phenomena are generically alike. (2) Social disorganization is unconsciously motivated because the interindividual behavior comprising social disorganization is irrational and under the guidance of autistic or illusory images. (3) The genesis of individual disorganization is to be found in the early childhood experience, especially in the context of the family. (4) Elimination of social disorganization must come through a form of child education.²¹

Schilder, for example, points out that there are two fundamental dangers of childhood: deprivation of food or love and encroachment on bodily integrity. These can lead either to withdrawal or to aggression, both psychologically unhealthy. The child who is not adjusted properly will constantly act as an element of disorganization in society; thus the parents lay the groundwork for social adaptation. He asserts further that deprivation and threat are the characteristics of a dissociated and disorganized society. This type of society creates a disordered individual who does not understand the threat and answers with in-

²¹ H. Blumer, "Social and Individual Disorganization," *American Journal of Sociology*, May, 1937.

creased counteraggression, or who is hindered by the threat in his own development. In any case, these attitudes are transmitted to children. Thus the training habits of the parents are the expressions of their life-organization, which in turn expresses the nature of the society.

Frank also stresses the importance of emotional disturbances due to deprivations and frustrations leading to feelings of anxiety. Such a blocked expression or tension is at the root of a neurosis, the mass state of which we designate as social disorganization. His investigations of children's behavior have led him to the conclusion that if the child has been cruelly deprived and brutally frustrated, with little or no emotional security, his persistent feeling against his parents will be transferred to all adults and finally to all authority. The fact that many individuals in our culture have been deprived at an early age—thus leading to attitudes of fear, anxiety, resentment, hostility, and a strong desire for retaliation—is evident in the indices of social disorganization.

The emphasis put upon individual disorganization is a healthy one. In pointing out the importance of improper child training, however, these writers have obviously neglected the social situation which elicits either normal or abnormal behavior. In the last analysis, the indices of social disorganization reflect certain behavior patterns of certain individuals. These, in turn, can be viewed as the result of a certain type of child training. We must not, however, be confused by such a reduction. When we consider the situation from a molecular standpoint, this is all that we are given. Viewed from a molar standpoint, we are given the whole scheme in a larger unit, i.e., we get a historical perspective plus a detailed analysis of the environment. In

one case, we have the organism; in the other, we have the configuration of the whole field as determined by the individual and the historic texture of the environment.²²

5. Finally, there is a fifth group, composed of Durkheim, Cooley, and Thomas and Znaniecki, who find the key to social disorganization in the group-individual relationship. Durkheim ascribed it to the increase in the complexity of the division of labor which had broken down the solidarity of the group, leaving the individual free and without ties of association and loyalty to a group which could provide him with a guide to social life.

A somewhat different view is held by Cooley, who regards disorganization as a result of too much organization or "formalism." He describes a cyclical process in which disorganization is but the last stage of a process of institutional growth and decay. His classification of the stages of this process is based on the relationship of the individual to the institution.

Thomas and Znaniecki found that the most important process in the Polish community was the breakdown of primary-group control over the individual. In fact, they defined social disorganization in terms of the diminished influence of group rules on the individual.²³

It would appear that group breakdown is the particularly "social" aspect of social disorganization. We can best understand the latter in terms of the former simply because it does not overlook the vital historical, economic, and

²² I have modified somewhat the orthodox distinction between "molecular" and "molar" as found in Kurt Koffka's *Gestal Psychology* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1935).

²³ See H. Blumer, *An Appraisal of Thomas and Znaniecki's "Polish Peasant in Europe and America,"* (New York: Social Science Research Council, 1938), for the best analysis of this work.

psychological conditions of social breakdown. Using the group-individual relationship as a frame of reference puts other social factors in a realistic perspective because every time we have had a state of disorganization, we have had a corresponding state of group breakdown. Consequently, we can observe the intrusions upon this social constant. Its appearance in varying contexts alone makes it worthy of a relevant place in any conceptual scheme. Two criteria of a focal referent are that it have precision and it have scope.²⁴ The group-individual relationship would seem to have both in that it is found in some degree in all societies and is of crucial importance in the life of the individual, and yet it is broad enough to include factors other than primarily social ones. Aside from this theoretical justification, this hypothesis has more than shown its worth in actual research. As was pointed out earlier, the best two studies of social disorganization—Durkheim's and that of Thomas and Znaniecki—both employ the group-individual relationship as a focal referent.

Nevertheless, it is very important to distinguish among three possible uses of the concept of group breakdown: (1) as a symptom or sign of a widespread cultural disintegration, or as the representative of deeper and more fundamental social forces. That is, whenever there is group breakdown, there is probably social disorganization. The basis for this is historical. Concomitant with social disorganization we have always found a lessening of the importance of group ties. By speaking thus, one is not involved in questions of social causation. One can ignore the accounting of group breakdown itself and regard it as just another index of disorganization. (2) As a crucial fac-

tor in the process of disorganization, i.e., there is social disorganization because there is a breakdown of social groups. It is, however, important to realize that this is so only because social disorganization is defined in precisely these terms. All that we are doing is repeating our definition of disorganization as a state wherein social groups have diminished influence. Consequently, this second use is not an empirically verifiable proposition, but a definition, and, as such, tautologous. (3) As a frame of reference, group breakdown being the focus of a conceptual derivation of social disorganization. This use of the concept serves as a scheme whereby the facts are given some order, perspective, and meaning. It orients us so that we encounter events in certain relations, e.g., the relation between group disorganization and the increase in crime, divorce, delinquency, etc. In this manner we are not involved in questions of causation. Rather the group is used as an organizing principle. Unless viewed in this light, the facts of disorganization are a heterogeneous aggregate. This last use has a further advantage in that it gives us an insight into the historical perspective of the whole process of disorganization.

These uses have been analyzed because they are often confused; for example, group breakdown as a symptom is often used in the sense of a frame of reference. It is important not to claim for a hypothesis more than what it logically entails. For these reasons we can conclude that the first and the third uses are most legitimate, provided one realizes what one is doing when using them.

II

At this point we can posit the hypothesis: the concept of social disorganization refers to a social process and is most meaningful if comprehended in

²⁴ S. Pepper, *World Hypotheses* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1942).

terms of the group-individual relationship. We could go as far as to say that, strictly speaking, social disorganization has no existential reality outside the disorganization of social groups and that these have no reality outside their effects on the behavior patterns of individuals; thus, in the last analysis, social disorganization refers to a state of interpersonal relations. Or we might put it this way: the referent of social disorganization is the alterations in the behavior patterns of a series of individuals.

This restatement would seem to imply that the sociologist, in order to study and understand social disorganization, must study the influence of group relations by studying the individual. The argument for this procedure is as follows: let us assume with the logical positivists that "what is real is what has effects." Now we are interested in the breakdown of group ties and associations. If this phenomenon has any sort of reality at all, it can be discerned in its effects. We can see whether group breakdown is a "real" occurrence by observing disruptions in the life-organization of an individual. Thus, in this sense, the reality of a sociological process is manifested in the effects it has on an individual.²⁵

This, of course, raises again the old problem as to which social equation is the "correct" one: individual disorganization → social disorganization, or social disorganization → individual disorganization. The fact that both of them can be criticized on somewhat the same grounds might lead us to suspect that the dispute was purely verbal in nature.²⁶ For exam-

²⁵ Probably this is the only claim to reality that most sociological processes can have, i.e., their reference to the alterations in the social behavior of individuals.

²⁶ E.g., "disorganization" is not used in the same sense when we speak of it as "individual" and "social." The latter use refers to the diminished power of group rules, while the former implies alterations in behavior patterns—"abnormal behavior."

ple, Thomas tells us in Volume III of *The Polish Peasant* that social disorganization does not of necessity lead to individual disorganization or vice versa. He argues that an individual may achieve a healthier life by breaking social rules of conformity; and also that a culture may be very permanent and stable while its members lead very narrow and unhealthy lives. Consequently, the breakdown in the life-organization of individuals is not necessarily correlated with group breakdown because human interaction itself gives rise to relations that are different from those manifested by individuals.

Blumer²⁷ argues in the same vein: that social disorganization can occur without individual disorganization; that communication, cultural contact, inventions, migrations, etc., may, by themselves, lead to a state of social disorganization. The fact that it may exist among individuals who are disorganized is demonstrated in the phenomena of religious, moral, political, age, class, and family conflicts. Therefore, all that we can say is that conditions of great personal stress may produce and test dispositions leading to disorganization.

As for social disorganization creating individual disorganization, we know now that it will only do so if there are certain predisposed tendencies for such action. This is Thomas' great contribution to this subject as expressed in his fundamental methodological formula regarding the interaction between values and attitudes. But precisely because of these attitudes or predisposed tendencies, we should not overlook the childhood training period with its inherent deprivations and frustrations which are intensified by contact with a socially disorganized culture. This interaction is the crucial fac-

²⁷ "Social and Individual Disorganization," *op. cit.*

tor: out of it may come adjustment or disorganization. It is for these reasons that many have urged the value of studying the behavior of individuals, both normal and neurotic, through the interview and life-history methods, because we see in them not only the faulty methods of child training, but also the stresses and strains in our culture that elicited these neurotic trends.²³ Just as we can get the best insight into the phenomenon of culture contact by studying the "marginal man," so we can get a great deal of information about the state of interpersonal relations in a society by studying those who were unable to adjust their life-organization to the demands of this society.

All this means that if the sociologist wants to get beyond the stage of description or classification and explain social phenomena adequately, he must use psychological and psychiatric techniques in the study of the individual, and thus study the subjective side of a social process. The time has come when the sociologist should stop asking what, but inquire as to the how and why of processes such as group breakdown. The means are now available whereby we may study the social and psychodynamics of processes in the form of life-histories, human documents, the interview, and other psychiatric techniques.

To use the traditional language, when the emphasis is shifted from social statics to social dynamics, we must study the individual. For example, E. Eubanks, in his *Concepts of Sociology*,²⁹ analyzes any social change in terms of process and relationship. Such conceptual discrimination and analysis is necessary if we are to

be concerned with the logical properties of sociological hypotheses. But when we come to an empirically co-ordinating definition, we see that we must refer to the individual, because there are no processes or relations in the world outside of certain configurations in the behavior patterns of individuals. Since we are interested, then, in defining sociological concepts operationally, it would seem that when we focus our attention on the individual, institutions and groups become synonymous with a corresponding set of activities: the actual effects of institutions and groups on the individual—what it means to a number of them. This is the institution, operationally defined.

It is unfortunate that sociologists seem peculiarly unwilling to take the next step and make themselves responsible for the problems of social dynamics that they have set up for themselves by the very posing of the problems of disorganization. Only a few of them are aware that the progress of sociology should be in a direction opposite to that which occurred in psychological theory, i.e., from analysis of elements to the study of forms and configurations. Even if it be asserted that the "group" or "relationships" constitute the proper subject matter of sociology, there is still no other way in which these can be studied except in their manifestations in the lives of individuals. This is not to deny the value of a traditional sociological analysis. It is logically prior in that it would, for example, point to the crucial nature of group breakdown. But when it comes to the matter of investigation, we must shift our focus to the individual and observe those factors in operation which our previous analyses have shown to be relevant.

²⁸ See the work of Dollard and H. Lasswell on this point; most of their writings and research reflect this attitude.

²⁹ Boston: D. C. Heath & Co., 1932.

THE STRUCTURE OF AMERICAN CITIES IN THE POST-WAR ERA

HOMER HOYT

ABSTRACT

The marked tapering-off in the upward slope of urban growth indicates a waning in the power of American cities to expand their industry and trade. At this turning-point in urban trends the question may be raised whether present theories of urban growth will explain the future city pattern. The Burgess concentric-circle theory, according to which the high-rent residential area encircles the outer rim of the city, has been modified by the sector theory, according to which the high-rent section moves in only one or two sectors from the center to the periphery. Both of these theories were developed to fit the facts of a private-enterprise economy during the growth of mass transportation lines. The automobile has led to a recent growth of clusters of homes in vacant areas between fixed transportation routes. In the last decade there was also a marked increase in population of central rooming-house areas due to conversions of larger quarters into small units. To these changes that were in evidence before the attack on Pearl Harbor the war has added new complications. The outward movement of population has been halted by the tire shortage. Most new permanent housing will be stopped for the duration. This pause in city growth gives planners the opportunity to consider the post-war city pattern. After the war over twenty-nine million war workers and men in the armed forces will constitute a great mobile force ready to shift to any city offering employment in peacetime industries. The cities with the most new war plants, raw material, markets, and transportation will attract these post-war manufactures. The number of houses built by private builders will depend upon the extent to which costs are reduced by mass-production methods. Federal subsidies will be employed if private initiative fails to furnish homes. The pattern of the future city should provide for more open spaces around the main business center and for the rebuilding of blighted areas for all income groups. Industries located in converted war plants on the periphery of the city will enable workers to live in garden homes between the city and the country. The widely expanded use of the airplane will enable executives to commute several hundred miles to their offices. The future metropolitan district should bring about a synthesis of the city and the country and increase the demand for a unified metropolitan government.

American cities seem to be standing now at a turning-point in their rates and patterns of growth. Even before Pearl Harbor there had been a marked tapering-off in the upward slope of the one-hundred-and-forty-year-old population curve of American cities. For the first time in our history some of the largest cities in the United States failed to register an increase in numbers in a decennial period. In fact, 27 of the 93 cities in our nation that have a population of over 100,000 lost population from 1930 to 1940; and the increase in the total population of incorporated places of 2,500 or over in the last census period was only 7.9 per cent compared with an average gain of 31 per cent in the four decades from 1890 to 1930.¹

This slackening in the rate of American urban growth is a symptom of deeper causes. It is not merely the decline in the birth rate and the stoppage of the flow of adult European man-power into our cities that is a cause for alarm. It is the failure of the cities to expand employment opportunities in their trade and industries sufficiently to attract a greater migration from the rural sections of the United States that is the real indication of their waning power. To this slowing-up in urban job-creating power that had manifested itself by 1940 is now added the problem arising from the huge shifts in population occasioned by war and the possibility of impending basic changes in our economic and social order.

As San Diego expects an increase of 100,000 in population in the single year 1942 and as the Detroit area is preparing for an accession of 100,000 war workers,

¹ J. M. Gillette, "Some Population Shifts in the United States, 1930-1940," *American Sociological Review*, VI (October, 1941), 624.

other nonindustrial cities are being drained of their population by the exodus of men seeking jobs in these and other war production centers. If the government war program thus causes a mass movement of men the like of which this nation has never seen before in so short a time, what will be the effect of government peacetime policies upon the location of industry and housing?

So far reaching are the changes in our population pattern and social structure that it can well be asked whether theories of city growth and structure formulated for the private-enterprise economy of the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries will be applicable in a future society that may be of a fundamentally different nature.

In the century of relative peace between the Napoleonic wars and World War I there was an extraordinary growth of industry and commerce throughout the world protected by the British navy. This gave rise to an unparalleled growth of great cities, thirty-eight attaining a million population for the first time between 1800 and 1930. Industrialism converted England into a predominately urban nation by 1851. The United States and Germany made rapid strides in industry and urbanism from 1870 to 1914. After World War I, Russia and Japan, finding that industrial power was the indispensable basis of military strength, developed their factory systems rapidly, and the urban population of both nations more than doubled between 1914 and 1940.²

The United States participated in this world-wide expansion of commerce and industry both by supplying raw mate-

rials for Europe's factory systems and by developing its own industrial power.

The theories of the pattern of urban growth developed prior to 1930 were naturally influenced by the processes of growth exhibited by cities in a period of rapid expansion. The late Richard M. Hurd, in his classic, "Principles of City Land Values," after tracing the processes of urban growth in Paris and in numerous American cities, formulated his principles of central and axial growth according to which cities tend to expand in concentric circles and in axial spokes along main transportation routes.³ Burgess elaborated his concentric-circle theory of urban growth. According to this theory, the dominant financial and retail center of the city was encircled by a factory belt. Surrounding the factory zone was an area of transition in which industry was encroaching upon the next encircling belt of workingmen's homes. This low-rent area in turn was surrounded by a belt of high-class apartment buildings or exclusive "restricted" residential areas. Finally, on the outer periphery were the commuter areas or fashionable suburbs.⁴

The Burgess concentric theory of urban growth implied that there was a belt of high-grade homes entirely encircling the city just beyond the zone of workingmen's lower-rent quarters. The so-called sector theory, based on a detailed examination of the real-property inventories of one hundred and forty-two cities, showed that the high-rent sections were located only on the edge of one or more sectors of the city and that in some quadrants the area of low-rent houses extended like the cut of pie from the center to the periphery of the city. The high-rent areas had

³ *Record and Guide* (1924), pp. 58-59.

² Homer Hoyt, "Forces of Urban Centralization and Decentralization," *American Journal of Sociology*, XLVI (May, 1941), 851.

⁴ Robert E. Park, Ernest W. Burgess, and Roderick D. McKenzie, *The City* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1925), p. 50.

attained their present position by moving out from the center along one sector, leaving in their rear an obsolete area of fashionable homes. In the analysis of the sector theory it was also pointed out that instead of encircling the retail business center the industrial areas followed river valleys, water courses, and railroad lines in long bands and that the factories were now tending to locate along outer-belt-line railroads on the edge of the city.⁵

The sector theory emphasized that in periods characterized by the growth of mass transportation lines, such as steam railroads, horsecar lines, cable cars, elevated lines, electric surface lines, and subways radiating from the main business center, lines of new growth of the best residential areas would extend in axial lines along the fastest transportation routes. The poorer working classes would tend to live in areas near the smoke and noise of factories, and the middle classes would fill in the areas between the hovels of the poor and the mansions of the rich. The upper economic classes tended to move out to the open country in areas just beyond the established high-grade residential areas, where the landowners, anticipating such a move, had established speculative high prices for the land which prevented its occupancy by lower economic groups. The higher economic classes tended also to live in fashionable suburbs served by swift suburban railroad lines. Thus the familiar pattern of American cities prior to 1930 was that of an octopus with tentacles extending along transportation lines. The most rapid population growth was taking place on the outer edge of the settled area within the cities and in the

incorporated suburban towns served by the steam or electrified railroads.

All the foregoing theories of city growth of Hurd, Burgess, and Hoyt implied that cities were expanding outward from their centers, either in concentric circles or along radial lines.

The depression following 1929 practically halted all urban building for several years. When new construction began in sizable volume again in the period of 1934-41, there was a change in the urban pattern. The automobile began to register its effect to a marked degree on the urban structure. The number of registered automobiles had increased from 194,000 in 1908 to 23,000,000 in 1929, but, despite the large number of private motor cars in 1930, families seeking homes still clung mainly to areas on the edge of mass transportation routes. In the last seven or eight years, however, there has been a great movement into that belt of open country beyond the city and between the main spokes of the transportation wheel where land had not been prematurely subdivided and where it could be secured at farmland prices and platted with curved streets and culs-de-sac according to the best land-planning standards. In forty-three of the largest metropolitan districts in the decade from 1930 to 1940 the unincorporated areas increased 14.5 times more rapidly than the central cities and 9.5 times faster than the incorporated suburbs.⁶ These unincorporated suburbs were located almost at random because the automobile, the septic tank, and the power-driven pump made a vast number of sites available and freed the new developments from dependency on fixed transportation routes and established sewer and water systems.

This pattern of growth from 1930 to

⁵ Homer Hoyt, *The Structure and Growth of Residential Neighborhoods in American Cities* (Washington: Federal Housing Administration, 1939), pp. 75-77.

⁶ Gillette, *op. cit.*, p. 625.

1940 might be classified as central growth, or filling-in between axial spokes, were it not for the fact that wide vacant areas frequently intervened between each of these new wooden towns or settlements just beyond the periphery of the city.

At the same time that this rather haphazard growth was taking place beyond the edge of the cities, a number of conflicting movements were taking place within the city's center. The blighted area was losing population, but not all old central areas were declining. There was an increase of 260,000 in the Negro population of New York, Chicago, Washington, and Detroit from 1930 to 1940, chiefly due to migration; and the restricted Negro areas in those cities have expanded to the point of overflowing. Also, as a result of the smaller size of the family and the demand for small kitchenette apartments, there was a widespread conversion of large houses and apartment suites near mass transportation into rooming-houses from 1930 to 1940. In the United States about 1,000,000 dwelling units were created by converting larger quarters into small units during this period. As a result, population in areas suitable for conversion increased. In Chicago there were marked population gains in the old Woodlawn section and in Uptown and West Garfield Park, where no new structures were erected. In Manhattan there was an increase of 50,000 in the population along Upper Broadway from Fifty-ninth to One Hundred and Twenty-fifth streets, due almost entirely to splitting larger dwelling units into smaller.

Thus there were marked changes in the pattern of urban growth before December 7, 1941. The impact of war has suddenly added new complications. The trend toward doubling up families in war

production centers will be augmented. Incoming war workers also will probably be housed in barracks or billeted in existing houses. On the other hand, the decentralization trend will be reversed. The tire shortage and gasoline rationing would in themselves hinder the use of those homes where occupants depend entirely on the private automobile for reaching places of employment. Most permanent new construction even near to mass transportation routes will be stopped for the duration.

The cessation in the building of new homes will give planners time to survey the future. Will building in the post-war period follow old patterns of urban development, or will a new social structure usher in a new type of city?

At the close of the war nine to thirteen million men in the armed forces and twenty million workers in war factories will form a great mobile population that will be ready to move to any city promising jobs. A great number of industries will, of course, remain tied to old locations and will resume their pre-war types of manufactures. However, many new well-located war factories suitable for conversion into peacetime production will draw industries away from obsolete plants. A vast reshuffling of plant locations will in turn cause great shifts in the sites to be selected for new housing. Since three-fourths of the new war plants are located within the metropolitan areas of cities with a population of over one hundred thousand, the effect of post-war industrial migration will not be the establishment of new cities but the strengthening of some metropolitan districts at the expense of others.

The main problems of future growth and structure fall into three classes, the solution of which depends upon the answers to the following questions: First,

what cities will attract by economic advantages or government allocation the peacetime industries, and what kinds of industries will develop in the years following the war? Second, what quantity of homes can be produced by private enterprise or by federal subsidy in areas where replacement requirements, economic resources, and employment warrant new houses? Third, what will be the direction or pattern of growth within metropolitan areas where the demand for new housing is supported by industry or commerce?

At the outset, of course, it must be noted that the transition from war to peace is the most fundamental problem. If over twenty-nine million war workers, soldiers, and sailors are to be thrown suddenly into the labor pool, and if private industry is unable to absorb them quickly, our whole economic system will go into a downward spiral which will suspend all urban growth everywhere. It must be assumed, however, that a problem of this imperative nature will, if necessary, be met by the federal government—first, by gradual demobilization and, second, by providing a public works program that will at least bridge over the period of transition if it does not permanently expand the scope of state enterprise.

Assuming that employment for peacetime goods and services will be maintained at almost a full wartime peak, choices still must be made as to what kinds of industries will expand first and where they will be located. Some obsolete plants will be abandoned, and some cities supported by them will decline to a point where no new housing will be needed. Some war plants are of a temporary nature in out-of-the-way locations; these, together with housing around them, will be scrapped. If we

have a planned economy after the war, it will take careful analysis of our national industrial plant and our transportation system, markets, and raw materials to determine where post-war industries should be located. If there is a return to *laissez faire*, there will be a period of uncertainty while private industrial executives are making studies of the best future location of their plants. Not until the post-war industrial pattern is determined can a proper decision be made as to where new housing is required.

Turning to the second question, when those cities needing more housing by reason of continuance or increase of employment in industrial plants and trade are ascertained, then the problem arises of estimating the number of houses needed to replace obsolete structures and of providing for new growth for each income class in the population. How much of this building can be carried out by private enterprise? Even before World War II it was found that private builders paying full union wages of \$1.50-\$2.00 an hour could not supply homes with all modern improvements to factory workers earning fifty or sixty cents an hour. Homes still constructed by primitive handicraft methods are too expensive for the workers who are producing consumption goods on assembly lines. The use of plastic materials and mass-production methods in the field of housing offers the greatest promise for private construction of residences for the low-income groups. Homes for workers in the Glenn Martin airplane plant near Baltimore have already been constructed of cheap plastic materials.

If there is a scarcity of private building after the war, there will be a great demand for construction subsidized in whole or in part by the federal government—a demand which will probably be

yielded to by the legislators if the public debt structure can be further expanded in the post-war period. Homes will undoubtedly be provided, not only to produce housing, as a public duty, for those lacking decent quarters but also to give the volume of employment necessary to prevent an economic debacle in the transition from war to peace.

Assuming, then, that homes will be provided in cities where expanding peacetime employment activities warrant their construction, the third problem is: Where will they be placed in the city pattern? Will the old sector-theory pattern be resumed?

After this war there will be far less marked extremes between wealth and poverty, as the rich will probably be taxed far more heavily to provide homes and other services for the poor. There will be a tendency toward leveling wealth and income. Hence there will be fewer wealthy families to expand axial lines of high-grade growth.

If tires and gasoline become available, the decentralizing trend to the small wooden unincorporated town may be resumed. It may, however, be several years after the war before rubber is available and tires are manufactured in sufficient quantity to meet replacement demand. Meanwhile, the break in the habit of driving automobiles and the availability of two hundred thousand trained aviators may cause more people to take to the air. Moreover, if the federal government subsidizes new residential building, it can determine the location of new home areas. It may be decided that the cost of duplicating schools, sewers, water systems, and pavements in the urban-rural fringe is wasteful; and the government may recognize the advantages of wrecking and rebuilding blighted areas near the center of cities.

Hence, continued decentralization in small wooden towns or recentralization at the city's center may balance or counteract each other while masses of middle-aged homes remain as they are for another generation.

Most of the present blighted area should be rebuilt for occupancy by the lower-income office workers. Everyone, regardless of income, may be guaranteed a minimum dwelling unit so that, like the minimum wage, there will be a floor or standard below which no person will be obliged to live. Some neighborhoods near the center of the city may be created in which all economic classes will reside as in the case of small towns at present. It is probable, however, that some central areas possessing superior advantages of location will be rebuilt for the higher-income groups. The early cycle of growth may be repeated so that obsolete high-grade residences along lake fronts or on elevations may be replaced with new high-rent homes or apartments.

Those existing office buildings with a physical life of one hundred to one thousand years will, of course, remain in existence for generations unless obsolescence intervenes, but the number of new skyscrapers is problematical. Airplanes may enhance the value of a few great metropolitan office centers at the expense of medium-sized centers. Industry will probably gravitate to new war plants on the periphery, and workers' homes will be built in areas where there is room for gardens and play space. Model apartments and row houses interspersed with parks may encircle central office-building areas instead of the dilapidated slums, which should be removed in the first post-war generation.

Previous theories of city growth have been based upon data derived from periods of rapid urban growth under the

aegis of untrammelled private enterprise. A new theory of city growth may be necessary to fit the facts of a period when cities grow more slowly, when automobiles and airplanes remove dependency on fixed rails, and when government control and taxation of high incomes for the benefit of the poor lessens the degree of stratification based on income. The old compact city is likewise made obsolete by the long-range bomber. The new city must be designed for defense against air attack.

In the post-war American city the main downtown area may be greatly expanded to provide for a belt of parking lots and green recreation areas immediately encircling the principal office buildings and department stores. The blighted areas that form sectors of deteriorated housing along railway lines and old industrial sections should be replaced by new model group houses and apartments for all groups of downtown office workers who desire to live close to their employment, regardless of their income. The encircling belt of middle-aged housing just beyond the present central industrial and blighted area will still remain in the first post-war generation, but its oldest structures should be removed, leaving more light and air for the buildings that remain. Likewise, old industrial sections extending in radial lines along railroads and rivers to the periphery will probably continue to be used except for land close

to the center, which will be better adapted for other purposes. The importance of river frontage has greatly waned, as compared with the industrial advantages of large plottage accessible to railroads. The main new industrial belt thus will probably be located on the outer rim of the present city along major watercourses and railroad belt lines. There should be a green belt separating the factories from a zone of garden homes for workers living in the rural-urban fringe. The new high-grade residential suburbs will probably be much farther from the center of the metropolis than the present adjoining suburban towns, since executives commuting by airplane can live in model neighborhoods located on lakes, rivers, or hills several hundred miles from their offices. The new metropolitan district of the airplane age will thus include within its sphere of influence not only open green spaces surrounding its tallest buildings, but it will embrace within its outer orbit tens of thousands of square miles of open country. There should then result a synthesis of urban and rural life, providing the natural beauty of the country for the city dweller and the advantages of libraries, lectures, and stores for the rural resident.⁷

CHICAGO PLAN COMMISSION

⁷ The vastly extended scope of the post-war metropolitan district will increase the demand for a metropolitan government that will be coextensive with the functions of the enlarged urban community.

OPERATIONAL DEFINITIONS OPERATIONALLY DEFINED

STUART C. DODD

ABSTRACT

This paper attempts to meet the challenge of defining operational definitions operationally. A definition is operational to the extent that it specifies the procedure for identifying or generating the definiendum and finds high reliability for the definition. The logical form of this definition, its gradational phrasing, the concepts of "procedure" and "reliability," and the two types of operational definitions are commented upon. The importance of reliability for scientific work is stressed. Experimental procedures for measuring the utility, the reliability, the validity, and the usage of any concepts defined are suggested and proposed as criteria for the excellence of any sociological definition.

Those sociologists who advocate greater use of operational definitions have been challenged to define "operational definition" operationally. This paper attempts to meet that challenge. It amplifies Lundberg's discussion in the March issue of this journal and assumes affirmative answers to the questions he puts (p. 741) as to the points of agreement between operationists and their critics.

The proposed operational definition of operational definitions is:

A definition [*genus*] is an operational definition [*species and definiendum*] to the extent that the definer (a) specifies the procedure [*differentia (a)*] (including materials used) for identifying or generating the definiendum, and (b) finds high reliability [*differentia (b)*] for his definition.

Less rigorously stated, the differentiae of operational definitions include reliably specified procedures.

1. Our first comment is that this definition is in the 'modified Aristotelian' form recommended by the Subcommittee on Definitions of the Committee on Conceptual Integration in that it states, adequately for the definer's purpose, the genus and the differentiae of the species, of which the definiendum is a member. The purpose here is to contribute to the general function of science—namely, the predicting and controlling of phenomena.

2. This definition is itself an opera-

tional one to the extent that the two following operations are carried out: (a) The specifying of procedures, including materials used. An operator must state these procedures in adequate detail in order to generate an operational definition. (b) The finding of the reliability index for the definition. This means experimentation and computation of a statistical index of reliability. An operator must determine this reliability in order to identify the definition as operational to the extent that the reliability index that is observed approaches its maximum.

3. The phrasing of this definition is in gradational form rather than in the usual "this" or "not this" all-or-none form of the dictionaries. This form permits the grading of definitions from nonoperational to highly operational without an arbitrary boundary line where they suddenly jump from nonoperational to operational. When any series is divided into only two class intervals, such as "all" and "none," it is less accurately specified than if subdivided into more class intervals. Allowing for gradations of operability means that almost every definition may be considered as slightly operational in that it involves the operation of specifying the differentiae. Whether this extent of operability is adequate depends on the reliability index. As this index approaches unity it measures an adequately

specified definition, however slight the specifying of procedures in it.

This gradational phrasing of the definition helps to dispose of the "dichotomizing fallacy" that perennially plagues all human thinking. Among sociologists one currently prominent dichotomizing fallacy is the distinction between the qualitative and quantitative. These can be reconciled as a continuum or graded series with the qualitative as one limit of the quantitative. Every conceivable quality (whether element or configuration, whether physical object or abstract value, or any other kind of knowable entity) can be conceived as either present or absent—i.e., as an all-or-none variable. It is a primitive quantity of zero or unity, the unit being that quality whether war, laughter, a person, truth, or anything else. Every quantity is a quantity of some kind—i.e., of some quality. Every quality can thus be conceived as the lower limit of precision of a quantity. At the lower limit of precision the number of gradations is just two—i.e., the quality either exists or does not exist in the situation studied. A quality becomes more precisely quantified when it is observable in more than two degrees—as, for example, in the four degrees implicitly involved in comparing adjectives and adverbs, the negative, the positive, the comparative, and the superlative degrees ("none," "some," "more," "most"). A quality is most precisely quantified whenever it can be expressed as a multiple of some cardinal unit. Cardinal units are equal and interchangeable, whereas ordinals merely express a rank or sequence without asserting equal intervals between "first," "second," "third," etc. These varying degrees of precision are distinguished by appropriate scripts in dimensional analysis, which is thereupon able to combine them in

the same formulae and equations and solve for either unknown quantities or unknown qualities. The gradational phrase "to the extent that" in the definition above allows for any current degree of precision from the usual and least precise all-or-none degree of quantifying to scales of cardinal units. This gradational phrase thus covers the purely qualitative differentiae and the most precisely quantitative differentiae and every gradation between them.

4. There are two subspecies of operational definitions and these two may overlap. They are the identifying or testing type and the generating or creative type. An operational definition states the procedures which must be carried out in order either to identify a case of the definiendum or to produce it. As examples of operational definitions, a kitchen recipe states the operations for generating a cake, while a Chapin-Leahy scale states the operations for identifying the socio-economic status of a family; a formula for a mean or for any statistical index states in algebraic symbols the operations for generating that index, while instructions for examining a passport state the operations for identifying the holder's nationality; the details of the law and supplementary administrative regulations for licensing motorists state the procedure for generating a "licensed motorist" and; when applied in retrospect, can identify whether a given person is a "licensed motorist" or not. Such recipes, scales, formulae, instructions, rules, all specify the procedures to be used upon specified materials in order to secure or to be sure one has secured that which is defined.

5. Since the concepts of "procedure" and "reliability" are the crux of an operational definition, they may in turn be defined. For the present purpose of clari-

fying operational definitions, a procedure may be defined as any human action (genus) to the extent that such action is a means to ends (differentia *a*) which is communicable by the actor (differentia *b*). The operational differentiae implicit in this phrasing may be explicitly stated as: "Get a person to communicate the actions which he uses as a means to his ends. Such communicated purposeful actions are called 'a procedure.'" The differentia of *communication* is a behavioristic test of whether the action is purposeful, an intended means to an intended end, or is just an accidental sequence into which an outsider reads a purpose. Communicating makes more objectively observable the subjective purposing and lessens the controversy over whether it involves consciousness of the means and of the ends. Moreover, communicating an action tends to make it more definite, formal, and repetitive, and these are connotations of the concept "a procedure." Substituting this definition for the term "procedure" in the operational definition of operational definitions above yields the paraphrase: "A definition is operational to the extent that the definer *a*) communicates the actions to be done as means of identifying or generating the definiendum, and *b*) finds high reliability for it." An operational definition is thus any statement, whether as brief as a sentence or as long as a book, which reliably tells what to do, first, second, third, and with what ingredients, in order to test for the presence of, or to produce, that which is defined.

6. "Reliability" may be briefly defined as any index (genus) measuring the degree of agreement (differentia *a*) among reobservations of the same phenomenon (differentia *b*). Unreliability is the lack of such agreement, or variation among

reobservations. In more semiotic language, a sign-vehicle, such as a concept, is reliable in proportion as the designata are constant for all interpretants under specified conditions. A reliable concept is one whose referents are standardized for all users of the concept. The degree of reliability is measurable by some appropriate statistical index. Thus the exact operational definition of reliability is stated by the formulae under this heading in a statistical textbook. There are formulae for measuring the degree of agreement within the sample observed among reobservations of a constant (i.e., a single-valued quantity), such as a difference of means ($M_2 - M_1$) and among reobservations of a variable (i.e., a many-valued quantity) such as a reliability correlation ($r_{rI} = \Sigma z_I z_I / N$). There are further reliability formulae for estimating the probability of any assigned degree of agreement among reobservations within the universe sampled. These formulae involve standard-error formulae if for large samples, and fiducial-limit formulae if for small samples. Thus the definiendum may be the "socio-economic status of farm families" as defined by the Sewell scale. A second application of this scale to a sample of families then yields a reliability correlation coefficient measuring its variable errors and a difference between means of the two applications measuring its constant error. These are reliabilities within the sample and when divided by their standard errors yield estimates of probability which measure reliability in the universe sampled. This procedure is familiar to most scientifically oriented social scientists today. But what is new is that definitions of concepts which denote a class—i.e., a qualitative kind of entity—with no apparent quantification can have their re-

liability similarly determined by a statistical index derived from controlled experimentation.

Reliability formulae are not limited to determining the reliability of quantities, since appropriate formulae exist for determining the reliability of qualities as well. One procedure is to collect and record many items which are referents of the concept-to-be-tested and many other items which are similar in varying ways but are not referents of that concept, in the judgment of the collector. The accuracy of the collector's judgment is not important so long as the collection includes instances of that concept and other borderline instances. Let competent persons classify these items independently as included or excluded under the concept according to the definition of it to be tested. Compute the percentage of agreement, or identical classification of the items, by these independent persons. This percentage is one index of the reliability of the concept as defined and can be compared with the degree of reliability of any rival definition when applied to the same items by the same persons. A formula for this reliability is $\%_A = 100n_i/n (\pm \sigma\%)$, the percentage of agreement ($\%_A$) is the number (n_i) of identically classified referents divided by the total number (n) of referents in the sample collected, multiplied by one hundred; plus or minus its standard error ($\sigma\%$) if it is desired to generalize from this sample.¹

¹ Note that this observed reliability is relative to the sample of referent items used. A different selection of items might change the reliability index. Thus a larger proportion of borderline items would probably lower the reliability observed. This means that the sample of referent items should be standardized in a publicly available record of those items so that any other investigator could use that identical sample and thus keep constant conditions for the reliability experiments. This dependence of the

The last paragraph containing an operational definition of the reliability of a qualitative concept seems so new an application of reliability principles as not yet to be found, to the author's knowledge, in any textbook of statistics or of social research. It belongs under experimental semantics—if there be such as yet. Although almost unthought of among sociologists at present, it should become one of the most basic and often used technics for sifting the concepts used in any serious research. An example of its use occurs in the measurement of the reliability of the operationally defined system of concepts in the author's *Dimensions of Society*.² Here some seven hundred odd concepts are defined in algebraic equations which specify the mathematical procedures to be performed on the symbolized entities to obtain the concept in question. Whenever the symbolized entities have specified the procedures by which they were secured from phenomena, these definitions become more fully operational—but still only in proportion to their reliability. All these formulae were compounded from some sixteen basic concepts, the reliability of which was experimentally measured as follows: Five hundred sets of data from all the social sciences were representatively sampled to serve as cases of referents for any systematic sociology. Two persons independently applied these basic concepts to this body of referents in writing for each referent set of data a

index upon the sample selected is comparable to the dependence of a correlation upon the range of its population. Thus a correlation of 0.5 in a one-year age range can be increased to a correlation of 0.76 in another age range where the sigma is doubled. Since correlation coefficients are indices expressed in standard deviation units, they are comparable only to the extent that their ranges are comparable.

² New York: Macmillan, 1942.

descriptive formula compounded of the basic concepts. The percentage of agreement, or identically written formulae, for these five hundred referent cases was calculated. This reliability percentage ran from 93 per cent to 100 per cent in a series of such experiments under varying conditions. This pioneering study in dimensional sociology demonstrates how reliability indices can be experimentally determined for qualitative as well as for quantitative concepts.

The Committee for Conceptual Integration was organized because our sociological concepts have such shifting designata; their meaning often varies from user to user; they often fall short of the scientific ideal of communicating a standard body of referents. Yet in spite of this realization among the members of the Committee on Conceptual Integration and others, it is amazing to find so much indifference or ignorance among them of the primary importance of determining reliability in any kind of defining of concepts. Of what use for science is an unreliable concept, whatever its excellence in other respects? Scientists in the older sciences know better than to fit theories to observations until those observations are proven to be facts—i.e., until their reliability has been established by reobservation by independent observers. In so far as sociologists use observations, or summaries of them in concepts, which are unreliable further work based on them is largely a waste of time. Improvement of the reliability of our verbal instruments and other symbols is a much-needed emphasis in research today. A prediction may be ventured that the sociological publications with the greater reliability of concepts will tend to have greater longevity. The unreliable concepts will prove more ephemeral.

7. The two differentiae of operational

definitions—the specifying of procedures and the finding of high reliability—may vary independently. Any definition may specify procedures, but the specifying may be so subjective or unclear as to result in low reliability when that definition is reapplied to the same sample of referents by another person. Conversely, a definition may have little or no specifying of procedure (and so not be an operational definition) and yet have high reliability. This result is more frequently possible with simple perceptual terms, as in defining a “trident” as a fork (genus) with three prongs (differentia *a*). But the more complex and abstract the concept is, the less likely it is to have high reliability without specifying procedures. Critics of operational definitions are hereby challenged to produce a definition of some sociological concept, such as a “social force,” which lacks specification of procedure for identifying or generating the force, and yet has a reliability of more than 0.90. The author’s operational definition of an effective social force is “all [*genus*] that accelerates [*differentia (a)*] a change in people [*differentia (b)*], measured by the procedure of multiplying the number of people changed (*P*) by the amount of their acceleration (*A*); the formula is simply $F = PA$.³ This definition has been experimentally shown by one of the author’s graduate students to

³ Acceleration is the time rate of change of a process, which in turn is an observable change in time. So acceleration is measured and defined by the amount of change in some index (*I*) twice divided by time. Therefore $A = I/T^2$ is its dimensional formula.

In case the quantity of acceleration and of people is not determinable but it can be qualitatively asserted that “people have changed” the formula becomes the logical product, $P \cap A$, which is “that which is jointly characterized by ‘people’ and some ‘acceleration of change.’” In dimensional sociology, the zero exponent denotes a quality, a logical class, and the formula for this qualitatively asserted or unquantified force is $F^0 = P^0 A^0$.

have a reliability greater than 0.95, which is near the maximum or perfect reliability of 1.00.

For a definition to be an operational one, each of the two differentiae are necessary conditions and together they are sufficient conditions. This statement may be questioned by someone who believes that "specifying procedures" is enough to differentiate operational definitions from other definitions and that "finding high reliability" differentiates another species of definitions—namely, "reliable definitions." Our contention, however, is that "an operational definition" has come to mean both. "Specifying procedures" would have no superior intrinsic merit worth quarreling over compared with other kinds of differentia in a definition, were it not that by specifying procedures (including always the materials involved in those procedures) greater reliability of definitions is achieved. Physical scientists have overwhelmingly found this to be true. Social scientists are increasingly discovering its truth. This last statement need not remain the opinion of an operationist merely; it can be experimentally verified by measuring the reliability indices of a set of concepts when operationally defined as compared with their nonoperational definition. Here is an opportunity for some graduate student to make crucial experiments in sociological methodology. Operationalism would have few advocates did not those advocates see in it a technique for making concepts more reliable, for standardizing their referents, and thus a technique for getting out of the conceptual morass which occasioned the formation of the Committee on Conceptual Integration.

It is unfortunate that the growing interest in operational defining has centered on the "specifying of procedures,"

due to the label "operations," and has neglected the far more important aspect of testing reliability. The operations are but a means to the scientific end of prediction and control. To the naïve operationist the greater reliability is assumed, or considered a connotation of "the operational," and is therefore not adequately communicated to the critic of operationism, who naturally then sees no magic in merely "specifying procedures." If high reliability is explicitly denoted by the term "operational," as in the definition proposed here, this important property of definitions will be better communicated and develop more consensus in the controversy over operational defining.

In this connection should be mentioned the fallacy of assuming that operationists are concerned *merely* with the clearness and preciseness of terms, and are less concerned with the "organizing ability and utility" and "meaningfulness" of the concepts.⁴ This is a preposterous assumption in view of the fact that the concepts to be defined are set by the theory we adopt, and are therefore usually the same for operationists as for others. Operationism is not itself a sociological theory. It is merely a method of attacking a problem faced by all scientists, namely, defining the concepts employed, *whatever* these concepts may be. The utility of these concepts is another question, in which operationists are as much interested as anyone.⁵ What is more, operationists have faced the crucial fact that the only way to determine the relative utility of different concepts is first to define them with reliability.

⁴ See Harry Alpert, "Operational Definitions," *American Journal of Sociology*, XLVII (May, 1942), 981.

⁵ See, e.g., G. A. Lundberg, *Foundations of Sociology* (Macmillan, 1939), chaps. v-vii.

8. The *reliability* of a concept is to be clearly distinguished from its *validity*, its *utility*, and its *usage*. Psychologists dealing with tests say that "reliability" means "how well the test measures whatever it measures," while "validity" means "how well it measures what it claims to measure." Operationally, the reliability correlation coefficient between two administrations of a test defines its degree of reliability, while the validity correlation coefficient between the test and an accepted criterion of whatever the test claims to measure defines its degree of validity. Thus the validity of an intelligence test is its degree of correlation with some currently and widely accepted indicator of intelligence, such as school marks, occupational achievement when opportunity has been equal, presence in a home for feeble-minded vs. graduating from college with honors, etc. The criterion is usually less precise and more costly or time consuming than the test so that, if the validity is high enough to justify substituting the test, a gain in precision and economy has been achieved. Also, since the test, once it is validated, may be given to people before the criterial behavior takes place, it promotes the prediction and control of that behavior.

Validity always involves a criterion. Without an accepted criterion, validity in the technical sense accepted in psychology and statistics and described here has no meaning. Furthermore, validity, when determined, is relative to that specific criterion and may have a different value with respect to another criterion. The validity correlation is the proof of the extent to which a new and more efficient indicator of some phenomena can be substituted for a less efficient but conventional and familiar indicator of those phenomena.

The *utility* of a concept for scientific purposes means how well it contributes to our ability to predict and control phenomena. In the long run scientists find a concept useful or useless in proportion as it enables them to understand and hence to predict and control relevant phenomena better than with alternative concepts or absence of them. Thus "oxygen" with its denotata proves more useful than "phlogiston"; "behavior" supplants "consciousness" as the more useful term in psychology; and "correlation" enabling prediction via its regression equation displaces the vaguer concept of "concomitance" popular in John Stuart Mill's day.

Utility requires time for a consensus to develop among scientists. It is not often measurable, in current sociology at least, as neatly as reliability or validity. Conceivably experiments could be set up, however, which would measure the relative predictive efficiency of alternative concepts, or alternative definitions of one concept. The instructions for such an experiment would constitute the operational definition of the "utility of a concept." At present, with inadequate specifying of procedure, the "utility of a concept" may be defined as the correlation coefficient between the use of that concept and the efficiency of predicting its relevant phenomena. An operator would thus have to collect instances of the concept's use and nonuse, together with some estimate of the resulting degree of efficiency in predicting in each instance. ("Prediction" is here used as including "control," "control" being that subclass of "prediction" where man's actions are a factor in bringing about the predicted outcome.)

The *usage* of a concept refers either to the number of people using it, or using it with specified referents, or with a specified definition. Thus some sociologists

use the concept of "culture" as including animal phenomena that are similar to human culture, while others use it as excluding such animal phenomena. The operational definition of "usage" would be to measure the proportion of a specified plural which uses the concept or uses it in a specified way (whichever was at issue).

It is possible to take usage as a criterion for validating a concept. One procedure for this validation would be for a representative and authoritative panel of specialists on "culture" to classify each recorded case in a sample collection of several thousand cases as "cultural" or "noncultural" on the undefined basis of their customary use of the concept "cultural." These same cases would then be classified again in all-or-none fashion as "cultural" or "noncultural" on the basis of a specified definition of culture by a number of competent persons (whose classifications would be averaged for greater reliability). The four-point correlation coefficient would then be calculated between the all-or-none two-point variable of the panel's usage and the two-point

variable yielded by the definition. This correlation defines the validity of this definition by the criterion of this panel's usage. It could be compared with the validity of any other definition of the same concept by comparing correlations with this criterion. Of course, this illustration assumes that current usage is a worth-while criterion by which to validate a concept, whereas this assumption may not be at all defensible.

Of the four properties of concepts defined above, *utility* would seem the most important for science, with *reliability* next, while *validity* and *usage* may be currently desirable but would seem less important for scientific progress in the long run. The excellence of any definition of a concept, in addition to its logical form, might well be gauged by these four properties. Whether a definition is operational or not seems to us a partial test of its excellence, but more rigorous tests are its correlations showing how useful for prediction, how reliable, how valid by specified criteria, and how widely used the concept is.

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COMMENT

"Operational Definitions Operationally Defined," by Stuart C. Dodd, offers a brief discussion of the subject matter suggested by the article's title and an extensive discussion of the merits of reliable definitions. One may here paraphrase the author's definition of an operational definition as a definition which has high reliability and which specifies the procedures to be used in order to identify or obtain that which is defined. This critique first presents a discussion of the various statements and claims which the author makes for reliable definitions and returns later to "the operational definition of an operational definition."

Dodd defines reliability, in the sense used in his definition, as measuring the degree of agree-

ment among reobservations of the same phenomena (p. 484) and offers as an operational definition of reliability "... the formulae under this heading in a statistical textbook" (p. 482). On page 482 he states further that "the extent of operationality" depends upon the reliability index. In other words, the greater the reliability of a definition the more operational it is.

But, one may ask here, what has happened to "the specification of procedures?" To all intents and purposes, in the article under discussion, Dodd has ignored this topic except as a means to obtain high reliability of definitions. For example, on page 487 he states "... by specifying procedures (including always the ma-

terials involved in those procedures) greater reliability of definitions is achieved." Further, on page 486 one finds:

Any definition may specify procedures but the specifying may be so subjective or unclear as to result in low reliability when that definition is reapplied to the same sample of referents by another person.

And, on page 485:

Whenever the symbolized entities have specified the procedures by which they were secured from phenomena these definitions become more fully operational—but still only in proportion to their reliability.

The only conclusion that one can draw from these statements is that made by Dodd himself. In operational definitions, specifying procedures may be important, but "a far more important aspect" is reliability.¹

Indeed, Dodd says:

Of what use for science is an unreliable concept, whatever its excellence in other respects? [p. 486].

Readers of *Dimensions of Society* by the same author may recall here:

But what is the use of any sociological or scientific concept, however significant it may seem to our current thoughtways, if it cannot be reliably determined, and no technics are in sight for improving such reliability?²

Since reliability is the major criterion of an operational definition, the manner of determining reliability becomes exceedingly important. Dodd claims that he has made it possible to test the reliability of qualitative as well as quantitative concepts. The test which he presents is the classification of items by a series of observers according to two or more definitions and then measuring the percentage agreement between the observers. That definition which results in a higher percentage of agreement between the classifiers is the more reliable and hence the more operational definition. Persons working with each definition must follow the rules for classifying which accompany the definition. The rules are presumably invented by

¹ See, in this connection, page 487 of the paper under discussion.

² Stuart Carter Dodd, *Dimensions of Society* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1942), p. 443. Dodd continues here by asking that a science be built on concepts that are reliably determinable, "whatever their apparent lack of significance at present."³

the inventor of the definition. One has here again, just as in *Dimensions of Society* (Dodd's source of examples of reliable definitions), the suggestion that a cult be set up and that careful following of the laws of the cult constitutes "reliability." One might almost say, "the less original the thought on the part of the testers, the greater the reliability." This scholastic method of procedure which implies that testers of a concept accept wholeheartedly its rules and assumptions has been repudiated by most serious scientists, including the leading operationalist, Bridgman. On this point Bridgman says:

As long as people are content to subject their verbalizations only to the control that other people shall respond to them in the same way they demand, there is no automatic method that assures the "objective" validity of the concept that is assumed.³

In opposition to Dodd's views, it may be stated that a reliable definition of a concept is one which may be used by a great number of persons, under varying circumstances, to describe that concept, and not a definition which requires minute duplication of conditions in order to be adequate.

One may return at this point to Dodd's definition of an operational definition—as one which has reliability and which specifies the procedures to be used in order to identify or to secure that which is defined. As well as defining reliability, in the sense that it is used in his definition of an operational definition, Dodd also defines procedure as any human action "... to the extent that such an action (genus) is a means to ends (differentia *a*) which are communicable by the actor (differentia *b*)" (p. 484). To illustrate from one of his examples, the recipe for a cake consists of procedures which are means to the end—cake. This definition could stand by itself, but Dodd further states that "... communicating an action tends to make it more definite, formal, and repetitive and these are connotations of the concept 'a procedure'" (p. 484). This naïve faith in communication and verbalization is unexplainable. No amount of communication can make an indefinite idea definite, nor a poorly formulated concept formal. The definiteness of an action or of an idea depends on the action or the idea itself—not on its communication to others. A murder does not gain in definiteness, formality, and repetitiveness by being communicated.

³ P. W. Bridgman, *The Intelligent Individual and Society* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1942), p. 37.

As far as Dodd's operational definition of an operational definition itself is concerned, one may say that procedures do not identify or generate that which is defined unless one assumes that the item defined is equivalent to the associated procedures. This, of course, is Dodd's assumption, and in practice he devotes himself to setting up formulas which succeed in defining concepts only as the results of such assumptions.⁴

The pitfalls of the practice become clear when one considers a specific case. To use Dodd's example, assuming that a social force is defined a $F = PA$, how can one identify the existence of a social force, such as the growing consciousness of war in this country, from this formula?⁵ The answer, as is apparent, cannot consist in multiplying the number of persons in the United States (P) by some index of acceleration, (A), such as the change in the number of war bonds sold, and stating that the result, $F = AP$, is the social force, consciousness of

war. Yet this or similar results are the only answers possible if we follow Dodd and identify concepts with formulas.

To Dodd and others like him, the following philosophic problem should be of interest: Did "pure radium" exist before Mme Curie finally extracted it from pitchblende? If pure radium didn't exist, what incentive did the Curies have to continue through the many years of search which preceded their discovery? Social scientists interested in studying the problems of the world about us need not concern themselves with this enigma, i.e., whether or not radium did exist before its operational definition. To those interested in studying the phenomena produced by the interaction of human beings the only fruitful course is to study human behavior by whatever methods are available. If one could actually contribute a method whereby, for example, one could develop and change public opinion, one would not worry whether public opinion is that which is developed by one's method. To restrict our study to paths which are too narrowly specified for the sake of obtaining a spurious reliability and to turn our attention from the data of our field to the verbal logistics of Dodd's so-called "operationalism" is to return to the company of those medieval philosophers who, in their cloistered precincts, argued about the number of angels who could dance on the point of pin.

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⁴ This point is made abundantly clear in *Dimensions of Society* and has been discussed by the writer in "A Critique of Dodd's *Dimensions of Society*," *American Journal of Sociology*, XLVIII (1942), 214-30.

⁵ It is assumed here that the definition of a social force is an "identifying definition," since, in an earlier work, *A Controlled Experiment on Rural Hygiene in Syria* (American University of Beirut, 1934), Dodd speaks of social agencies as being the engines which generate social forces.

A METHOD FOR STUDYING MORAL JUDGMENTS— FURTHER CONSIDERATIONS

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ABSTRACT

The method for studying moral judgments discussed by Cuber and Pell is considered and several modifications suggested after the check study made at the University of Pennsylvania. Rank-order correlation of the two series was high, and the check series showed a tendency toward greater disapproval of situations presented. The situations were found to be meaningful for the respondents. The sex differences in response found by Cuber and Pell were also found by Jones. The Jones data also show significant differences in response by religious affiliation of respondents and in this respect differs from the Cuber and Pell data. The situational method of securing moral judgments provides the investigator with an additional instrument.

Two procedures seem desirable for the social scientist if present shortcomings of the science are to be removed. There must be continued effort to devise methods of getting valid, meaningful data. This is being done with great ingenuity and care. As a matter of fact, much more emphasis is placed on the innovator and the innovation than the results warrant. The other job that must be done is the much less spectacular one of repeating, in situations as nearly similar as possible to those of the original, studies which appear to have merit, in order that the results may have as wide a range of applicability as possible and also that methods may be evaluated and refined. It is only in this way that we may achieve either universality or predictive ability for our data. It was with this in mind that the following study was begun.

In the *American Journal of Sociology*, July, 1941, there was reported "A Method for Studying Moral Judgments," by John F. Cuber and Betty Pell. The author, interested in the method, set out to discover whether the conclusions cited would be the same with a different respondent group, that is, with undergraduate students in a course in the family in a large, urban, eastern-sea-board university.

Cuber and Pell expressed dissatisfaction with the usual methods of ascertaining judgments or attitudes by means of lists of abstractions and presented, as an improvement, a "Moral Evaluations Questionnaire"

which consisted of twelve "cases" or "situations" "involving what were thought to be controversial moral issues."¹ The cases are summarized as follows:² Case 1—a nonerotic friendship between a married woman and an unmarried man; Case 2—the premarital sex relations of an engaged couple; Case 3—brief summarization of a "Back Street" situation; Case 4—the nonerotic affairs of a married couple; Case 5—a husband's infidelity that is known to the wife; Case 6—a *Jane Eyre* situation; Case 7—a married couple who spend their vacations apart; Case 8—a woman who married for comfort and status, not for love; Case 9—a college student who solves his sex problems by visiting prostitutes; Case 10—a "complete and frank man-woman relationship"; Case 11—a problem concerning birth control; Case 12—a divorce because the marriage no longer is satisfactory.

Case 9 and the questionnaire response requested is reproduced here as an example of the series and because it may assist in an understanding of the discussion.

Paul is a college man. There are still four years of undergraduate and graduate work ahead, and then a couple of years of "starvation" before he can think of marriage. He says

¹ J. F. Cuber and B. Pell, "A Method for Studying Moral Judgments Relating to the Family," *American Journal of Sociology*, XLVII (July, 1941), 12-23.

² The entire questionnaire may be seen in *ibid.*, pp. 15-19.

that he has not let himself fall in love because it would not be fair to the girl to ask her to wait that long. "And there would always be the temptation to a secret marriage or the guilt-creating subterfuge of sex relations outside of marriage. It would only be courting trouble for both of us and running the risk of ruining a career." Paul goes on to say, however: "That doesn't mean that I don't have a sex life. I'm honest enough to know that a healthy man has natural desires—and I provide for them. You call it 'prostitution,' but I don't. The girls are physically all right (a doctor friend of mine performs the regular examinations to determine that) and have pleasing personalities. Some of them are more courteous and genuinely intellectual than numerous coeds I know. I pay for a service which they perform for me. It is satisfying, creates no aversion to sex, and will, I am sure, in no way interfere with my future married life—if and when."

a) Is this wrong? Yes..... No..... Uncertain.....

Cuber and Pell reported the results of 217 responses (106 male, 111 female) from Junior, Senior, and graduate students enrolled in a course on the family at an undesignated institution. They concluded that (a) the situations selected were controversial ones; (b) wherever there was opportunity, the double standard appeared; (c) other breakdowns of the data indicated that church affiliation or age makes no appreciable differences in the attitudes indicated. The twelve cases used for the present study are the same as those given in the article cited. It would be logical to suppose that differences of the kind mentioned would be reflected in differences in moral judgment.

The study reported here was undertaken for the purpose of testing the method suggested by Cuber and Pell in order to see what value it had for the investigator of judgments, moral standards, and attitudes. If it appeared promising, it was the intention of this investigator to adapt it for use in fields other than the family. In order to determine this, it was believed that the best test would be to give the same set of cases under similar conditions to people who, in the main, could be assumed to be similar to

those who composed the Cuber and Pell group but who differed slightly, at least in background. Therefore, the "Moral Evaluations Questionnaire" was given to those students of the University of Pennsylvania who were enrolled, during the first semester of 1941-42, in a course in the family. This course is open only to Juniors and Seniors. It may be assumed, then, that in age composition the groups were roughly similar. There were no graduate students in the Pennsylvania group, and there were many more males than females in that group—277 to 116 as against 106 to 111 in the Cuber and Pell group. It was felt that that difference could be ignored by making the comparison on a percentage rather than a numerical basis. The difference in location was considered important. The students at Pennsylvania are urban eastern, and they like to think of themselves as "modern," "emancipated." In religion about one-eighth of the Pennsylvania students were Catholic; one-half, Protestant; three-eighths, Jewish. No comparable data for the Cuber and Pell group were available.

Before presenting data comparing the findings in the two groups, it is well to consider several questions which may be raised about the method itself. People do not live in paper worlds but in worlds that are composed of situations which call for action. It would appear then that the most satisfactory method for inferring attitudes or judgments would be to observe people directly in such situations. Because of the difficulty of this procedure, several substitute methods have been developed. The question is which of the substitutes reflects most accurately the tendencies to act in the specified situations. This investigator is in agreement with Cuber and Pell that their pseudosituational method is or can be made superior to the lists of abstract generalizations so frequently encountered in attitude scales. This has the advantage, or at least the potentiality, of presenting approximations of definite meaningful situations to people.

There is a question as to the degree to which the respondent reflects his own reac-

tion to a situation and to what extent he answers in terms of a generalized behavior pattern. This is of considerable importance in the answers of marginal or partly emancipated persons, who may feel compelled to answer as they believe the new group would expect. In some instances this might compel a more liberal or individualistic response than would ordinarily be given, or again it might be reflected in the conservatism of the insecure. It is very difficult to differentiate here the response pattern which arises out of lack of identification with the culture of any one group and that which arises from complete integration with the group. It is possible only to infer either marginality or integration from personal data gathered from the respondents. As long as the procedure is to give the judgments questionnaire to groups and to have individual respondents protected by anonymity, the additional personal data will be lacking. (Several fundamentalist evangelical clergymen have said that there was only one possible answer for true members of their churches to give to these cases—that all of these situations were wrong.)

Closely allied here is the question as to which personality role is determining the answers. Each of the young people responding is more than a student in a course in the family. He is also a son, a church member, a fraternity man, a fiancé. Which of these roles is strongest in determining the moral judgments of the individual at this time? The suggestion has been made that this question could be answered by giving questionnaires to the same respondents, or to comparable groups, under different circumstances. The objections to this are several, chief of which is that the test situation is in itself one which would carry with it much of the aura of the classroom.

One test was applied to the responses given to the case of the college student who patronizes prostitutes. The responses from Pennsylvania male students indicated that 59 per cent did not believe Paul to be wrong in patronizing prostitutes. It was decided to

attempt to discover to what degree this response reflected the behavior of the students. It was believed by the investigator that here was one instance where the students were answering in terms of what they believed was expected of them. A check was used for sixty of the students. They were asked the following questions: How did you answer Question 9? Have you had sex relations with a prostitute?—(a) No, (b) Rarely, (c) Regularly, (d) Frequently. The responses to this check may be tabulated as follows:

Those answering "Yes" (signifying disapproval)	23
No	20
Rarely	3
Regularly	0
Frequently	0
Those answering "No" (approval)	37
No	17
Rarely	15
Regularly	3
Frequently	2

We see, then, that exactly as many respondents had never experienced sex relations with a prostitute as had indicated no disapproval. Of those who indicated no disapproval, 48 per cent had never had such experience. Since in a large city the experience is available to this 48 per cent as well as to the other 52 per cent, it is reasonable to suppose that something in the nature of a moral code has been operative as a deterrent. While this is of interest in that it shows the difference between behavior and judgment as expressed by disapproval, it should not be forgotten that only the latter was requested. It seems logical to suppose that many if not all people live by at least two moral codes, and in this instance it is the stricter which is applied to themselves.

Closely allied to this is the question regarding the wording of the inquiries. Cuber recognizes this in his reference to the "leading nature" of the questions.³

When selecting cases to be presented, care

³ *Ibid.*, p. 19.

must be taken to include only those which represent problem situations within the range of the respondent's experience. The response increases in value as the case presented permits identification. For this reason, Cases 1, 2, 7, 9, and 11 appear to be superior to the others in Cuber and Pell's series.

It would be incorrect for us to infer approval of any of these kinds of behavior from the answers elicited by these questions. It is the feeling of many of the respondents (and my feeling, too) that there is, on a moral level, great difference between not disapproving an action or a situation and approving it. It may be that the character of the responses in some of these cases arises from the *nature* of the question asked. A more precise reflection of the attitudes of the respondents toward the problems might be achieved by giving an opportunity to check the degree of approval on a five-point scale ranging through "strongly approve," "approve," "uncertain," "disapprove," "strongly disapprove." No attempt is made here to consider these as equidistant steps on a scale but only as a way of achieving a clearer response.⁴

Cuber and Pell suggest that their method "a) approximates the case method in completeness; b) produces comparable data from a relatively large number of subjects; and c) may be adapted to repeated observations either with the same or with different in-

formants."⁵ I am in complete agreement with them and suggest the changes above in the belief that they would improve the method.

Table 1 presents percentage responses of the two series in order that the high degree of rank-order correlation may be seen. In addition to this there are two other features of interest in the comparison of the two series. The Jones series shows greater tendency toward disapproval. The coefficients of correlation, although positive, are lower for the uncertain responses than for either of the other choices.

It has been possible to show here (Table 1) a comparison of the Jones series with the Cuber and Pell series arranged to indicate differences in response according to the sex of the respondents. Some additional data obtained by the Jones series made it possible to see differences in response according to the religious affiliation of the respondent.

These data show, in tables not reproduced here, that Catholic and Protestant males fail to agree by more than 10 per cent on twenty-one of twenty-five questions. Those on which Catholic and Protestant males most nearly agree are: 5*b*—Larry's wife is not behaving improperly; 8—marriage without love is wrong; 12*b*—it is wrong for Larry to dissuade Betty from divorce action; 12*c* (Would it be wrong to try to contest the divorce?)—neither group shows any great degree of conviction either way. That this is a real area of uncertainty is shown by the fact that this question is one on which the greatest number of "Uncertain" answers were given.

Also, the Catholic and Jewish males failed to agree on twenty of twenty-five questions by more than 10 per cent. Two of the points of agreement, 5*b* and 12*b*, are also seen in the Catholic-Protestant group. In one other, 1*b*, concerning nonerotic friendship between a married woman and a single man, disagreement is of just 10 per cent. This is true also of Question 5*a*—it is wrong for Larry to have an extramarital af-

⁴ For the purposes at hand it is suggested that the five-point scale be defined as follows:

1. *Strongly approve*—by this we mean that you consider this behavior socially desirable and that you would personally favor its extension or adoption.
2. *Approve*—by this we mean that you believe that in this case the behavior is socially acceptable.
3. *Uncertain*—by this we mean that you do not know or care whether this is right or wrong, either for the individual or for society.
4. *Disapprove*—by this we mean that you believe this behavior should not be encouraged in others, nor should you act so yourself.
5. *Strongly disapprove*—by this we mean that you believe this behavior should be discouraged and punished because it is personally and socially undesirable.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 14.

fair. Actually, 5*b* and 12*b* are the only two questions on which Catholic and Jewish males agree within the 8 per cent maximum agreement cited by Cuber and Pell.

of twenty-five questions, and Catholic and Jewish females disagreed by more than 10 per cent on eleven of twenty-five questions.

The high degree of correlation of the two

TABLE 1
PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF RESPONSES OF MALE AND FEMALE COLLEGE STUDENTS
TO "MORAL EVALUATIONS QUESTIONNAIRE"

QUES- TION	MALE: A*—106; B†—277						FEMALE: A—111; B—116						TOTAL: A—217; B—393					
	Yes		No		Uncertain		Yes		No		Uncertain		Yes		No		Uncertain	
	A	B	A	B	A	B	A	B	A	B	A	B	A	B	A	B	A	B
1 <i>a</i> ..	5.7	12	90.6	83	3.7	5	10.8	14.0	83.8	83.0	5.4	3.0	8.3	12.2	87.1	83.2	4.6	4.6
1 <i>b</i> ..	7.5	19	73.6	74	18.9	6	11.7	21.0	64.9	77.0	23.4	2.5	9.7	19.6	69.1	67.4	21.2	13.0
2 <i>a</i> ..	30.2	49	52.8	40	17.0	10	69.4	65.5	21.6	26.0	9.0	9.0	50.2	54.2	36.9	36.1	12.9	9.7
2 <i>b</i> ..	28.3	42	52.8	46	18.9	11	66.7	59.0	23.4	26.0	9.9	15.0	47.9	47.0	37.8	39.9	14.3	13.1
3 <i>a</i> ..	37.7	55	39.6	32	22.7	14	55.9	65.5	27.9	19.0	16.2	15.5	47.0	58.0	33.6	28.2	19.4	13.8
3 <i>b</i> ..	45.3	57	28.3	31	26.4	12	55.0	62.0	28.8	21.5	16.2	15.5	50.2	58.0	28.6	28.2	21.2	13.8
4 <i>a</i> ..	52.8	65	34.0	26	13.2	9	57.7	65.0	23.4	15.5	18.9	20.0	55.3	67.4	28.6	22.9	16.1	9.7
4 <i>b</i> ..	52.8	64	34.0	26	13.2	9	58.6	61.0	22.5	19.0	18.9	20.0	55.8	63.6	28.1	24.0	16.1	12.4
4 <i>c</i> ..	66.0	74	22.7	18	11.3	7	60.4	65.5	22.5	16.0	17.1	18.0	63.1	71.7	22.6	17.3	14.3	11.0
4 <i>d</i> ..	30.2	69	50.9	22	18.9	9	60.4	62.0	20.7	19.0	18.9	19.0	60.4	66.6	25.3	21.1	14.3	12.3
5 <i>a</i> ..	56.6	72	34.0	18	9.4	10	59.4	61.0	22.5	27.0	18.1	12.0	58.1	68.6	28.1	20.8	13.8	10.6
5 <i>b</i> ..	15.1	22	79.2	70	5.7	7	11.7	23.0	76.6	68.0	11.7	9.0	13.4	22.1	77.9	69.2	8.7	8.7
5 <i>c</i> ..	62.2	73	32.1	17	5.7	11	67.6	71.5	18.9	18.0	13.5	10.0	65.0	72.2	25.3	16.2	9.1	11.6
6 <i>a</i> ..	5.7	9	90.6	87	3.7	4	4.5	9.0	84.7	84.0	10.8	6.0	5.1	8.9	87.5	85.2	7.4	5.9
6 <i>b</i> ..	7.5	13	86.8	83	5.7	3	9.0	12.0	78.4	80.0	12.6	8.0	8.3	13.0	82.5	82.1	9.2	4.9
7 <i>a</i> ..	41.5	50	47.2	39	11.3	11	52.3	47.0	28.8	39.0	18.9	13.0	47.0	49.0	37.8	39.1	15.2	11.9
7 <i>b</i> ..	41.5	53	47.2	36	11.3	11	52.3	47.0	28.8	39.0	18.9	13.0	47.0	51.6	37.8	36.8	15.2	11.6
8...	52.8	64	34.4	23	13.2	12	55.0	58.0	29.7	34.0	15.3	8.0	53.9	61.8	31.8	26.4	14.3	11.8
9...	41.5	31	41.5	59	17.0	10	59.4	50.0	22.5	35.0	18.1	15.0	50.7	38.9	29.5	52.1	19.8	9.0
10 <i>a</i> ..	49.1	38	39.6	53	11.3	9	43.2	52.0	29.7	39.0	27.1	9.0	46.1	41.9	34.5	49.1	19.4	9.0
10 <i>b</i> ..	44.4	31	42.4	58	13.2	7	36.9	39.0	29.8	45.0	33.3	15.0	40.6	38.6	35.9	53.9	23.5	7.5
11...	39.6	38	47.2	53	13.2	9	19.8	23.0	67.6	67.0	12.6	9.0	29.5	33.3	57.6	57.5	12.9	9.2
12 <i>a</i> ..	24.5	44	50.1	44	25.4	11	49.6	41.0	31.5	49.0	18.9	9.0	37.3	43.0	40.1	45.7	22.6	11.3
12 <i>b</i> ..	50.1	17	24.4	76	24.4	6	36.1	38.0	41.4	52.5	22.5	10.0	43.3	23.1	33.2	68.9	23.5	8.0
12 <i>c</i> ..	41.5	56	33.9	34	24.6	11	37.0	50.0	35.1	34.0	27.9	15.5	39.2	53.1	34.5	34.0	26.3	12.9
ρ^\ddagger	+0.85		+0.65		+0.54		+0.91		+0.86		+0.37		+0.92		+0.85		+0.37	

* A—Cuber and Pell Series, 1940. † B—Jones Series, 1941. ‡ Coefficient of rank=order correlation of the two series.

Among the female respondents in the Jones series, Catholics and Protestants disagreed by more than 10 per cent on eight

series indicates clearly the agreement of the two groups as to the kinds of behavior which is disapproved.

The significant male-female differences seen in the results of the Cuber and Pell series also appear in the Jones series. The series agree in showing the continued existence of a double standard of sex morals.

The greatest difference in the two series is seen in the responses based on religious differences. The question of the effect of religious background on attitudes toward questions of sex morals is not answered by these data. More data are needed, especially from other than college-student groups.

There is nothing in the Jones series to indicate that geographical differences have any effect on the character of the responses,

even though this was the principal difference in the known character of the two groups. Data from other groups carefully selected on this basis would be interesting.

The two series agree in revealing the illogic, inconsistency, and contradictions which may be disturbing to the moralist but which are the very stuff of moral codes.

The experience of this investigator with this method of securing moral judgments convinces him that, with careful attention to the criticisms mentioned above, it will add a valuable instrument for the investigation of attitudes.

UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA

THE EFFECT OF DUTCH RULE ON THE CIVILIZATION OF THE EAST INDIES

A. VANDENBOSCH

ABSTRACT

The Netherlands Indies has been under Dutch rule for over three hundred years. It is a country of intense colonization, yet the native society has not been deeply penetrated by Western influences. This is due chiefly to the character of Dutch colonial policy and administration. The Dutch have followed a policy of nonassimilation. They have sought to preserve and strengthen native institutions and cultures. Lower education has been kept as much as possible on native basis. Higher education was not developed until very recently, and the standards maintained were so high as to keep the number of students very low.

Before considering the actual influence of the Dutch on the civilization of that part of the Malay Archipelago controlled by the Netherlands, it may be well to note a number of factors bearing on the force and extent of that influence. While the Dutch have been in the East Indies for over three centuries, their control over much of the area was only nominal until recent years. Outside of Java only Amboina, the Minahassa, and a few other small areas were subjected to Dutch administrative penetration. Most of the Outer Territories were brought under effective administrative control in the nineties and the early years of this century. One vast region, New Guinea, had to wait until the past decade for an effective administrative penetration. Feeble efforts to establish administrative posts in New Guinea were made repeatedly in the hundred years before 1930, but at the latter date there were still only a few posts on the fringes of this huge area. Moreover, administrative penetration was not everywhere of equal intensity.

Receptivity to the penetration of alien influences varied greatly within the East Indies. Java, dense in population, Moslem in religion, and with a higher civilization than most of the Outer Islands, resisted alien cultural penetration. In certain parts of the Outer Islands where the population was sparse, the indigenous culture and religion low, and where Dutch administration has been intense for centuries, there has been a marked cultural assimilation. This is especially true of Minahassa (Northern

Celebes) and Ambon or Amboina, which are often referred to as the twelfth and thirteenth provinces of Holland.

While military penetration was sometimes somewhat in advance of administrative penetration, its influence was essentially negative. The character of the penetration by Christian missions ought also to be briefly noted. Mission penetration was sometimes in advance of administrative and sometimes even of military penetration. Most Christian missions in the East Indies are either Dutch or German. The missionaries are very carefully trained for their work before being sent out, and they do not seek to win converts on the day of their arrival in a new field. Instead, they patiently spend years and even decades in a new field to win the confidence of the natives and to learn their social structure and thought patterns. Dr. Nicolaus Adriani, for example, spent years in Central Celebes before he sought to win the people of his district for Christianity. This type of missionary activity is less disturbing to the native society, but the changes it induces are no less fundamental than the other more common type of evangelization. There are at present about two million native Christians in the East Indies, which is approximately 3 per cent of the total population.

Another important factor in the situation is the nature of Dutch colonial policy. Probably more than any other colonial power the Netherlands has followed a policy of nonassimilation. Not only have the

Dutch shown a preference for indirect rule, but they have sought to preserve, to revive where necessary, and to strengthen the native institutions and cultures. There has been no attempt to westernize the Indonesian. Indeed, a recent French observer¹ of Dutch colonial policy and administration reproaches the Dutch for not having brought their culture to the East Indies. While this is a distinguishing characteristic of Dutch colonial policy, there are other features of Dutch colonial administration which tend to neutralize it. Dutch administration in the East Indies is very intense. The number of imported Dutch colonial officials is very high, certainly, as compared with the American and British colonies. Dutch administration penetrates much deeper into native society than the Organic Act and the laws would indicate. There is much illegal exercise of authority through the use of gentle compulsion (*prentah aloes*). There has been much complaint among the Dutch themselves of the Dutch official urge to regulate native life in detail.

In some respects the influence of the Western forces is extremely strong in the East Indies, for it is a country of intense colonization. Reference has already been made to the large number of persons in the East Indian government service who have been recruited from the Netherlands. During the depression, after many had been retired to reduce personnel costs, there were still over seven thousand such persons in the colonial service. A few years before, in 1928, the figure had stood at over eight thousand. At the same time there were fewer than half that number of Britishers in the Indian service and fewer than five hundred Americans in the Philippines service. The European population is also relatively large, especially as compared with India. All Eurasians are, however, classified as Europeans, and this fact makes comparison somewhat difficult. In addition to the Europeans there are over a million and a quarter Chinese in the East Indies. While the Chinese do not of course

represent a Dutch or even a Western influence they do represent an alien influence; their presence must tend to weaken the rigidity of the indigenous society and thus make it more receptive to Dutch influences. The amount of Western capital invested in the East Indies is great, being estimated at between four and six billion florins, including the billion and a half florins of East Indian public debt, which is held almost altogether by Netherlanders. While some of the Western enterprises did not deeply affect native society, some of them, like the sugar industry, penetrated very deeply.

After this brief examination of the general factors having a bearing on the penetration of Dutch influences on East Indian life, I turn to the effect of Dutch rule on Indonesian life. A Dutch missionary who lived for many years in Central Celebes has described what happened to the native society of the district in which he lived. Until 1905 the East Indian government followed a policy of nonintervention in the internal affairs of this region, and until this time the native society was practically untouched by Dutch influence. With the abandonment of the policy of nonintervention in that year and the adoption of direct administration the native society began to disintegrate and finally to collapse. The government built roads with forced labor, and soon the people were moving to new locations along the roads. Individual tax assessments in money compelled the natives to shift from barter to a money economy, at least in part, and thus contributed to the disintegration of the native communities. The natives were persuaded to change their methods of production and in one way or another were weaned away from their traditional ways of living.

Their religion was also affected as certain practices were repressed. Head-hunting, for example, was thought necessary to insure good health and successful crops. A religious ceremony of great importance was the bone-cleaning ceremony. At this ritual the bones of the dead were cleaned several months after death to prepare the departed spirit for entrance to its heavenly home. The

¹ G. H. Bousquet, *Le Politique musulmane et coloniale des pays bas* (Paris, 1939).

repression of these religious practices naturally caused bewilderment, and in their deep spiritual perplexity the natives turned to the Christian missionaries, whom they had learned to trust. This description of the effect of the Dutch administrative penetration upon this district is undoubtedly typical of what happened in many areas of the Outer Islands.

While Christianity has won few converts among the Moslems, the general influence of Christianity and the penetration of Western ideas has had a marked effect on the Moslem community. Christian missionary activity has caused a sharp reaction among the Moslems. A number of societies have been organized to strengthen Moslem loyalty. Displaying much religious zeal, these societies engage in many of the same activities and have adopted many of the methods of the Christian missions. While the government asserts a policy of religious neutrality, it probably is partial to the Moslem reformist movement.

How deeply Western influences have eaten into native Moslem society can be seen from a peculiar development of recent years. It is very difficult under Moslem law for a woman to obtain a divorce without the co-operation of her husband. If she cannot obtain a dissolution of the marriage by inducing her husband to reject her, or if she fails to obtain it through ransom, there remains only nullification. The cases in which a marriage can be nullified are very narrowly circumscribed. The Moslem law, however, prescribes the nullification of a marriage in case of the apostasy of one of the parties. Apostasy is regarded as an abominable act, punishable in this world and the next. Death, denial of the corpse-washing ritual, prohibition of the funeral ritual, denial of right of burial in a Moslem cemetery, dissolution of marriage—these are some of the legal consequences of a declaration of apostasy under Moslem law. Yet Arabian and Indonesian women now brave social disapproval and religious anathema, if necessary, to free themselves from an unhappy or intolerable marriage. In a Moslem country

governed by Moslems they would run the grave risk of the death penalty, but under Dutch rule they are perfectly safe. The woman appears before the Council of Priests to make her declaration of apostasy, and the Council pronounces the dissolution. Many of the women who have thus obtained their freedom have declared acceptance of Christianity. Some of these, after obtaining their nullification, return to the Moslem faith.

In spite of centuries of Dutch rule, probably not over five hundred thousand people in the East Indies speak Dutch. Instead of forcing their language upon the natives, the Dutch have made intense studies of native languages and have saved some of them from extinction. Whether this policy of preserving native languages was wise in every case may be doubted; for the number of languages is large, and some of the languages are spoken by few people. From the earliest days the Dutch have propagated Malay, which has become an indispensable common language. In the early days of the Dutch rule it was used in education and in propagating the Protestant religion. The early teachers and clergy first tried Dutch but, finding this impossible, resorted to Malay. As a result, the colloquial Malay, the Malay of general use, has become corrupted with many Dutch words. It is quite different from the Malay of the Malay people of the East Coast of Sumatra and the Straits.

At this point it should be noted that the Dutch, after the middle of the last century, gave the native élite, in particular the Javanese regents, Dutch education. Many of them came to the Netherlands to obtain part of their education and returned pretty well "Dutchified." One, Noto Soroso, for example, remained in Holland and has won a distinguished reputation as a Dutch poet. How thoroughly westernized some of these families became in their outlook is indicated in the volume of letters by the daughter of a Javanese regent, published some twenty years ago.² The letters, written in the years around 1900, reflect a bitter dissatisfaction

² Raden A. Kartini, *Door Duisternis tot Licht* (The Hague, 1923).

with the position of women in Javanese society. In letters to her Dutch friends the author expressed an intense desire to lead a movement for the education and emancipation of Javanese women. As a memorial to her a society was organized to found and maintain schools for the education of Javanese girls.

The Dutch policy of recognizing, preserving, and developing native institutions has been most thoroughly carried out in the field of law. The work of Professor van Vollenhoven at Leiden and of Professors Ter Haar, Holleman, Kollewijn, and Logemann in the East Indies in the study of customary native law is unique and truly great. As a result of the work of these men, native customary law has not only been saved but was, until the present crisis, being developed along its own lines to meet the new problems which come as a result of the impact of the West. The Indonesians live under their own customary law save in the matter of penalties under the criminal law. *Adat* (customary-law) penalties had to be modified because so many of them were such as no Western power could in good conscience enforce, and they could not stand up under modern developments. As a peculiarity of the customary law the absence of imprisonment as a penalty may be mentioned.

Whatever its advantages, this policy has been accompanied by many difficult problems. There are some twenty customary-law areas, each with its own law. The stage of development varies greatly within these areas and even more among these areas. The contacts between the peoples of these various areas, and of the Indonesians with other racial groups, each with a different legal system, naturally make for a great deal of confusion and uncertainty. With the social and economic development of the natives, new legal needs for which there were no rules in customary law suddenly appeared. Solutions had to be found to meet these problems. One device to meet some of these problems is the voluntary adoption of Western law. Western natives may adopt Western law by a sort of naturalization proc-

ess. To meet the problem of conflicts between people of different racial groups, the so-called "interracial" law had to be developed.

One of the most noteworthy features of Dutch colonial administration is the degree to which science is applied to the life and problems of the East Indies. There are no less than sixty-three scientific institutes and societies in the dependency. Some of the scientific institutions, such as the botanical garden at Buitenzorg and the sugar and rubber laboratories in various parts of the country, have been the envy of other countries. On the material side the Dutch rule has been truly remarkable and extraordinarily successful—and yet not entirely so. To date, scientific study and research is still almost altogether in Dutch hands; Indonesian participation in it is practically nil.

The explanation for this lack of Indonesian participation in science and research is quite apparent. Netherlands Indies, with Indo-China, was the last Asiatic colony to introduce higher education, but Indo-China is after all a much more recently colonized land. And even today the number of students in the institutions of higher learning in the Indies is extremely small. Whereas India and the Philippines number such students by the thousands, the East Indies count them only by the hundreds. The Dutch like to excuse themselves on this score by explaining that besides Japan the East Indies is the only Asiatic country which has maintained its institutions of higher learning on the same standards as those of the West. In other Eastern countries, though the opportunities and facilities for education are much greater and enormous numbers of students have responded to take advantage of them, the standards of higher education are low. The Dutch claim their policy is better. Whether it is so is probably a moot question. This tardiness in developing institutions of higher learning explains in general the slow rate of westernization of the Indonesians and especially the arrested development of the native political movement. The Dutch policy did not permit the

development of native leaders in large numbers.

Like most Asiatics, the Indonesians are not highly critical of their own work or that of others, but unlike other Asiatics the Indonesians are not inclined to overestimation of their own abilities as students of science. On the contrary, a lack of self-confidence characterizes their attitude. They have not yet shown a great interest in science, except in the science of medicine. In this field they have shown an unusual aptitude.

Attention ought to be drawn to one very obvious effect of Dutch rule on Indonesian life. Dutch peace and order, Dutch science and sanitation, have reduced the death rate to a low figure, but the lack of penetration of Western attitudes has caused the birth rate to remain high. As a result, Java is

struggling with the problem of population pressure. The government is planting thousands of Javanese families a year in the Outer Islands. The effect of this on all phases of Indonesian life must be great.

The influence and effect of Dutch policy on other phases of Indonesian civilization might profitably be examined, but enough has been given to indicate the general situation. It is safe to conclude that Western influences have penetrated less deeply in the East Indies than in any other dependency in southeastern Asia; and this fact is due primarily to the character of Dutch colonial policy, which has retarded rather than accelerated the penetration of Western influences.

UNIVERSITY OF KENTUCKY

LETTER TO THE EDITOR

In accordance with the policy of encouraging the expression of divergent views, the editor presents the following letters.

To the Editor of the American Journal of Sociology

DEAR SIR:

I regret to inform you that I have been libeled by the publication in the September, 1942, issue of your journal (pp. 285-87) of Dr. Svend Riemer's review of my recent book, *National Unity and Disunity* (Bloomington, Ind.: Principia Press, 1941). Hence I am asking you to publish this letter in full in a conspicuous place in the earliest possible issue of the *American Journal of Sociology* in order to rectify an unpleasant situation.

Dr. Riemer has imputed to me a conscious desire to use "the cover of a scientific attitude" in order to propose and to conduct a political and social enemy propaganda even to the point of encouraging Hitler to carry on a policy of national expansion in Europe. Nor are matters helped by the fact that Dr. Riemer did not forestall the possible implication that two eminent mathematicians and a celebrated research foundation have been identified with this alleged "propaganda" as well as with my allegedly quasi-scientific "bluff." It is naturally my clear duty to defend the character and reputation of my friends, benefactors, publisher, and the university that has given me a distinguished research appointment.

The two eminent mathematicians are Professors J. L. Walsh and M. H. Stone, both members of the National Academy, both now serving their country, and each, before leaving Harvard, in turn the chairman of our department of mathematics. Moreover, M. H. Stone is the son of Chief Justice Harlan F. Stone of the United States Supreme Court. This fact alone might have given pause to Dr. Riemer before embarking upon his adventure in criticism.

As to my scientific "bluff" with which the above are inferentially identified I am naturally in an awkward position as author of the book in question. Nevertheless I think it not unreasonable if I here tender some germane though necessarily short excerpts from the considered judgments of some eminent persons in several fields who have reviewed my book in other journals, and who, if Dr. Riemer be correct, have been "fooled" by my "bluff."

E. L. THORNDIKE:¹ This is an interesting book. In it Dr. Zipf reports the discovery that in the United States and certain other nations at certain periods the population sizes of cities and towns form approximately a harmonic series. . . . This discovery² may rank with Quetelet's discovery. . . . Dr. Zipf is greatly to be congratulated upon his perspicacity in making it. He shows how the specialization of wealth and labor and the prevalence of exchange must produce an organization of the population into communities with some inverse relation between population-size and the numbers of communities, though this inverse relation could have many forms other than that of the harmonic series. Nobody, I judge, will dispute this. . . .

F. STUART CHAPIN: . . . This is an empirical result of considerable interest, and the author is to be complimented for his industry and care in critically examining this hypothesis. When, however, one turns to the theoretical explanation, the author's work is not so convincing. . . .³

FRANK H. HANKINS: This is altogether a quite unusual book; it is both a very substantial contribution to social science and a tract for the times. . . . This finding would in itself make this book a first-class contribution to social science, but the further elaboration of this finding makes it epoch-making.⁴

GEORGE A. LUNDBERG: This is a very important book. . . . Without going into details and reservations, the present reviewer is of the opinion that with the return of relative sanity in world outlook and a more sober consideration of the fundamental problems of social science, Dr. Zipf's analysis will be regarded on the whole as a distinguished contribution. . . .⁵

J. F. BROWN: . . . This broad collection of data from the most varied countries and times is very impressive, and the correlation between inhomogeneity of data and upsets of socioeconomic equilibrium is undoubtedly positive. . . . No critic will be able to raise the cry that this is meaningless counting. . . . Although Zipf takes great pains to be objec-

¹ *Science*, XCIV (1941), 19.

² But cf. A. J. Lotka, *Science*, XCIV (1941), 164, as well as my extended remarks, *Sociometry*, V (1942), 48-62.

³ *Sociometry*, IV (1941), 418-21.

⁴ *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, CCXVII (1941), 173.

⁵ *American Statistical Association Journal*, XXXVI (1941), 441.

tive and scientific, he does not attempt to shirk the implications of his data and his thesis as he sees them. . . . This is an ambitious and an important work. The final validity of the arguments (as the author himself admits) awaits both further evidence and the course of history. In the meantime this book should go on the required reading list of every serious student of social phenomena.⁶

BROOKS EMENY: . . . It [i.e., this book] is one which any serious student of foreign affairs, however, cannot ignore.⁷

CLYDE KLUCKHOLM: . . . Includes empirical data (population and income statistics) and the proof that to a perfectly amazing degree there is an orderliness . . . which may be expressed in a very simple and mathematical fashion. . . . While not convinced of every interpretation which Zipf offers of the departure of certain constellations of data from his generalized harmonic series, the reviewer does believe that Zipf's analysis of his facts does give a quantitative demonstration that "the old order is over."⁸

And there are further reviews in the same vein. Although these reviews *per se* do not suffice to establish the Harmonic Law, they nevertheless suffice to defend me against Dr. Riemer's charges: "the demonstration is dilettantic," "the theorem is a bluff," "the book is too dangerous to be dismissed with a few remarks on inadequate scholarship." Of course these reviews contain valued constructive criticisms as I had hoped (cf. Chapin, *op. cit.*: "The author explicitly welcomes examination of his work with a view to verification"). Students of regionalism and the distribution of raw materials and populations can only profit from reading the reviews in full. But that is a far cry from Dr. Riemer's undisguised insinuations.

It is true that on the basis of my quantitative data I drew certain inferences (in 1940!!!) about the internal instability of the British Empire, India, the British ruling class, Europe, Germany, and even the United States which subsequent events, far from controverting, have substantiated. To aver that I was thereby propagandiz-

ing for the emergence of those events is silly (not to use a stronger term). Indeed, it is by no means certain that the Harmonic Law with all that it implies is not placing its cold hand of restriction upon our present war economy as well as upon our plans for post-war reconstruction. Moreover, nothing has happened to cause me to retract a single word of my general statement about the Principle of Purge in reference to the leaders and members of group movements of whatever sort in whatever country (including Dr. Riemer's "war-mongers") if their activity is in fact deleterious to the national economy. Time has yet to prove me wrong in this matter.

As to the rest of Dr. Riemer's review I point out that my discussion (pp. 73-80) of the social history of the United States which Dr. Riemer held up to ridicule was precisely one of the sections that Dr. Chapin considered to consist of a "stimulating insight." As far as I can see, mine are not the words to which Dr. Riemer's terms, "bluff," "dilettantic," and "inadequate scholarship" should be applied.

I hope this letter will serve to rectify any unpleasant impression that may have been made by Dr. Riemer against Drs. Walsh and Stone, the research foundation named, and my publishers. I also hope that this letter will contribute its share in defending the traditional American standards of fair criticism against what seems to be a new tendency—quite foreign to our native habits—to attack the character and motives of a person whose carefully weighed research conclusions do not happen to conform to the popular political, social, and economic vogues of the moment. I am sure that in defending our traditional American standards of criticism I am right in viewing Dr. Riemer, the editor, and all others mentioned in this letter as like-minded allies. I should like to believe that Dr. Riemer has merely been the victim of his own passing emotions during troublous times that social scientists are trying to understand. The tone of this present letter, though decidedly firm, is by no means unfriendly.

GEORGE KINGSLEY ZIPF

Harvard University

⁶ *Psychological Bulletin*, XXXVIII (1941), 758-61.

⁷ *American Journal of International Law*, XXXV (1941), 593-94.

⁸ *American Anthropologist*, XLIII (1941), 667-68.

NEWS AND NOTES

RESEARCH NEWS

Mills College, California.—As an experiment in inter-American understanding, La Casa Pan-Americana was established at Mills last summer to maintain a residence center of Pan-American studies on the Pacific Coast. A color film depicting the life and program of the Casa is available in silent or sound versions to interested groups.

Wayne University.—Two graduate fellowships for research in Negro-Jewish relations have been provided at Wayne by the Detroit units of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and the Jewish Community Council for the year 1942-43.

NOTES

The Association for the Study of Negro Life and History Incorporated.—The eighteenth annual celebration of Negro History Week will be held February 7-14. The *Negro History Bulletin* for this year will publish material on the Negro's contribution to the advancement of democracy.

Australia.—An Australian Institute of Sociology has been formed for the purpose of promoting sociological research in Australia and, in particular, research connected with Australian problems. Professor Elkin, New South Wales, is president of the society. Vice-presidents are Dr. Wand, archbishop of Brisbane; Professor Fox, University of Western Australia; Principal Kiek, Parkin College, South Australia; Professor Elliott, University of Tasmania; Professor Crawford, University of Melbourne; and Professor Macrea, New South Wales. Honorary secretary is Miss Aileen Fitzpatrick. Dr. Lloyd Ross is honorary treasurer. The Institute is anxious to make contact without delay with groups in Britain and America that are concerning themselves with problems of the war and reconstruction.

Journal of Legal and Political Sociology.—Making its debut in October, the new

Journal of Legal and Political Sociology devoted its first issue to articles on "Democracy and Social Structure." Editors G. Gurvitch, K. Llewellyn, R. Lowie, R. Pound, R. MacIver, and T. V. Smith stated in the Preface that the *Journal* would deal with the "problems of legal and political behavior and legal institutions and symbols, in their functional relationships with types of groups and inclusive societies."

Special tribute was paid to the late Bronislaw Malinowski, one of the founders of the new publication and a member of its editorial board. All communications should be addressed to Dr. Georges Gurvitch, New School for Social Research, 66 West Twelfth Street, New York City.

Michigan Sociological Society.—The Sixth Annual Meeting was held on Friday, November 13, in Detroit. Among the papers presented were "Social Participation in War-time," by Edwin Lemert, of Western Michigan College; "Subversive Elements in Minority Groups," by Alfred M. Lee, of Wayne University; and "The Farm Family and the War," by Roy H. Holmes, of the University of Michigan. A round-table discussion was held on "The Role of the Sociologist in the War and in Postwar Planning."

National Committee for Mental Hygiene.—The Thirty-third Annual Meeting and luncheon was held at the Hotel Roosevelt in New York City on November 12.

Service Bureau for Intercultural Education. To meet an anticipated aggravation of intergroup race and cultural relations caused by war and post-war conditions, the Service Bureau for Intercultural Education, directed by Stewart B. Cole, is preparing a series of teachers' manuals and classroom units of work. These will be published during the 1942-43 school year.

Beloit College.—Lloyd V. Ballard has returned to Beloit College after a year's leave of absence during which he served as assistant director of the Division of Child Wel-

fare, Wisconsin State Department of Public Welfare, in the development of a state-wide program for the prevention of juvenile delinquency.

University of Chicago.—Assistant Professor of Anthropology Fred Eggan joined the Board of Economic Warfare, Office of Economic Warfare Analysis, in November to work on problems of reoccupation and reconstruction in the Far East.

University of Cincinnati.—Earle Eubank has returned to the department of sociology after a year's sabbatical leave.

Columbia University.—Professor Robert S. Lynd has been elected executive officer of Columbia's department of sociology. Professor Robert K. Merton has taken a leave of absence for war work in Washington.

Duke University.—Dr. John Gillin, associate professor of anthropology, has been appointed consultant for the Office of Strategic Services. He continues to carry a full load of courses at Duke.

This past summer Dr. Gillin did ethnological field work in Guatemala on a joint grant from Duke University and the American Philosophical Society in collaboration with the Carnegie Institute of Washington.

University of Iowa.—Editor Herbert Blumer of the *American Journal of Sociology*, who is professor of sociology at the University of Chicago, will join the sociology department at Iowa for the coming semester. Professor Blumer will offer an advanced course in human behavior and social action and a seminar on research methods.

University of Kansas.—Departmental Chairman Dr. Carroll D. Clark has been appointed captain in the army air corps. Dr. Seba Eldridge is serving as acting chairman. The research volume on *Development of Collective Enterprise* by Dr. Eldridge and associates will be issued shortly by the University of Kansas Press. Dr. Mabel Elliott's monograph on "The Nature and the Extent of Divorce" appeared recently in the volume *Marriage and the Family*, published by D. C. Heath and Company.

University of Maryland.—O. E. Baker, after thirty years in the United States Department of Agriculture, is leaving his present position as senior social scientist in the Division of Farm Population and Rural Welfare to become head of the department of geography in a new Institute being established at the University of Maryland bearing the tentative title, Institute in Geoeconomics and Politics. The purpose of the Institute is to train men and women for administrative and technical positions, both governmental and private, in foreign countries after the war. The Institute will include departments in modern languages, political science, economics, military tactics, psychology, history, geography, and international trade. The teachers will hold consultant or other positions in departments of the federal government.

University of Michigan.—Arthur E. Wood is acting chairman of the executive committee of the department while Robert C. Angell is on leave in the army air corps. Richard C. Fuller has been appointed to an associate professorship. Theodore C. Newcomb is on leave and is in Washington as consultant in social psychology.

University of Minnesota.—The School of Social Work has been established to carry on the previous graduate course in social work with Dr. F. Stuart Chapin as director and Miss Gertrude Vaile as associate director.

New members of the School of Social Work are: Miss Rose Green, assistant professor of social work in the field of children's services; Mrs. Alice Clendening, assistant professor of social work in the field of medical social work; Miss Lois Beemer and Miss Katherine Flanagan, instructors.

University of Missouri.—Professor Brewton Berry has been granted a leave this year to continue his work on the history of the Missouri Indians.

Mr. Forrest Kellogg, former assistant instructor here, has become assistant professor of sociology at the Texas Agricultural and Mechanical College.

Miss Ethelyn Davis, Volker Fellow at the

University in 1940-42, is now teaching at the Texas State College for Women.

Mr. Lawrence Hepple has been added to the extension staff as instructor in sociology.

Pennsylvania State College.—Simon Marcson, formerly of the Office of Radio Research of Columbia University, has been appointed instructor of sociology to replace Richard G. Davis, who is on leave with the armed forces.

Kingsley Davis, head of the department of sociology, is on leave. Dr. Davis is engaged in demographic work for the State Department at the Office of Population Research of Princeton University.

University of Rochester.—Professor Raymond V. Bowers, chairman of the department of sociology, is on leave to serve as senior statistician in the Division of Research and Statistics of the Selective Service System during 1942-43.

Dr. Henry D. Sheldon, Jr., has resigned to serve in the Division on Population of the Bureau of the Census.

Dr. Collerohe Krassovsky, formerly of the University of Michigan, joins the department as lecturer.

Mr. Jerome Himelhoch, of Oxford, Columbia, and Drew universities, has been appointed an instructor in sociology.

Temple University.—Dr. Claude C. Bowman, assistant professor of sociology, has been named acting dean of men.

University of Washington.—Robert W. O'Brien, instructor in sociology, has become national director of the Student Relocation Committee in charge of selecting qualified American-born Japanese students for admission to colleges and universities in the Midwest and the East.

Shotaro Frank Miyamoto, associate in sociology, has received a pre-doctoral Social Science Research Council fellowship for field training in problems of the Japanese evacuation for the Pacific Coast.

Behind the Japanese Mask, by Dr. Jesse F. Steiner, was published by Macmillan in December.

Calvin F. Schmid, who was employed as principal research analyst in the Statistical

Division of the Wartime Civil Control Administration in San Francisco, has returned to the University. The W.C.C.A. had charge of evacuating more than 110,000 Japanese from Military Area 1 and part of Military Area 2 of Washington, Oregon, California, and Arizona.

Wayne University.—Dr. H. Warren Dunham, instructor in sociology at Wayne, received the Susan Colver-Rosenberger Award this summer at the University of Chicago for his doctoral dissertation on "The Character of the Interrelationship of Crime and Schizophrenia."

New chairman of the Wayne University department of sociology, Dr. Alfred McClung Lee took office September 1. Dr. Lee was formerly a member of the faculties of New York University, Yale University, and the University of Kansas. He is executive director of the Institute for Propaganda Analysis and of the Summer Club of Yale University. He is also chairman of the Public Relations Committee of the American Sociological Society and vice-president of the Eastern Sociological Society.

Assistant Professor of Sociology Maude L. Fiero taught a special course in sociology last summer at the Michigan Training Camp for Nurses in Detroit.

Frank E. Hartung, personnel manager of the Airplane Products Corporation, has been appointed special instructor in sociology.

Dr. Edward C. Jandy, author of the recently published *Charles Horton Cooley: His Life and His Social Theory*, was appointed associate professor of sociology last September 1.

Former special instructor in sociology, Dr. Stuart Lottier is now a private in the army.

Williams College.—Professor F. L. Schuman is now employed by the Federal Communications Commission in Washington.

University of Wyoming.—Arthur Schweitzer has been promoted to assistant professor in the department of economics and sociology. Assistant Professor R. M. Bourne has taken a leave of absence to join the O.P.A.

BOOK REVIEWS

A Study of War. By QUINCY WRIGHT. 2 vols.
Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1942.
Pp. xxiii+678; xvii+681-1552. \$15.00.

This imposing work by an outstanding authority is likely to become and remain a standard work of reference for many years to come. Though in its major conceptions and final formulations it is the work of its distinguished author, *A Study of War* is at the same time a striking illustration of what can be accomplished by collaborative research. For some time it has become increasingly apparent that the enormous specialization of modern scholarship calls for renewed efforts at integration and synthesis. But such efforts are now likely to be the result of organizations rather than individuals—or perhaps it would be more accurate to say, the product of individuals aided by organizations. As Professor Arnold Toynbee, himself the author of a number of imposing endeavors in this work of synthesis, has written in his *Study of History*:

Such series are monuments of the laboriousness, the "factual" knowledge, the mechanical skill, and the organizing power of our society. They will take their rank with our stupendous tunnels and bridges and dams and liners and battleships and skyscrapers, and their editors will be remembered among the famous Western engineers. In invading the realm of historical thought, the Industrial System has given scope to great strategists and has set up marvellous trophies of victory.

There can be little doubt that Professor Quincy Wright's study of war represents a striking achievement in this field. Appendix I describes in some detail the inception and setup of the causes-of-war project at the University of Chicago.

At the same time, it is inevitable that undertakings of this kind, like all works of men, should show the defects of their virtues. Like encyclopedias, which they in many respects resemble, they overwhelm the reader with masses of detail. They repeat themselves in different sections composed at different times; they contain startling incongruities resulting from the change in research personnel; and in spite of the persistent attempts at exhaustiveness they overlook or take insufficient account of key works in

the field. Some instances of all these effects can be found in the present work.

The first volume is devoted to the history of war, the second to the analysis of war. The work concludes with a brief treatment of the control of war. Both volumes contain voluminous appendixes which in the first volume occupy almost three hundred pages and in the second volume one hundred and fifty pages.

The survey of the history of war commences with a general discussion of war in relation to history and the origin of war. Preceding this are two chapters concerned with careful presentation of the objects of the study as well as its setup and organization. We are informed that war is to be defined as a "violent contact of distinct but similar entities" and that, on this basis, warlike behavior may be divided into that "pertaining to animals, to primitive man, to civilized man, and to man using modern technology." Although these forms of warfare develop successively out of one another, it is held that each is distinctive enough to be spoken of as "an emergence rather than an evolution." It will be noted that this definition of war is mechanistic rather than teleological. By contrast, Clausewitz's famous definition stresses the objective when it says: "War is an act of violence for the purpose of forcing the adversary to bow to our will." Going still further, in the Christian tradition war is defined as a penal institution for the purpose of vindicating the moral law. It is obvious that such definitions as these would exclude from a study of war such fighting as might occur between animals.

It is the belief of the author of the present work that "a study of animal warfare may contribute toward understanding the organic bases and social tendencies of war. . . ." Asserting that "the psychological causes of war lie ultimately in the characteristics of protoplasm," Wright maintains that the study of simpler animal forms would be more helpful in providing evidence than the study of such a complex form as man. Basing his survey upon a considerable number of special studies, such as M. M. Wheeler's *Social Life among Insects* and S. Zuckerman's *The Social Life of Monkeys and Apes*,

Wright concludes that there exist fundamental drives directed toward these objectives: "food, sex, dominance, self-preservation, home territory, activity, independence, and society."

Succeeding chapters deal on a similar broad comparative canvas with primitive warfare, historic warfare, and modern warfare. Much the most considerable space is given to the last, which is broadly based upon an analysis of the character of modern civilization. To describe the character of modern civilization in forty pages is bound to be difficult. Any such analysis is highly personal and subjective, and numerous disagreements are likely to be noted by any informed reader. Suffice it to say here that the analysis is broken down into what are called the spirit of modern civilization, the periods of modern civilization, and the changes in modern civilization. This section on modern civilization is followed by chapters dealing respectively with fluctuations in the intensity, functions, drives, technique, and theory of modern war. This way of approaching the matter is rather unsatisfactory because the several chapters really represent different approaches to the same material; and unfortunately the inherent contradictions between these approaches appear as contradictions in the treatment as a whole. Specifically, the chapter on drives of modern war is something of a jumble owing to the fact that drives and motives are intermingled in spite of the fact that they are quite distinctive. Treating them as interchangeable, the author contradicts what he has said earlier about drives in dealing with animal warfare. Finally, the theory of modern war cannot really be treated apart from the technique of modern war. It is one of the achievements of the modern science of strategy to have shown conclusively that theories of modern war, as surveyed by the author, are really rationalizations of broad techniques. It seems curious that the author's survey of the theory of modern war should be almost entirely devoted to juristic problems, whereas other kinds of theory are presented in other chapters. For example, the statement: "Most social systems subject children to parental discipline, resulting in ambivalent feelings of hate and love for the parent. Such conflicting attitudes are most easily solved by displaying aggressions upon an external person or group," occurs in the chapter on drives. Clearly, this is theory and rather questionable theory at that. There are many other instances of rather uncritical attitudes toward highly debatable positions main-

tained by different schools of psychologists, sociologists, and anthropologists. The attempt to deal with the inherent theoretical problems by enumeration of them or their alternatives is an unsatisfactory escape and tends to bewilder rather than enlighten the reader.

After treating of the contradictions of modern civilization, which the author feels have increased and have brought increasingly violent conflicts and war, Wright turns to a broad consideration of the changes in war through history. He gives many striking instances of the creative impact of war in the past and makes recurrent favorable references to Toynbee's theory of challenge and response and similar works. However, he feels that these favorable effects have been on the decline; and, as he points out at the end of his discussion of functions, "in the most recent stage of world civilization war has made for instability, for disintegration, for despotism, and for unadaptability." A note of nostalgic hoping-against-hope is reflected in such statements as the concluding one in the chapter on changes in war through history: "Modernism has hoped to eliminate human catastrophes and conquests by social and scientific procedures for continuously testing the past values of ideas and beliefs. It is, however, recognized that such procedures can be effective only if humanity becomes less reluctant to accept the new and to abandon the old than it has been in the past." Is there any real expectation that such changes in man will take place?

Fortunately, the author does not rely upon such developments as a change in "human nature." His second volume, after an extended analysis of war in Part III, deals with the control of war in a realistic and sane fashion. His entire analysis leads him to the conclusion that an emerging world community calls for a world government, and that only from such a world government can an effective control of war be expected.

The richness and scope of the author's pattern of analysis defies critical evaluation in detail. After an extended methodological discussion a more refined "definition" of war is reached on the basis of the several manifestations of war. War may be considered, we are told, as "a simultaneous conflict of armed forces, popular feelings, jural dogmas, and national cultures so nearly equal as to lead to an intensification of each." The four aspects of war which this definition suggests must all be borne in mind, if a realistic conception is to result. Sev-

eral species of unsound approach to the problems of war have resulted from overemphasizing one or another of these aspects. As Wright says: "The anarchists, striving to eliminate all legal coercion; the isolationists, striving to eliminate all inter-group relations; the idealists, striving to eliminate all conflicts; and the extreme pacifists, trying to eliminate all violence, are engaged in a hopeless task." No doubt each of these species of extremists will want to fight back; but the reviewer, being of the same opinion as the author, wishes to commend his views as sound and well calculated to give us real insight into how to control war in the future.

The chapters surveying the approach of these several academic disciplines to war seems to overlap considerably with various sections of the first volume; it is marred, in any case, by the apparent absence of an integrated theory of knowledge on the part of the author. The cataloguing of the several fields makes drab and uninteresting reading. The work of men like Morris Cohen and A. N. Whitehead, if not the more recondite work of modern logicians, provides unifying principles of comprehensive scope. This absence of a philosophical perspective mars also the discussion of causes of war, since the category of "cause" is itself intimately bound up with the problems of method and approach. While the case studies of six big wars, from the Moslem conquests to World War I, provide very interesting raw material, they cannot settle the logical issues. Induction on so feeble a foundation of fact, even if we accept induction as a sound method (and who would?), is utterly incapable of supporting generalizations as to the causes of war. Consequently, the author finds himself restricted to summarizing and reporting the views of others. "The phrase 'causes of war' has been used in many senses. . . . Scientists attempt to classify, combine, or analyze particular events. . . . Historians assume that the future is a development of the past . . . they attempt to classify events. . . . Practical politicians assume that changes result from free wills operating in an environment," etc., etc. Such a summary of approaches, while helpful, is disappointing. It is undoubtedly true, as the author suggests, that "war has politico-technological, juridico-ideological, socio-religious, and psycho-economic causes," if we mean by these verbal monsters to shorthand the proposition that, e.g., "war has been explained in terms predominantly political and technological." But there lurks here what Whitehead has called "the fallacy of misplaced

concreteness." Reifying logical processes has been taboo ever since Hume and Kant laid the foundations for all modern critical philosophy. Wright knows this well enough; for he immediately speaks of these causes as "points of view" which "emphasize the technique, the law, the functions, and the drives of war." But the result is that the question of causation is left hanging in the air.

However, these "causes" or "viewpoints" provide the author with the pattern for his analysis. He proceeds to lay out the vast mass of his material under four headings: (1) governments and the struggle for power, (2) states and the divergencies of law, (3) nations and the rivalries of cultures, and (4) peoples and the competition for a living. In a concluding section on factors influencing the incidence of war the several points of view are once again surveyed and the causes of war once more classified in terms of functions, drives, and purposes. Within the broad sweep of these sections, such specific topics as the following find their place: balance of power, armament and disarmament, sovereignty, nationalism and war, public opinion and war, etc. In all these fields, Wright displays the broad learning and sympathetic insight which we have come to expect from him; many of these chapters are little books in themselves.

But, as the old saying goes, the proof of the pudding is in the eating, and hence the concluding section on the control of war provides the clue to, and the unity of, the whole enterprise. Wright's "principles of social action" are summed up in four chapter headings, each containing an imperative. We suddenly emerge from the sea of reportorial detail and confront the author's own beliefs. Here they are: (a) We must start from where we are; (b) We must choose the direction in which we want to go; (c) Costs must be counted; (d) The time element must be appreciated. These principles are all expressions of a philosophy of planning for action which rests its case uneasily upon the modified kind of Marxian dialectics with which Mannheim has been associated. The author quotes (with approval?) the suggestion that "the dialectical relationship between theory and practice insists on the fact [*sic!*] that, first of all, theory, arising out of a definite social impulse, clarifies this situation, and in the process of clarification reality undergoes a change." We are told that "social synthesis is, therefore, history in the making." It seems doubtful whether this species of dialectical reasoning can be made

plausible from a scientific standpoint. It is certain that the author's preceding highly eclectic survey does not provide a basis for it.

But, assuming that these principles of social action are sound, the prevention of war and the march toward a warless world become practicable goals in the light of the mass of knowledge surveyed. In discoursing on the prevention of war, Wright breaks down his task into four distinguishable problems of practical politics: (1) the aggressive government, (2) the international feud, (3) the crisis period, and (4) the incipient war. His views are balanced and may well be illustrated by the recipe offered for the handling of the aggressive government: "A program of political isolation of the aggressive government, economic collaboration with its people, and the threat of collective sanctions against overt acts of aggression is more likely to break the vicious circle than a program of counteralliances, economic isolation, and threats of preventive war." In speaking of the crisis period, Wright in a similar vein remarks realistically, "Nations desiring peace must rely on prevention rather than on neutrality. . . . International organization devoted solely to the preservation of a given *status quo* cannot preserve permanent peace."

The concluding section, "Toward a Warless World," rests upon the proposition that an organization of peace "must be world-wide" yet at the same time that "it is unlikely that a universal pattern of representation can for a long time be recognized." But all of Wright's analysis leads him to conclude that "the transition from security by balance of power to security by collective police has to be made all at once." From these three propositions it clearly follows that only a victorious great power or combination of great powers could, through an act of constituent power, bring into existence the world constitution under which a genuine world government might proceed to function. A definite relationship needs to be established between such a government and the individual citizen. "The greatest weakness of the League Secretariat was its want of access by right to the public in all sections of the world." But Wright also asserts that "unless the fundamental values of modern civilization are widely understood and accepted, such a political body would have no standards of policy or ethics to justify it in transcending the existing law." This way of putting the matter suggests an inescapable impasse. In *The New Belief in the Common Man* I have tried to show why agreement on funda-

mentals is not necessary for democratic institutions; why, indeed, democratic institutions are designed to provide a working government for those who do not agree on fundamentals, provided they are willing to accept and follow certain restricted rules of conduct—behavior patterns which make for co-operation rather than conflict, peace rather than war. Once such rules are granted, it is possible for men to agree on concrete tasks and practical steps, even though such agreements are strictly *ad hoc* and are reached from fundamentally divergent viewpoints. Only such a view holds out any realistic promise that constitutional world government might be worked out in this generation. Upon that achievement, the author and the reviewer agree, the future of war and peace depends.

CARL J. FRIEDRICH

Harvard University

The Status System of a Modern Community. By W. LLOYD WARNER and PAUL S. LUNT. ("Yankee City Series," Vol. II.) New Haven: Yale University Press, 1942. Pp. xx+246. \$3.00.

For ten years, in bars, offices, wherever sociologists have congregated, discussion of "Warner's Newburyport study" has gone on. It has built high hopes and reinforced gloomy ones until the published account, no matter how brilliant or how bad, could not possibly fulfil the supercharged expectations. The second volume, original and thorough as a masterpiece, yet more defective than some lesser works, will long puzzle the wise prognosticators of the past.

More clearly than the first volume, the second reveals the fundamental focus of the whole study—a focus on the positional structure of the community. Professor Warner has naturally seized upon class position as the central key to this structure—doubtless because class involves every member of the community more directly and inclusively than any other part of the social organization. Every individual, whether he wishes or not, has a place in the class system; this place summarizes all his other positions and constitutes a shorthand expression of the community's final opinion of him.

The problem in this volume, however, is not to delineate the various strata but to examine the other aspects of the positional structure as they are related to class. The authors analyze

seven sectors of social organization (associations, cliques, families, churches, schools, political and economic groupings) to find out how group membership extends variously through the class strata. The 357 associations, for example, are found to combine class members in 19 different ways and to create thereby 54 different positions which an individual, as a simultaneous member of an association and a class, may occupy. Families are found to combine classes in 24 ways and thus to form 50 different positions which a person, as both a family and a class member, may fill. Cliques are found to combine classes in 31 ways and to give 73 positions which a person, as a clique-class man, may hold. The positions are neatly charted. They are the ones actually found in the community and do not exhaust the logical possibilities, since with a six-strata class system there are 40 unique combinations possible and 94 unique positions. Having typed each of the seven sectors according to their various group extensions on the class scale, the authors synthesize the seven charts into one master-chart of the community's entire positional system. They do this by a neat though highly formal device. They treat all groupings, no matter whether families, cliques, or associations, as being identical in type if their membership has the same extension down the class ladder. Thus, if a clique and a family both draw members from the upper-upper and lower-upper classes, they are regarded as an identical type. In this way a status system for the entire community, integrating the seven sectors with the class system and showing 34 types of groupings and 89 positions, is charted. Each position is thus composed of three elements: a class status, membership in a particular group, and a set of relations with other class statuses within this group. A man who is a member of a clique composed solely of class equals and at the same time a member of another clique composed of four classes, occupies two very different positions, as attested by his different behavior in them.

The connections between positions are of two sorts: one between positions in the same class, the other between positions in different classes. To measure the first the authors treat a joint membership as an interconnection. Any individual not only may occupy more than one position in the same class, but, because different *kinds* of groups make up each class type in the master-chart, may have more than one membership in the same position. Between any two positions, therefore, the number of joint mem-

berships in ratio to the total number of memberships gives a rough measure of the relative influence of each position on the other. If Position A, for example, with 20 memberships, has 10 interconnections with B, while B, with 30 memberships, has only 11 interconnections with A, Position A receives more influence from B than it gives. The connections between positions on different class levels must, on the other hand, be measured in another way because the same individual cannot occupy positions in different classes. Such connections are measured by counting the memberships in each position and judging that the position with more memberships has the greater influence. Using these measuring devices, the authors calculate the interconnections of all 89 positions and present them statistically in an 87-page table. By using this table any social situation and any personality may be studied in its relation to the entire positional structure, and for any particular analytical purpose all other relations except those being studied may be systematically eliminated.

It can be seen that this analysis is highly systematic—the first of its kind applied to a community. Bold, sweeping, and original in conception and execution, it provides not one but a whole set of valuable methodological suggestions. The focus on position and membership, the classification of group structures according to their class extension, the method of measuring interconnections between positions—all are ingenious and useful. Such techniques make possible comparative work of an exact character.

The reviewer's few criticisms are not crucial. To begin with, it seems fair though not decisive to say that in both the initial and the present volume a step seems to be imperfectly described—the step from the original observations to the classification adopted. In Volume I we are told of the copious factual material collected and filed. But when the results are given, their relation to this abundant material is not always obvious. Let us take the class hierarchy as an example: How did the investigators arrive at a sixfold classification? They say in Volume I that the classes were found, evidently in individuals' statements concerning the standing of others. But there is no systematic treatment of these statements. We do not know what weighting was given various kinds of opinions, how doubtful cases were decided, etc. The data in the tables of the present volume simply assume this prior work. Perhaps the sixfold classifica-

tion of social ranks was not *in* the data but was simply a convenient scheme for classification. The criteria of class in our society are generally continua and as such fall no more readily into six ranks than into eight or twenty. By attributing to the data something that is merely a convenient device, one may arrive at conclusions dependent primarily on the device. Thus the view that the class structure is not pyramidal in shape is true if classes are divided into six ranks in a certain way. The lower-lowers at the bottom have fewer people (25 per cent of the total) than the upper-lowers (33 per cent) or the lower-middles (28 per cent). But the shape is in part a function of the classificatory scheme. If instead of six we take merely the usual threefold classification, we find that the upper class has 3 per cent of the total, the middle class 38 per cent, and the lower class 58 per cent—definitely pyramidal. Yet, since the criteria are usually continua and therefore conform to the normal distribution curve, the finer the distinctions, the less pyramidal the shape. Moreover, the distinctions in any case tend to be finer at the top. Who besides the sociologist cares about watching the doings of the lowest 1.44 per cent of the population? No matter how many grades one distinguishes, therefore, the distribution is probably skewed in the direction of the top grades; but the number of grades itself is not inherent in the data, nor is the shape of the pyramid totally so.

The authors insufficiently utilize extant sociological theory in interpreting their findings. One might think that all past research and thought concerned with these topics had been in vain. The difficulty does not lie entirely with the authors. They attempted to formulate their hypotheses and to test them in the field. If they failed to link their specific hypotheses with a larger system of sociological propositions, it was probably because there exists no shorthand method of signalizing, synthesizing, and utilizing the main contributions of the past. Space is consequently always lacking, and ignoring sociological theory has become a norm of distinction rather than a mark of failure. The present authors have accomplished more than the average in this respect, but one still wishes they had utilized more space to develop a full sociological analysis and thus give more meaning to their tabulated data. Doubtless much of this is being reserved for Volume V on *American Symbol Systems*, but the present volume is an excellent place for it.

Since more than 140 pages are devoted to statistical tables, it is perhaps not picayune to mention the poor construction of some of the tables. The trouble lies in the presence of numbers with no labels. There are entries, for example, placed both vertically and horizontally in the same column, often as many as three entries to a cell. The use of more brace headings for columns and indented headings for lines would have obviated much of the difficulty. As they stand, many of the tables require too much textual explanation, taking up space that could have been better used for graphic presentation or for the sociological analysis mentioned above.

These criticisms do not minimize the outstanding contribution the book makes in the techniques of handling data and the analysis of community organization. There are an awkward originality and a driving concentration in the book which more than counterbalance the faults.

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Phases of American Culture. By JESUIT PHILOSOPHICAL ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA. Worcester, Mass.: Holy Cross College Press, 1942. Pp. 83. \$2.00.

This little book consists of five essays centered on the influence of prevailing ideas on the "integration" and then on the "disintegration" of American culture, with particular focus on the broader aspects of law. The sociology is uneven; some of the book is carefully and at times incisively descriptive (e.g., Parsons on "the American culture, both before and after the Revolution" as "a recognizably Christian culture, retaining, and passionately proclaiming, the vast majority of the truths of Revelation"). What may be called the positive case, that for religion and for the essential values of truths not objectively verifiable as being necessary foundations of a healthy culture on a democratic scale, is a case doubly to challenge any serious sociologist.

This challenge comes out perhaps best in the essay on Holmes¹ (Ford). With restraint, large-

¹ The limitations on Holmes's explicit philosophy of law and life have been forced into attention by the Holmes-Pollock letters and the war. In substantial accord with Ford is Lucey, "Natural Law and American Legal Realism," *Georgia Law Journal*, XXX

ly in Holmes's words, and devastatingly (or excitingly, as you will), there is presented the limit to which Holmes found his unaided, rigorous reason to take him. The law of the state, if taken simply as a positive phenomenon with which individuals must reckon, rested on force and on the net balance of passion or desire. (Like Bentham, Holmes heavily understressed processes and effects of social structuring and of educative shaping.) That was that. The tasks of law Holmes did not write much about. He did observe that, when interest or passion or divergent ideals cut too deep, it came to killing. (It does. One would think the present war a persuasive instance.) Holmes could find no *objectively* verifiable reason for thinking his own fighting faiths, or any other's, to be of necessary cosmic significance; they were "can't helps," and so, as a matter of course, to be lived by and fought for. This position displays the narrow and partial character of his explicit interest in law. But it is misconception to take it as indicating a *denial* of the need for or of the objective value of fighting faiths or of particular ones. Holmes thought worth discussing only such things as were objectively verifiable; the other truths you lived by you simply lived by, and there was no use trying by reason to persuade people who for any reason ("taste") lacked your foundation.

Here lies the first challenge to the sociologist. Holmes, in his New England reticence, lived on and out of a tradition-based New England set of values, although his mere reason found in them only "can't helps." The authors feel, and rightly, that the deeper, stiller, longer values of men's lives in relation to their fellow-men do not exhibit themselves, to most, out of direct experience in time to move by way of lessons from direct personal experience into solid life-pattern and toughened character. Such values and patterns of action appropriate to those values must, for most, be taken by tradition, or by religion plus tradition, on faith and in the teeth of short-run direct experience. A machinery for accom-

plishing this acceptance in a moving world, for successive whole rising generations, is a machinery of what, when one does not like it, is called regimentation. It depends on authoritative determination both of the values to be inculcated and of effective methods for their inculcation. Some such machinery is, however, essential to continued civilization in a world which changes too rapidly for fathers' concrete life-policy patterns and wisdoms to serve or satisfy new fathers.

With this comes the second challenge. The authors set up Catholic philosophy (with its *ongoing* revelation of truth) as the sole sound basis. Sociologically, Hitler's educational regime, or that of the Soviets, or, earlier, that of Chaka or Rome, undertook the same task. The problem is one not only of selecting the values to be stressed but also of keeping necessary and lasting values from being hooked into a single tight complex with passing or disruptive counter-values. The problem is, second, that values as such do not carry over with the needed tough consistency unless accompanied by appropriate pure-action patterns, rituals, and powerful symbolizations; and that these latter are extremely difficult to keep free of woodenness and abuse, with consequent revolt which proceeds to attack, as well, the values sought to be externally embodied. Dewey's best work centers on this job of moving regeneration of the scheme of patterns and symbols. The problem is, finally, that an authoritative child- and youth-shaping machinery turns so readily and rapidly into a political machine. The history of the Catholic church exhibits the needs, a multi-faceted set of devices for meeting them, and each of the sociological difficulties.

There have been few volumes which are better calculated to force a sociologist to think and to rethink. The positive case, both explicit and implicit, is so powerful. The accompanying overbroad attack, say, on Dewey's thinking ("Dewey denies the God-given right of man to liberty. . . . With Dewey the state is absolutely supreme" [McNamee]), is so unnecessary. The recognition of "integrating" factors (Burke) even in this era of "disintegration" is so hopeful.

K. N. LLEWELLYN

(1942), 493; in accord on the expressions, but much closer to the net working philosophy of the man, is Sayre, "Mr. Justice Holmes—Philosopher," *Iowa Law Review*, XXVII (1942), 27; centering finely on the last is Hamilton, "On Dating Mr. Justice Holmes," *University of Chicago Law Review*, IX (1941), 1.

Outlines of Russian Culture, Vol. I: *Religion and the Church*; Vol. II: *Literature*; Vol. III: *Architecture, Painting, and Music*. By PAUL MILIUKOV. Edited by MICHAEL KARPOVICH; translated by VALENTINE UGHET and ELEANOR DAVES. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1942. Pp. xiii+220; v+130; v+159. \$5.00.

Professor Paul Miliukov's position as one of the outstanding contemporary Russian historians rests in large measure on his *Outlines of the History of Russian Culture*, which appeared at the turn of the century. Like so many of Russia's scholars, Miliukov became active in politics as a leader in the liberal reform movement. In Russia's semiconstitutional period of 1906-17 he played a very prominent role, as he did in the first revolution of 1917. The second (October) revolution of 1917 forced him into exile, as had the czarist regime. In exile he returned to his studies and produced in Paris in the course of eight years (1930-37) the edition from which this English version has been prepared.

The editor of this English version, also a Russian exile, adds short postscripts on events since 1937. Professor Miliukov approved the English edition as of Christmas, 1940, from unoccupied France; the Editor's Foreword is dated October, 1941, at Cambridge, Massachusetts—that is, after the Soviet Union had again become an ally of the Western democracies.

Both Miliukov and Karpovich are representatives of the liberal Russian "Westerners" of the nineteenth century. One therefore finds special emphasis, and perhaps a little exaggeration, when they discuss the influence of Western ideas and institutions. This overemphasis would have been more apparent had the English edition included the sections of the original dealing with political ideas and education. Here was a weakness which outside students of Russian history have always noted in the Russia intelligentsia. Miliukov is conscious of it himself, when he speaks of "the abstract conception of the people by the intellectual" in the section on literature (p. 60). It is rather surprising that this criticism of his own group is made with respect to one who was perhaps the least guilty of this tendency, Maxim Gorky.

The failure to include the sections of the original Russian on political ideas and education is perhaps the main defect of the English version. As used by Russians, the word "culture" does include more than religion, literature, and art.

Miliukov's broad interpretations of the Russian historical development would have greatly helped the reader.

Abridgment has been applied so extensively that, for the general reader, the summary is often scarcely adequate; for the teacher and student the volumes will be of immense practical value. And for each section there is an excellent bibliography of German, French, and English works.

For each topic there is a chapter on the Soviet period. Miliukov's attitude toward the Soviet regime has been in the main correctly critical, and he had gradually come to the view that the Russian national and cultural interests were receiving certain recognition, protection, and even encouragement as the Revolution worked itself out. As he put it in his Preface, "Russia is still there." The "lowering of the standards of culture" which he alleges (p. vi) was inevitable in the setting of the revolution, but he notes "the larger extension of the social base whence cultural seeds may be borrowed." Those ideas of the immediate past, for which Miliukov had worked, suffered the most severe blows, as they have in all countries since World War I, which produced the cataclysm in Russia. As Miliukov properly emphasizes, however, his study shows "what Russia has achieved in the long chain of her generations." And the editor, Professor Karpovich, concludes his postscript in the volume on literature with a notation of "a new and significant phenomenon—that of nascent Soviet nationalism."

SAMUEL N. HARPER

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The Great Cultural Traditions: The Foundations of Civilization, Vol. I: *The Ancient Cities*; Vol. II: *The Classical Empires*. By RALPH TURNER. New York and London: McGraw-Hill Book Co., Inc., 1941. Pp. xxix+601; xxxii+731. \$4.00 each.

These two volumes give a competent and able outline of the genesis and history of human civilization beginning with the civilization of the preliterate peoples and then passing to a concise review of the urban cultures of the Sumerians, the Hindus, the Egyptians, the Babylonians, the Iranians, the Hebrews, the Minonians, the Chinese, the Greeks, and the Romans. Western Christian culture ends the review of the main historical cultures. Using sociological

concepts and principles, the author gives the essential characteristics of each of the cultures mentioned; their emergence and development in time; their diffusion and interrelations. The work represents a mixture of sociology with cultural history.

As a text in a somewhat half-elementary course of history of cultures, the work is good and can be recommended. A good bibliography and many illustrations and diagrams increase its usefulness. It cannot, however, be taken as a serious treatise in social and cultural change, as a systematic history of culture, or as a philosophy of history. Except for a mechanical and eclectic scheme for ordering the concrete material, the work does not have any unified and real conceptual framework or any systematic theory so that it might be a real contribution to these fields as well as to social science generally.

PITIRIM A. SOROKIN

Harvard University

The Coming Age of World Control: The Transition to an Organized World Society. By NICHOLAS DOMAN. New York: Harper & Bros., 1942. Pp. 301. \$3.00.

Nicholas Doman was formerly a student at the University of Budapest and acting secretary of the Danube League. More recently he studied and taught in the Department of Political Science at the University of Chicago. He is now a member of the faculty of William and Mary College. In this, his first book, he has sought to show that the age of national states is dying, that we live in a time of total revolution, that the present conflict will give rise to a universal political order in the world society, and that the waging of war and the planning of peace must be focused on this goal. The thesis is well sustained with a wealth of historical and ideological data. It suffers, however, from occasional dogmatism and perfectionism. Doman does not, for example, understand the nature of federalism, and he therefore dismisses it as inadequate. His style of presentation, moreover, will alienate the general reader who needs conversion and will appeal only to those intellectuals who are already converted. But for the literati who are fond of involved analyses in the best Continental style many of these pages will prove suggestive and helpful.

It is to be hoped that such books as this will stimulate the learning process in such fashion

that classes and masses alike in the United Nations will desire to do what is necessary in order for them to conserve the values they live by. The record of the human adventure during the past few decades, however, scarcely warrants optimism on this score, nor does it demonstrate that there is necessarily any causal nexus between verbal analysis and overt action. How to establish such a relationship has become the central problem of a democratic world order. If Fate is kind, Dr. Doman may have time, as he surely has talent, to deal with this problem in his next book.

FREDERICK L. SCHUMAN

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European Colonial Expansion since 1871. By MARY EVELYN TOWNSEND. New York: J. B. Lippincott Co., 1942. Pp. vii+629. \$4.00.

Whatever else the second world war also becomes, whether expressed in terms of totalitarianism against democracy, a social revolution against the established order, the demands of a "master race" for world conquest, its fundamental issue remains the struggle for colonial or overseas possessions that has been in progress during the last seventy years.

This sentence from the Foreword of the author suggests at once the occasion and the theme of this latest survey of the processes and the effects on the world outside of the expansion of European civilization. That expansion has, in fact, been going on uninterruptedly for four hundred and fifty years, ever since Columbus sailed from the Spanish port of Palos in 1492 to challenge "the mystery of the western seas."

What gives peculiar pertinence to the present survey, however, is the fact that within the last seventy-one years European expansion has finally reached the limits of the habitable world, and the processes by which it was achieved have been not merely halted but, in some sense, put into reverse. That fact alone, without taking into reckoning the vast disruption of the existing world order which the war has already caused and is destined to bring about in even greater measure in the future, indicates the timeliness of a textbook and of a course of study such as is outlined in this volume.

This treatise is distinguished from some others in its emphasis upon the consequences of European imperialism upon the lives and fortunes of the peoples on the periphery, no longer passive, but for the most part in active revolt

against the conditions which European imperialism has imposed.

European expansion has profoundly affected every aspect of the life of colonial peoples—economic, political, and cultural. It has, for example, everywhere disturbed the population balance. In most instances, in fact, it has enormously increased the population. This was the case in Japan and in Java. In the case of the Pacific islands—not specifically dealt with in this volume—it has practically exterminated the indigenous peoples. This phenomenon of increase in the total population and decrease in the native population is here, as elsewhere, an index of changes on every other level of social integration.

The most striking and most momentous effect of European expansion upon peripheral peoples has been to arouse everywhere, even among those primitive folk who were not exterminated by their contacts with Europe, a lively sense of racial identity and cultural solidarity. This consciousness has manifested itself invariably, even if sometimes obscurely, in some form of nationalism or racialism.

Nationalism seems to be the normal reaction to imperialism. It seems also to be a stage in the evolution of the form which imperialism has assumed—that which it takes in the totalitarian powers.

Since it exhibits in a concrete form the intimate relationships of all the classic social problems—economic, political, religious, and population—it seems to me that this volume might well serve as an introduction to all the social sciences. All the problems which the different social sciences are interested in are inevitably involved, at any rate, in the great historic process which this volume surveys—the process which has brought into existence the modern world.

ROBERT E. PARK

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Population: Policies and Movements in Europe.

By D. V. GLASS. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1940. Pp. 490. \$6.00.

During the inter-war period one country after another in the western European culture area became concerned over the downward course of birth rates, either actual or anticipated. A number of them adopted vigorous

measures to stem the decline or, in some cases, to increase birth rates. Glass has summarized these developments for the countries of Europe down to the middle of 1939. With what is modestly called "fairly wide documentation," he traces the situation in England and Wales, with their belated development of state intervention; the shift from private family allowances to public measures in France and Belgium; the Italian efforts with their limited results; the German programs and their successes in the late 1930's; and the comprehensive treatment of population questions in Scandinavian countries. The treatment throughout is a model of careful working through data which are often incomplete and necessarily obscure. The relationships between public policies which have been put into effect and population trends are difficult to unravel, for not only has there been insufficient time to secure measures of effects in most countries, but these policies are so closely interwoven with most of the fabric of the social life of the countries that isolation of one element becomes very difficult. Glass shows this interrelationship especially for the population policies of Sweden, which embrace a large part of the field generally designated as social policy. The apparent relative success of the German program is not unrelated to the fact that it presupposed an entire recasting of cultural values, in addition to the economic incentives which were introduced, and the attempted enforcement of the abortion laws which had been allowed to become dormant. Some of the conclusions which Glass reaches on this point do not go far enough, however. To select one example: the decline of abortion undoubtedly had an effect on the number of live births in Germany as he claims, but this alone is not an explanation of the effect, for the question remains: what was the change in attitudes that made enforcement of the abortion laws effective where it had not been effective before, despite the fact that contraceptives continued to be available?

The increasing number of persons concerned with population policies have had a real service performed for them in the publication of this work. One of the "bonuses" of the book is an appendix of forty-two pages which describes and illustrates the major techniques in use for the measurement of reproduction rates.

CONRAD TAEUBER

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The Atlantic Migration, 1607-1860. By MARCUS LEE HANSEN. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 194. Pp. xvii+391.

The Atlantic Migration portrays European emigration from the Colonial period to the beginning of the Civil War, primarily from the vantage point of Europe. It has a special timeliness now, since it covers the period from the end of the Napoleonic wars through the mid-century revolutions, when individual despair and economic crises acted as expulsive forces whenever there was thought to be opportunity elsewhere. The detailed history of this half-century thus invites comparisons and contrasts between the great historic migrations of that period of continental turmoil and those likely to follow the end of this war—if another United States could be found.

Hansen's approach to the study of European emigration is at once individual and institutional. The migratory currents of the period, mainly from the British Isles and Germany, are explained in terms of the disintegration of the feudal system, the agrarian revolution, delayed industrialization, population pressure, and such partially fortuitous incidents as the potato famines. Great emphasis is placed on the development of merchant transportation and the interrelationships of the westward movement of men and the eastward movement of goods. Emigration agents, propaganda, and letters from America furnished the mechanisms through which individuals received the stimulus to migrate. These factors, although they might determine which specific persons migrated, or even increase migration from given places during certain periods, can be regarded only superficially as causes. Although there were emigration "crazes," hunger and despair were the fundamental driving forces for the "peasants with solemn faces, workers with calloused hands, artisans with worried expressions" who left the Old World to improve their economic conditions in the New.

Despite Professor Hansen's acute speculations and generalizations, his real contribution to an analysis of the social process of migration is the historical material he has made available. The conceptual formulations basic to analysis of the social and demographic processes of migration and settlement are missing. There are enticing hints of many theoretical relationships, but the historical data are not systematically analyzed to verify or discard specific hypotheses.

That curious tendency to segregation which has characterized the learned disciplines in the United States is obvious not only in Hansen's failure to utilize the theoretical formulations of the sociologist but also in his expressed scorn of the significance of numbers and the possibility of generalizations about population growth and its relation to emigration. Admittedly the statistics are meager and faulty, and they may be "dry" to the historian, but placing detailed facts within the quantitative framework of available statistics often has results rather disconcerting to the historian's interpretation of the "facts." One illustration may suffice. Hansen states the following thesis with reference to the relationship between international and internal migration:

The periodicity evident in the flow of migration over the Atlantic is reflected in the wavelike motion with which population crossed the continent to the Pacific. Among the few generalizations that can be made regarding immigration from Europe is that the periods of greatest volume corresponded with the eras of liveliest industrial activity in the United States. With a regularity which, however, does not exhibit perfect coordination, the westward movement was strongest at times of industrial depression. If these two circumstances are put together, they illuminate the relationship between the two movements. Good business demanded labor, and Europe provided an abundant source of supply; but when the canals, railroads, factories and warehouses had been built to a point exceeding profitable returns, business came to a standstill and the workers were discharged. Equipped with their savings, they continued the broken journey to the West, where they bought up the land of those who had preceded them.

Undoubtedly this is a description of the process of adaptation which occurred for some immigrant groups at some periods of American history. But Hansen apparently did not know of the numerous careful studies of the quantitative relationships between the westward movement and the state of the American economy. Most of them, on whatever type of original source material they were based, indicated that wage-earners in large numbers did not go to the agricultural frontier and that the movement of those who did go, whether native or foreign, tended to be correlated positively, not negatively, with the business cycle. If the process were more complicated, as Hansen indicates, and the foreign-born bought the farms of the natives who moved on to the frontier, then the movement of the foreign-born to agriculture would retain its positive correlation with the business

cycle. The more fundamental criticism of Hansen's emphasis, however, is the fact that the majority of the migrants, even though predominantly from the rural areas of Europe, remained concentrated in American cities and urban areas.

Perhaps it is symptomatic of the greatness of Hansen's contributions that one feels impelled to evaluate them as contributions to other fields and according to the criteria of those fields. Certainly no sociologist or demographer studying the processes of population adjustment and dynamics can afford to ignore any of Hansen's great trilogy: *The Atlantic Migration*, *The Mingling of the Canadian and American Peoples* (with John B. Brebner), and *The Immigrant in American History*. It is to be hoped that Hansen's ambitious historical analysis will stimulate a co-ordinated social-science approach to broad studies of migration in both Europe and America. If these studies avoided the dichotomy of international versus internal migration and studied all migrations as related, possibly as alternative, means of reacting to particular social, economic, and political situations, some order and pattern might be found in the history of intercontinental migration from Europe. Certainly a unitary analysis of immigration, the westward movement, and urbanization as inter-related processes would seem a fruitful approach to the study of the settlement and demographic history of the United States. Such studies as these could not be definitive at the present time, but they would serve to formulate hypotheses and so give direction to the multitudes of fragmentary studies which now proliferate with little relationship to either scientific or practical implications.

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Boston's Immigrants, 1790-1865: A Study in Acculturation. By OSCAR HANDLIN. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1941. Pp. ix+268. \$3.25.

The influence of the frontier and the great continental migration upon American history has now been thoroughly explored. Perhaps future historians will find that the great transatlantic migrations of the nineteenth century were equally important influences in transforming American society.

While there have been good general studies of immigration, this book by Oscar Handlin is the first historical case study of the impact of immigrants upon a particular society and of the adjustment of the immigrants to that society. The writer has opened a new field for historical research and has also made a significant contribution to the literature of race and culture contacts.

Handlin begins by presenting a picture of "Social Boston, 1790-1845." In that period Boston was a city of small traders, artisans, and financial barons, without major industries and without a proletariat. It "offered few opportunities to those who lacked the twin advantages of birth and capital" (p. 15). Immigrants equipped with special training and educational background fitted readily into the native culture, but Boston's social and economic structure was not prepared to absorb the mass immigration of Irish peasants. The writer concerns himself primarily with this problem. He presents some of the economic and social background of Irish emigration and discusses "The Economic Adjustment," "The Physical Adjustment," "Conflict of Ideas," "The Development of Group Consciousness," and "Group Conflict."

We see the Irish first as unskilled casual laborers, domestics, and charity cases. Then the presence of a great labor reservoir stimulates the development of mass-production industries and provides the Irish with a securer foothold at the bottom of the economic structure. Tightly knit Yankee society furnishes them with little opportunity for advancement, but some move up through furnishing goods and services to their own people. The greatest strides are made in politics, and we see the beginnings of the movement that is to win Irish control over city and state governments in a later era.

The study is impeccably documented but is limited to documentary sources. Reliance upon the records of the articulate Irishmen involves a distortion which is not entirely necessary even in a historical study. While none of the early Irish immigrants were available for interviews, their children and grandchildren might have provided much valuable information from the stories that have come down to them. Such stories cannot be relied upon to date and describe particular historical events, but they can provide data upon types of immigrant experience and upon the emotional reaction to that experience. For example, we might find that, besides the occasional race riots appearing in newspaper

accounts, early Irish immigrants were stoned in the streets and their children had to make places for themselves in recurrent street fighting with native gangs. Such clashes could not help but influence later behavior and attitudes. We might also learn more of the adjustment of the Irish family to the new society—a subject given little attention by Dr. Handlin.

The limitations of the documentary sources are particularly apparent in the discussion of political conflict. The author explains the bitterness of this struggle primarily in terms of an ideological conflict between conservative, church-bound Catholics and native Protestant reformers. The clash might be explained quite differently. The natives were secure in their domination of all major activities except politics. As naturalization proceeded and the Irish birth rate continued far in excess of the native rate, Yankee politicians faced a growing body of voters who were not subject to their control. Social positions and power were being won and lost. People, as well as ideas, were in competition. In a later period the Italians waged a similar struggle to overthrow the Irish political power, although no great differences in ideology separated the two groups. Handlin has not neglected the nonideological factors, but, in the opinion of the reviewer, he has not given them sufficient emphasis.

The book is, nevertheless, an invaluable guide to the understanding of Boston society, past or present. It is to be hoped that soon, before all the firsthand personal sources are dead, Handlin or some other student will make a study of the period following 1865 in which the Irish gained political domination. The two works together would be exceedingly useful to students of political organization, of race and culture contacts, as well as to social historians.

WILLIAM FOOTE WHYTE

University of Oklahoma

Western Ontario and the American Frontier. By FRED LANDON. Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1941. Pp. xviii+305. \$3.50.

Even the most casual traveler must be struck by the remarkable similarities between the communities on both sides of the Great Lakes. The historical bases of these similarities is the theme of Professor Landon's book. Here we have a regional study based on a full understanding of an

area and an epoch, so complete as to bring the past, in the words of another commentator, not only to light but almost to life again.

The Canadian and United States communities which line the shore and occupy the back-country of Lake Erie and Lake Huron were both attempts at colony planting. The Northwest Ordinance of 1787 and the Canada Act of 1791 inaugurated what Landon calls "two experiments in State building." The later development of the two areas moved on almost parallel lines. Their settlers came from the same source—the old Atlantic colonies, the British Isles, or Europe—and their experiences—social, educational, and religious—had much in common. Only in political things did the regions differ. Inherent in the United States experiment was the national idea; the Canadian counterpart remained in the colonial stage throughout the period covered by Landon's study.

Fortunately, Landon's concern is with the human side of the story, or, as he puts it, "with the activities and attitudes of three generations of common people." In this he has succeeded admirably. He has done even more. He has portrayed the migrations and mingling of ideas and institutions. The New Englanders and the New Yorkers, who swarmed into Upper Canada in the days before the War of 1812, brought their ideals and predilections as well as their more tangible baggage. So, likewise, did the half-pay officers of the post-Waterloo period. As an Upper Canadian point of view emerged from these diverse origins, it looked to the neighboring sections of the United States for example. It is here that Landon makes his most important contribution to historical interpretation. He demonstrates convincingly that, while the interest of the average Canadian with the national government at Washington was academic, his concern with the new states created from the Northwest Territory was vital. The interest of his leaders, especially in educational matters, was more easterly, where New York gave inspiration for the Canadian common-school system and for local government.

A considerable section of *Western Ontario and the American Frontier* concerns itself with the development of various churches. Here the impact of the American West is graphically shown. All the major Protestant sects in Upper Canada—Methodist, Baptist, and Presbyterian—originated in the United States. Only Congregationalism, oddly enough, owed its foundation to English endeavor. The later struggles of

Methodism to free itself from its American connection, as well as from English supervision, mark, as Landon indicates, a turning-point in the long battle for Canadian autonomy. Along with other evangelical bodies, Canadian Methodism employed contemporary United States practices—the camp meeting, the revival, and the ministrations of the itinerant preacher. It is in phases of everyday life, such as these, that the reader is brought to realize that, for practical purposes, the political boundary had no existence.

In general, *Western Ontario and the American Frontier* covers the sixty years between 1790 and 1850. One or two topics—the influence of the slavery struggle, the impact of the Civil War, and the rise of organized labor—go beyond the chronological limit. Against this study there is no major criticism. There is only one minor criticism: one would like to have seen more maps, especially of transportation routes and group settlements. Few volumes of the Carnegie series on Canadian-American relations, the late Marcus Lee Hansen's *Mingling of the Canadian and American Peoples* alone excepted, will have as great a general appeal as this volume. It is no small accomplishment when a historian produces a book of arresting interest to technician and nontechnician alike.

JOHN IRWIN COOPER

McGill University

Growth and Decline of Agricultural Villages. By DAVID ROSS JENKINS. New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1940. Pp. iii+95. \$1.60.

The data in this little book are derived in part from a sample of 177 villages (later reduced to 140) first used in a study by the Institute of Social and Religious Research in 1924. Additional data were accumulated by successive studies of the same sample by other research students. To such accumulated data the author made further additions by a firsthand investigation of a selected sample from these 140 villages. The purpose of the author was "to investigate the factors that influence the population changes in agricultural villages, and to consider the community and institutional effects of growth and decline—which are assumed to be measured by the census data—of an incorporated area" (p.16). Clearly presented statistical

statements occupy a prominent place in this volume. The statistical data and theoretical material are unusually well integrated.

Factors causing villages to grow are trade with the open country, manufacturing, increase in government agencies for relief and other purposes, and factors making for greater density in the tributary area. Drought has caused some villages to grow because they are centers of relief and many recipients of relief moved in from the country. In other cases extensive migration from dust-bowl areas has made for village decline. The author distinguishes between growth factors which are "purely local" such as topography and nature of land tenure and those which have wider regional application. Many of the "purely local" factors are susceptible of a wider regional application than is carried out in this volume. This leads to an overemphasis of the "individual" and the "unique" in certain sections of this book. The county, as a wider unit of population in which the village is set, was used as one of the means for measuring general as distinguished from local causes of village growth or decline. While statistically convenient, the county, in the light of Galpin's findings, seems to be far too artificial in its boundaries for use in testing sociological hypotheses.

It was found that the age groups under ten, twenty to thirty, adolescent, and middle age are larger in growing villages. In all age groups over forty the declining places have larger proportions than those which are growing. "In declining villages there is a larger proportion of women in the population, fewer children, smaller families, fewer single and married women but more widowed and divorced women" (pp. 89-90). These facts are discussed as to their consequences for the family and school. The evidence points to growing villages as the more effective centers for consolidated schools. In his effort to make his findings more graphic, the author made use of two villages: one in a plantation area and the other a nonplantation county center. The former represents life in a declining and the latter in a growing village. In such a comparison too many diverse factors are involved. The institutional life here, as in other sections of the book, is so meagerly treated that insights with respect to the social life of these villages are few and slight.

C. A. DAWSON

McGill University

Desert Saints: The Mormon Frontier in Utah.

By NELS ANDERSON. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1942. Pp. xx+459. \$4.00.

This book began as a community study of a town in the southwest corner of Utah where the author, himself a Mormon, had lived, and in which there was an abundance of documentary records. Whether the material available was not enough for a book or whether the interest of a loyal son of the church led him to want to tell the story of his people, the result has been another history of the Mormons from the first vision of Joseph Smith to the present time—an account told with due regard to sound historical methods and with admirable objectivity.

The story has been told many times, oftener by foes than by friends, but it is a thrilling tale by whomever told. Joseph was not fifteen years old when he saw his first vision and only seventeen when the angel Moroni told him where the golden book lay buried. He was not allowed to see it until he was twenty-one, but by the time he was twenty-four the translation was published and is still the Holy Scriptures of the Desert Saints. This was in 1830. One is surprised to read of the rapid growth of the sect, for an "army" of five hundred men was organized three years later to defend themselves against their enemies, and in 1838 there were some fifteen thousand who moved from Missouri to Illinois. And when the prophet was murdered by a mob in 1844, there were thirty thousand of the faithful around Nauvoo, in spite of many defections.

They marched across the desert, fifteen thousand of them in bands small enough to travel safely, and some of them pushed hand carts all the way. They were going to a foreign land—Mexico had not been conquered—and to an unknown destination. It is an epic story of courage, endurance, and devotion of which the Mormons are justly proud. They sought isolation for their theocracy and in a measure succeeded, but opposition and persecution was their lot for years to come.

Intimate glimpses of life under an ecclesiastical hierarchy are given in the material on the community mentioned above. One story, which the author had to question, is still believed and told. It concerns a good man who was derelict in his duty, since he had only one wife. Admonished by Brigham Young, he asked one neighbor for her daughter, but the daughter was too young. Another request for a daughter of another neighbor brought the same answer. Very

shortly after, one of the mothers appeared, telling how she and her husband had prayed and felt it was God's will that the girl should marry him. Immediately the second mother appeared with an identical story. When all was explained, he married them both, and he left many descendants. And so did many others. There is a group photograph of the Terry family. Father Terry has today more than nine hundred living descendants. The first wife is responsible for about six hundred, for she had twelve children. Brigham Young encouraged polygamy to increase the Mormon population, and his success is undeniable.

The sociological interest in the book is secondary to the historical account, but there is much on the sociology of religious sects which will interest scholars. And, because the book is happily free from the technical jargon sometimes encountered, the book will interest and profit anyone who wishes to read a fresh account of this unique chapter in our national past.

ELLSWORTH FARIS

Lake Forest, Illinois

The New Belief in the Common Man. By CARL J. FRIEDRICH. Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1942. Pp. xii+345. \$4.00.

Professor Friedrich, on a timely theme and in a sprightly fashion, here gives voice to his new-found faith in democracy. The total result is a somewhat "splurgy" book with a sound heart and a groggy head. The book covers almost everything and touches next to nothing with exactitude. The easiest way to account for such a hodgepodge from a scholar of the standing of this author is what the internal evidence suggests, i.e., a gospel new found by a convert to a cause.

What "cause"? Not of just the common man or yet of the mere belief in the common man, but the cause of "the new belief in the common man." The object of this faith is himself old, almost as old as are his hills and valleys. There has always been, though not universally or always deeply, a belief in this common man—often a belief by himself, not so often a belief in him by others. But this belief died in America, so our author declares, with the first World War. This old belief was (1) a rebound from a lost faith in princes, (2) enthusiasm for pioneering in America, (3) acceptance of a democratic society. With (1) are identified the names of

Paine and Bentham; with (2), Whitman, Thoreau, and Emerson; with (3), John Dewey, but more adequately our present author.

It is our author indeed who has discovered for us native Americans the new basis for our old faith in the common man, a faith which when rejuvenated is realistic enough, in our author's opinion, to strip the common man of excrescences but to leave him clothed with the aureole of character and consistency. The judgments of common men are, after all, better on all matters collective. If not otherwise, then better by definition; for politics itself is thus made to consist in the "average acts of average persons."

This new faith does not, as the author charges the old with doing, insist upon the omniscience of the average person; it proclaims merely the common man's "political capacity." As the author says, in a crucial, even if vague, summary:

We need to insist, first of all, upon this *limited* competence, indeed upon the fallibility of every man, be he ever so uncommon. Whether there be an ultimate right or wrong, good or bad, no man knows what it is. In the absence of such absolute standards, communal policies depend upon calculations of probability. The common man, even in the aggregate, is not infallible; far from it. But he perceives more readily than the expert the general impact of proposed policies. The judgment of the common man in which we believe is a collective, not an individual, judgment. Therefore, judgments involving discriminating evaluation of exceptional achievement are altogether outside the sphere of these judgments of the common man in which we can trust. The common man is trustworthy because he is, in the aggregate, a man of character rather than of intellect—consistent, and averse to highfalutin deviations. He is "safer" than the uncommon man . . . a limitless belief in him results in the "revolt of the masses" and is part and parcel of totalitarian dictatorship [p. 41].

The best part of the book is the author's convincing insistence that democracy does not depend upon agreement about "fundamentals." That is a profound truth and one here well argued. But it is a truth which poses the chief, though here largely neglected, problem; for "the new faith" rests upon a proposition in which the common man has little if any faith—namely, that common fundamentals are inessential to civilization. By the time the author has finished telling that faith to common men his enthusiasm will, alas, be sadly dented with the dark suspicion that what he has found is faith without a fulcrum. Democratic ideologists are left,

for all the enthusiasm here displayed, at the old and weary task of lifting themselves by their own bootstraps.

Nor is the consistency or the cogency of the book heightened by the author's closing proposal of a sort of moral constitutional convention representing the whole world, to agree upon fundamentals for a new and better order!

T. V. SMITH

University of Chicago

Lester F. Ward, the American Aristotle: A Summary and Interpretation of His Sociology. By SAMUEL CHUGERMAN. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1939. Pp. xiii + 591. \$5.00.

Although Lester F. Ward has been ranked along with Comte and Spencer as one of the three great patriarchs of nineteenth-century sociology, it is a curious fact that Ward has had less written about him, even in America, than either of the other two. This is not due to a lack of challenging appeal in his personality, for he was very colorful. B. J. Stern's edition of his early diary shows this clearly. Perhaps our relative neglect of him has been owing largely to the fact that he came to prominence approximately a generation after Comte and Spencer had put forth their theories but before our own modern transition to the new sociological methodology had been made. To use a term much in vogue among the ecologists, he was something of an interstitial product as far as time was concerned, but hardly such in the realm of thought. If John Fiske was an imitator, Ward was a thinker in his own right, even though he was much influenced by certain writers like Haeckel, Gumplowicz, and the later French demographers. In America, Spencer was the sociological hero, while Ward followed much more closely in the tradition of Comte, who, like Plato, was seeking for a method of controlling social evolution through science (or philosophy) and education.

Chugerman has very successfully placed before us the outstanding contributions and emphases of the great American social philosopher in the pursuit of this end. Although the secondary title, "The American Aristotle," will offend some of the moderns who have little use for the great Stagirite, it is not altogether inappropriate. Chugerman has in mind the breadth and depth, the all-embracingness, of Ward's scientific attainments. No other American has equaled Ward in this respect. In his emphasis

upon the content of social science he had much less in common with Aristotle. Ward also believed in aristocracy, but it was an aristocracy of intellect, which he believed 98 per cent of the people were capable of attaining. He combined aristocracy and democracy in a new ideal of sociocracy. Ward, more than any other American sociologist, retained and expressed a passionate allegiance to the spirit of American democracy. There was a reason for this: Ward was a frontiersman of the people in his youth and early manhood, and he became a pioneer in the democracy of science after going to Washington and remained such all his life.

Chugerman has traced both these developments throughout Ward's career, but naturally he has given by far the chief emphasis to his scientific evolution. Ward in a very real sense epitomized the whole history of American philosophic and scientific thought, omitting only New England Puritanism and the period of development since 1900 or 1910. He began with the theory of biological evolution, showing his greatness by rejecting the dualism of matter and mind prevalent in the period. He was (like Comte) a true behaviorist and saw both the physiological and the psychological adjustments of man as correlated aspects of the same organic striving. His emphasis upon *telesis* was the first great American approach to a philosophy of social planning in the light of social science. Indeed, he developed a trilogy of social policy which would do honor to some of the more atomistic sociologists of today if they were able to lift their eyes to the height of the mental and moral plateau on which he towered mountain high. This trilogy was science (for the researcher), education (for the democratic masses of mankind), and legislation for human welfare (by the experts in social control). The first two elements in his trilogy he illustrated in himself and explained in very clear, forceful English through several volumes. The last term he did not develop in detail, but he made its meaning clear to those who care to read. Ward believed in the acquisition of knowledge and in its dissemination, but also in its application to the constructive welfare of mankind. Has not the same been true of every great thinker of history? Chugerman has rendered a service of no small importance to the present generation in faithfully reducing the vital content of Ward's thought and personality to a single volume. It is to be hoped that his

labor of loyal admiration will be duly appreciated by the sociological fraternity.

L. L. BERNARD

Washington University

Sociology of Law. By GEORGES GURVITCH with a Preface by ROSCOE POUND. New York: Alliance Book Corp., 1942. Pp. xx+309. \$3.75.

This book constitutes a revised English version of a French book which has been discussed by this reviewer in some detail some time ago.¹ Among contemporary sociologists Gurvitch has long been known as one of the most eloquent and eminent representatives of the pluralist school. The present work constitutes a noteworthy contribution toward the establishment of a conceptual framework for a pluralist sociology of law, whose subject matter, according to Gurvitch's conception, consists of the totality of norms arising in, and keeping together, all social groupings, of which the state is only one among many others. All standards of social behavior, whether organized or unorganized, whether fixed in advance or formulated *ad hoc*, whether holding together the state, or a group of friends, or a band of robbers, or the totality of people speaking a common language and feeling a common bond of culture, even if not politically organized as such—all such norms are law under the author's definition.

Such a definition sounds strange to lawyers, who are used to understand under law that totality of rules, techniques, and attitudes which courts apply, or are supposed to apply, to the decision of cases—a definition which either coincides with, or at least is closely akin to, that of most of those political scientists and sociologists who regard the state as the sole and sovereign source of all law. One might easily be inclined to dismiss the controversy about the proper "definition" of law with a reference to Humpty Dumpty's famous statement about the meaning of words. As is so often the case in the social sciences, however, the controversy about a definition hides political postulates. It seems that the pluralists inveigh against the definition of law as governmental rules of conduct primarily because they are opposed to governmental omnipotence. By emphasizing the social significance of nongovernmental rules, they hope to

¹ *Ethics*, LI (1941), 220, 225.

prevent further encroachments of government upon spheres of life which are thought to be better taken care of by less formidable agencies than the Leviathan state. Representatives of state sovereignty in turn are made to appear as advocates of governmental or administrative totalitarianism. That definitions and propositions outwardly appearing as mere descriptive statements of fact can be powerful incentives toward action is well known to political propagandists. Scholarly discourse should keep away, however, from such confusions of method. In defining law as governmentally enforced rules of social conduct, this reviewer does not believe himself to be expressing a judgment of value or a precept for political action but simply to be emphasizing a characteristic which distinguishes certain norms of conduct from others. This distinction appears to be justified by the fact that the role played in society by rules sanctioned by governmental enforcement is in many respects different from that played by rules which are not thus enforced. Furthermore, when we lump together in one category all types of norms of social conduct, we hide from our view those numerous fascinating and practically important problems which arise from the interplay between the norm system of law and the other norm systems of religion, ethics, custom, etc.

On the other hand, it cannot be denied that the exalted vantage point of the pluralists yields certain insights which may be more difficult to obtain in other ways. Among such insights, which are numerous in Gurvitch's book, one of the most stimulating ones is his emphasis upon the distinction between what he calls "social" and "inter-individual" relations. From this distinction, which has been recognized as basic by Tönnies and other sociologists, Gurvitch derives keen insights into certain problems of acute importance in the field of law. In the main part of his book Gurvitch defined distinctions between basic types of human groupings and discusses regularities which may be observed as "tendencies of change" in the legal structure of societies. This presentation of Gurvitch's own theories is preceded by a condensed survey of the intellectual work of his predecessors and contemporary co-workers in the field.

The main task with which the author has been concerned in this book is that of establishing a system of classifications and categories to be filled in by future generations of workers in the minutiae of detail research. Formulations

of proper classifications is a basic task for a science as young as sociology. The usefulness of Gurvitch's categories will have to be tested by his fellow-workers to whom, even where they feel unable to follow, his thoughtful and deeply probing work affords suggestive ideas and mental tools of undeniable value.

MAX RHEINSTEIN

University of Chicago Law School

An Introduction to Sociology. By JOHN L. GILLIN and JOHN P. GILLIN. New York: Macmillan Co., 1942. Pp. viii+806. \$3.75.

The most unique feature of this new introductory textbook is its authorship. It is the first to be written by a sociologist father and an anthropologist son. A pronounced anthropological slant is given to it by the junior author. Some sociologists will not take kindly to this emphasis, and students coming to the study of sociology for the first time may well be puzzled to know just where anthropology leaves off and sociology begins. In those colleges and universities where no anthropology is taught and in those departments where anthropology and sociology are together, this book may be useful in introducing the student to both fields.

It will be a happy day when writers of textbooks in sociology do not feel under the necessity of devoting so many pages to discussions of the meaning and nature of science. After an introductory chapter, in which this apparently troublesome matter is sufficiently well treated, the second part of the book deals with "The Natural Bases of Social Life." Here considerable space is devoted to the "social" life of animals and to man the animal, along with chapters on "Organism and Environment: Fundamentals of Behavior" and "Population."

Part III, "The Social Bases of Society," includes two satisfactory chapters on culture, followed by one on "General Characteristics of Groups," which is followed, in turn, by chapters on "Kinship Groups," "Groups Based on Bodily Characteristics," "Groups Based Primarily on Physical Proximity," and "Groups Based Primarily on Cultural Interests." The treatment of family and other kinship groupings is in the best anthropological manner and is quite novel for a sociology textbook. The material is arranged in the classificatory pattern of

anthropology and is illustrated by genealogical charts, which are helpful devices in the interest of clarifying otherwise complicated blood and affinal relationships. The discussion of groupings of all kinds is handled with competence and should serve to give the student considerable insight into the structure and functioning of groups differentiated by such factors as sex, age, race, physical nearness, and common interest. The reviewer was pleased to note that culture is distinguished from cultural equipment rather than divided into the usual categories of "material" and "nonmaterial."

In Part IV, after a chapter on the nature, characteristics, types, and functions of institutions, there are two chapters on domestic institutions and one each on economic, educational, political, and religious institutions. The impression is left that these constitute the entire catalogue of institutions. The treatment of institutions is largely descriptive and historical.

Parts V and VI, dealing with "Social Change and Social Control" and "Social Processes," respectively, embrace the more definitely sociological sections of the book. Disappointment was experienced by the reviewer when he read the chapters on social change and social control. It seemed to him that an adequate and systematic treatment of these two highly important sociological concepts had been sacrificed in favor of less sociologically significant material in the early part of the book. The social processes get consideration more in keeping with their importance, but much is left unsaid. Competition, contravention and conflict, accommodation, acculturation and assimilation are each given a chapter, but little attempt is made to integrate them into a larger and schematic conceptual framework. In fact, the whole book lacks such systemization and unification. In their Introduction the authors define sociology as "the study of interaction arising from the association of living beings." The definition properly emphasizes "interaction," but this emphasis is lost sight of until Part VI is reached, and then the treatment of the processes bears little relationship to what has gone before.

Part VII on "Social Pathology" is obviously a contribution of the senior author, well known for his work in a field bearing this label. "Social pathology" is designated as "the discipline which treats of social disorganization," a concept which is never clearly defined, although a definition is offered for "social pathology." Once again the reader is left to figure out for

himself just what relation, if any, this part of the book bears to the whole. He is told that "social disorganization is just as much a part of sociology as social organization" and that "social maladjustment, like social adjustment, is the result of interaction between individuals within a group, or between groups"; but he is none the wiser for all this. What is meant by these concepts, how they arise in interaction, and where they belong in the scheme of human relationships and in social action is not revealed.

The book is illustrated by photographs and by the novel use of cartoons. There are numerous diagrams or graphs, which are intended to illustrate certain more or less abstract principles, but which, without the teacher present to explain them, are often more puzzling than revealing.

W. E. GETTYS

University of Texas

Social Psychology of Modern Life. By STEWART HENDERSON BRITT. New York: Farrar & Rinehart, Inc., 1941. Pp. vii + 562. \$3.75.

This well-written book, evidencing much work, contains a great deal of information. It is divided into six parts. Part I defines the field and discusses methods. A logical place to begin the review, therefore, is with an analysis of Professor Britt's effort to define the field. There is a thorough scientific procedure that can be utilized in defining any area of investigation, a procedure that has not been followed here.

To define any area of investigation, one begins with the general region in which a field of study is to be established—which region, in the case of social psychology, is human behavior. The next step is to recognize the areas in the general realm of human behavior that have been delimited for existing disciplines: anthropology, sociology, economics, political science, psychology, etc. This shows the data not studied by these disciplines and reveals the legitimate phenomena for social psychology. While the universe is a unified whole and each area is related to all other areas, the existence of any field is justified when it has its own specific region of investigation. It must not deal directly with the phenomena of other disciplines. In other words, social psychology cannot be psychology or sociology or a combination of the two. The degree to which social psychology invades these two

fields and seeks to do the work in them marks the degree to which these two fields must disappear.

An analysis of the fields of the social and biological sciences, in the general field of human behavior, shows that they are studying and explaining the biological and social heritages. Consequently, the social psychologist cannot be interested in these two heritages per se. He can concern himself, however, with the unique experiences that each person has in bringing these two heritages into a life-organization that is different from all other life-organizations. Existing social sciences cover all known forms of collective behavior; but the social psychologist must avoid these phenomena. He concerns himself, legitimately, with the unique experiences of each person in collective behavior. Private worlds fashioned out of the possibilities of collective worlds constitute the domain of the social psychologist. He invades the domain of no other specialist when he studies the natural history of the development of human nature in the life of any person. The unique experiences of any person in any cultural pattern, resulting in individual differences, conformity, nonconformity, private interpretations, private worlds, etc., are left by other investigators for social psychologists. Once a field has been delimited, the next step is to discover the common denominator of interactive factors that provides the frame of reference in which every social psychologist can work. If one follows these simple rules he will not make the mistake of Professor Britt, who is a sociologist one moment and at the next is either a psychologist, an anthropologist, an economist, a political scientist, or a philosopher. He is seldom a social psychologist—unless social psychology is a conglomeration of all efforts to study human behavior. Had the author called this text "Introductory Sociology," it would doubtless have been adopted by some for the first course in sociology.

Part II deals with the biological and social foundations of behavior; the latter part is a summary from anthropology and introductory sociology. The human-nature potentialities in the organic heritage are not considered. Part III deals with individual factors in social adjustment. The first part, on unlearned and learned behavior, is extremely elementary and oversimplified. Part IV, behavior in the presence of others, is excellent in certain phases, notably sections of chapters 10 and 11. Parts V and VI, dealing with institutions, occupations, and so-

cial conflicts, can be found in courses in the various social sciences.

L. GUY BROWN

Oberlin College

Nazi Conquest of Danzig. By HANS L. LEONHARDT. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1942. Pp. xiii+363. \$3.50.

The author of this volume has undertaken to record a detailed history of the Nazi conquest of Danzig, with special emphasis on its legal aspects. After introducing his study with a brief survey of Danzig's history from the time of the Teutonic knights up to 1933, he proceeds to give a historical analysis of the Nazi conquest under the following headings: "The Advent of National Socialism in the Free City," "Installation of a Semi-dictatorship," "National Socialism under Attack," "Increased Nazi Pressure," "National Socialist Offensive," "The End of the Danzig Opposition," etc. I can only call attention to the judicious comprehensiveness with which Mr. Leonhardt has treated his material. Any student interested in the minutiae of the historical record will find here a meticulous description supported by abundant documentation.

While the student of German Fascism will find little fault with the author on the ground of scholastic standards of factual accuracy and documentation, he may, along with this reviewer, feel dissatisfied with what the work leaves unsaid. It is of importance to take issue with an account of the process of Nazification that discusses almost exclusively the historical sequence of Nazi breaches of the law. It may be readily granted that the historian of a hundred years from now will be very thankful for Mr. Leonhardt's factual and legal account. But we are still too close to the events and too urgently in need of a real understanding to be able to profit as we should from this strict adherence to the data. Mr. Leonhardt pays little attention to the conflicts within the democratic and socialist camps preceding the Nazi penetration. He claims that Danzig is a miniature research ground for the analysis of Nazification, but he leaves out such important aspects of this "microcosmic Reich" as the social psychology of the advent of nazism and the passivity of its opposition. Likewise, it is not clear in what way the conquest of Danzig is comparable to the Nazification of the Reich and what criteria should be

used to make the pertinent comparisons; although it is maintained that here the events of the Reich could be studied in "slow motion." A further question arises with respect to the focus of this analysis: Should Danzig be studied for its own sake, for the sake of comparisons with the Reich, or for an understanding of the tactics and peregrinations of the League of Nations? The latter problem is widely and competently discussed, and these sections of the book make extremely interesting reading. But they are not the central subject matter, and even here the author does not go much beyond a descriptive account. Although he draws his own conclusions with reference to this record of the League, it would have been very illuminating had he amplified these by an interpretation of the political and historical background of these evasions of international law.

It is not necessary to prolong this list of questions. It should be noted that this criticism is external and does not concern the internal consistency and cogency of Mr. Leonhardt's presentation. Since an understanding of German fascism is, however, of such crucial importance, it may not be amiss to make these reminders.

The legalistic approach to an understanding of Nazification is inadequate because it is only applicable in the same universe of discourse. When two groups with different universes of discourse are of approximately equal strength, the legal and demagogic opportunism by which the one conquers the other is only a small part of the story. If the Nazis directed their action with no regard whatever for what the law was but with the sole intention to break it whenever that seemed politically feasible, it would seem that an analysis treating this demagogery in terms of breaches of law is analogous to the action of the man who starts legal proceedings against officers of the concentration camp from which he was released. The paramount question would seem to be whether an analysis such as Mr. Leonhardt has given does not by implication fall into the error of believing that a democracy can use only the regular legal procedures in its fight against internal opponents who put themselves outside the law. Only on the basis of this presupposition does it appear adequate to deal with the Nazi conquest as if democracy had to stand by more or less passively and see its legal and social foundations crumble. This cannot be taken for granted, but that it actually was the case is just what we want to have explained so that we can understand the

reasons for the Nazi conquest, for the passivity of the opposition, for the League's inaction, etc.

It is on this ground that the reviewer feels that Mr. Leonhardt's excellent and comprehensive work is an illustration of what not to do in an analysis of fascism—at any rate at the present time.

REINHARD BENDIX

Chicago

The Ageless Indies. By RAYMOND KENNEDY.
New York: John Day Co., 1942. Pp. xvi+
208. \$2.00.

Not so many years ago little, if anything, appeared in English on the Dutch East Indies. It was practically an unknown country to the English-speaking world. Oddly enough, the best book, in Dutch or any other language, on the history of Dutch administration in the Indies was written by an American nearly forty years ago. *The Dutch in Java* was written by Clive Day in response to the sudden American interest in colonial administration which came in the wake of our imperialistic expansion. But from that day until the 1930's little interest was manifested in this vast and important dependency. A steadily increasing number of books in English during the past decade is evidence of the awakened interest in the Indies—an interest which reached its climax with the Japanese invasion. Most of these books dealt with the political and economic life of the country; others were travelogues or journalistic impressions or artists' reactions to exotic Bali. But a good book on the peoples and daily life of the Indies was lacking. Professor Kennedy has supplied that need with the present volume.

Professor Kennedy's book is written in popular style, but it is for the most part accurate and scientific. As a sociologist and anthropologist with several years' residence in the Indies, he was exceptionally well qualified for the task he undertook. But popularization generally leads to oversimplification, and the present work is no exception. It is, however, unfair to criticize a book for not doing what it makes no pretense of doing. Even accepting the purpose and the scope of the book, however, it is surprising that so little space is given to the Chinese and the Eurasians, for they constitute a very important element in the life of the Indies.

Professor Kennedy has given us an entertain-

ing and informative book—one which furnishes background for an understanding of the country and its problems.

AMRY VANDENBOSCH

University of Kentucky

Latin America. By PRESTON E. JAMES. New York: Odyssey Press, 1942. Pp. xx+908. \$4.50.

It is hard to imagine how this book could be more timely in terms of our national striving for a better understanding of the countries and people of Latin America. Here in compact form is the end product of twenty or more years of study and of penetrating analysis of the Middle and South American scene by a distinguished geographer. Here is depicted the great diversity of this continental area—considered lacking in complexity by so many—in terms of race, land tenure, tropical disease, life at high altitudes, malnutrition, isolation, poverty, and wealth.

The book achieves a high degree of comprehensiveness by utilizing a systematic exposition and analysis which, with variations to fit local conditions, employs an approach well illustrated by the treatment of Brazil. First is given an introduction covering the land and people, divided into the subjects of surface features, climates, natural vegetation, mineral resources, early racial ingredients, the course of settlement (related to sugar, gold, coffee, and other tropical products), and the character of immigration. This section is followed by five regional chapters using a similar approach but in greater detail. Finally, a poignant chapter on "Brazil as a Political Unit" serves as a summary.

A statistical table is presented on the first page of each portion treating a separate country. This table makes possible such useful inter-Latin-American comparisons as the per capita dollar value of imports and exports and railroad

mileage. For the geographic-minded, pleasure and profit are afforded by an excellent series of maps for each region discussed. These maps make ready comparisons possible. They show surface configuration with underlying rock structure, natural vegetation, land-use regions, and population distribution by dots. Although publication necessitated cutting these fine maps into smaller than page-size regional fragments, this fault will soon be rectified by the publication of wall maps.

It is the analytical penetration of the author in placing his finger on basic Latin-American conditions which makes this volume so outstanding. His deep insight raises this book from the ranks of those dry texts which gall the reader with their muddy syntheses and their encyclopedic summaries of inadequate secondary source material. Excellent but random examples of the author's insight are afforded by statements, too long to quote here, showing: the agrarian problems represented by the Chilean hacienda with its rigid distinction between the landowner and the landless tenant; the meeting and mixing of Spanish and Inca Indian cultures in Peru without amalgamation into a coherent society; the struggle of the Ecuadorian with remoteness and poverty of resources; and the health and population problems of Puerto Rico.

Coverage is provided in a manner never before achieved, not only for South America, but for Middle America, heretofore a geographic "no man's land" possessed of fragmentary, good, bad, and indifferent geographic source material. Finally, the book is embellished by a comprehensive bibliography, climatic data for over one hundred stations, commodity statistics enumerating the productive participation of each country, and an excellent two-page guide to the pronunciation of Spanish and Portuguese place names.

MALCOLM J. PROUDFOOT

Bureau of the Census

CURRENT BOOKS

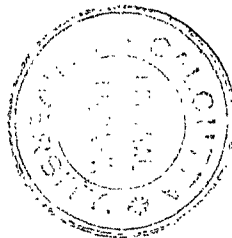
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- ACKERSON, LUTON. *Children's Behavior Problems, Vol. II: Relative Importance and Inter-relations among Traits*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1942. Pp. xix+570. \$5.00. An evaluation of the intercorrelations among 162 behavior traits of 2,113 boys and 1,181 girls examined at the Illinois Institute for Juvenile Research.
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- BARNES, HARRY ELMER. *Social Institutions*. New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1942. Pp. xvii+927. \$5.35. An extensive analysis of the major social institutions in a changing world. Intended as a comprehensive text.
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- BROWN, EARL, and LEIGHTON, GEORGE R. *The Negro and the War*. ("Public Affairs Pamphlets," No. 71.) New York: Public Affairs Committee, Inc., 1942. Pp. 32. \$0.10.
- BROWN, LAWRENCE GUY. *Social Pathology: Personal and Social Disorganization*. New York: F. S. Crofts & Co., 1942. Pp. xii+295. \$3.75. A textbook on social problems written from an original frame of reference of analyzing each problem in terms of human nature, the organic heritage, the social heritage, the unique experience, and social program.
- CAMPBELL, EDNA FAY. *Our World and How We Use It*. Chicago: Scott, Foresman & Co., 1942. Pp. 287. \$1.40. A social geography for children of the middle grades. Emphasizes how men learned to use the resources of the world for more comfortable living.
- CHARTERS, W. W., and FRY, VAUGHN. *The Ohio Study of Recreation Leadership Training*. ("Ohio State University Bureau of Educational Research Mimeographs," No. 2.) Ann Arbor, Mich.: Edwards Bros., Inc., 1942. Pp. 173. \$2.00.
- CHILDREN'S BUREAU, U.S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR. *Volunteers in Child Care*. Washington, D.C.: Office of Civilian Defense, 1942. Pp. 17.
- DALLAS, HELEN. *How To Win on the Home Front*. ("Public Affairs Pamphlets," No. 72.) New York: Public Affairs Committee, 1942. Pp. 32. \$0.10.
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- FOX-CROFT, EDMUND J. B. *Australian Native Policy*. Melbourne, Australia: Melbourne University Press, 1941. Pp. 168. 10/- . A careful evaluation of the policies of handling the natives in Australia with the conclusion that mistaken policy, not ill treatment, is responsible for the degeneration of the aboriginal race.
- FRIED, HANS ERNEST. *The Guilt of the German Army*. New York: Macmillan Co., 1942. Pp. xi+426. Traces and explains the role of the German militarists in preparing for and fostering the present conflict in the period after the first World War. This role is revealed as of major importance.
- FURBAY, JOHN HARVEY. *Workbook Manual for Marriage and the Family*. New York: D. Appleton-Century Co., 1942. Pp. viii+247. \$1.50. This manual supplies introductions, reference material, questions, and space for students' notes on eighteen general topics and is keyed to texts on marriage by Baber, Becker, Folsom, Groves, Hart, Jung, and adapted to use with other texts on the family and marriage.
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- GREER, GUY (ed.). *The Problem of the Cities and Towns*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University, Conference on Urbanism, 1942. Pp. xi+116. \$1.00. The report of a conference held at Harvard University and participated in by economists, architects, lawyers, political scientists, and planners on the economic determinants of urban development, on the desiderata of urbanism, and on administrative and legal problems of cities. The booklet contains an epilogue on the future pattern of cities.
- GRUENBERG, SIDONIE MATSNER (ed.). *The Family in a World at War*. New York: Harper & Bros., 1942. Pp. viii+298. \$2.50. A series of twenty articles on family morale by leading authorities including Paul V. McNutt, L. K. Frank, E. C. Lindeman, David M. Levy, Pearl S. Buck, J. S. Plant, Dorothy Canfield Fisher, Caroline B. Zachry, and Eleanor D. Roosevelt.
- HAHN, LEWIS EDWIN. *A Contextualistic Theory of Perception*. ("University of California Publications in Philosophy," Vol. XXII.) Berkeley: University of California Press, 1942. Pp. 205.
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- HARRIMAN, PHILIP LAWRENCE; GREENWOOD, LELA L.; and SKINNER, CHARLES E. *Psychology in Nursing Practice*. New York: Macmillan Co., 1942. Pp. xi+483. \$3.25. A textbook presenting a picture of the psychological mechanisms in the normal individual and the mentally disordered individual, with special chapters on the "Psychology of the Patient" and "The Art of Nursing."
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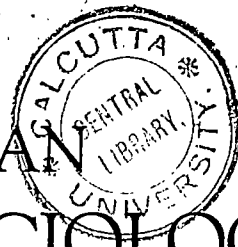
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- LERNER, EUGENE, and MURPHY, LOIS BARCLAY (eds.). *Methods for the Study of Personality in Young Children*. ("Monographs of the Society for Research in Child Development," Vol. VI, No. 4.) Washington, D.C.: Society for Research in Child Development, National Research Council, 1941. Pp. xiii+289. \$2.00.
- LOW, THEODORE L. *The Museum as a Social Instrument*. New York: Rogers-Kellogg-Stillson Co., 1942. Pp. 70.
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- MATTHEWS, HAROLD. *River-Bottom Boy*. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Co., 1942. Pp. 354. \$2.50. A realistic novel depicting the disintegration of a rural Negro family after moving to New Orleans.
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- MONTAGU, M. F. ASHLEY. *Man's Most Dangerous Myth: The Fallacy of Race*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1942. Pp. xi+216. \$2.25. A careful discussion of the concept of race, its confused character, and its role in contemporary life.
- MOORE, DAVID R. *A History of Latin America*. New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1942. Pp. xiii+942. \$4.25. A comprehensive treatment.
- MOTON, ROBERT RUSSA. *What the Negro Thinks*. Garden City, N.Y.: Garden City Publishing Co., 1929. Pp. vii+267. \$1.00. A straightforward statement of the Negro thought with reference to the whites, emphasizing particularly the more

- private attitudes, views, and feelings. A reprint of a volume appearing in 1929.
- MOWRER, ERNEST R. *Disorganization, Personal and Social*. Chicago: J. B. Lippincott Co., 1942. Pp. ix+682. \$3.75. Presents a systematic analysis of certain major problems of personal and social disorganization from the point of view of social psychology.
- MUHLENBERG, HENRY MELCHIOR. *The Journals of Henry Melchior Muhlenberg*, Vol. I. (Translated by Theodore G. Tappert and John W. Doberstein.) Philadelphia: Muhlenberg Press, 1942. Pp. xxiv+828. \$10 for three volumes. Diary of an eminent Lutheran churchman in early America, of great interest in depicting the religious life of the time.
- MUKERJEE, RADHAKAMAL. *The Institutional Theory of Economics*. London: Macmillan & Co., Ltd., 1941. Pp. xiv+376. 10s. 6d. A theoretical treatise on the relation between economic behavior and moral and social environments. Chapters, *inter alia*, on typology of economic systems, economic and noneconomic motivation, economics, and political power.
- NATIONAL EDUCATION ASSOCIATION. *Federal Aid for Education*. Washington, D.C.: National Education Association, 1942. Pp. 31. \$0.25.
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- NEW YORK CITY COMMITTEE ON MENTAL HYGIENE OF THE STATE CHARITIES AID ASSOCIATION. *Morale in War-Time*. New York City: N.Y.C. Committee on Mental Hygiene, 1942. Pp. 8. \$0.10.
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- PITT, WILLIAM J. *Training through Recreation: A Practical Handbook for the New Soldier*. New York: J. J. Little & Ives Co., 1942. Pp. x+74. \$0.35.
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- RAINIER, PETER W. *Green Fire*. New York: Random House, 1942. Pp. 296. \$2.75. An account of the adventures and experiences of a mining engineer in quest of emerald mines in central Colombia. Contains interesting observations on native life.
- REDFIELD, ROBERT (ed.). *Levels of Integration in Biological and Social Systems*. ("Biological Symposia," Vol. VIII.) Lancaster, Pa.: Jaques Cattell Press, 1942. Pp. 240. \$2.50. A series of papers dealing with different levels of social life ranging from the multicellular individual to human society.
- ROBACK, A. A. *William James*. Cambridge, Mass.: Sci-art Publishers, 1942. Pp. 336. \$3.50. An interpretation of William James based primarily on his library and the marginal notes in his books.
- ROBINSON, MARY V. *Recreation and Housing for Women War Workers*. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1942. Pp. 40. \$0.10.
- SANDERSON, DWIGHT. *Rural Sociology and Rural Social Organization*. New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1942. Pp. xvii+806. \$4.00. A textbook for the study of rural society covering (1) environmental conditions; (2) rural institutions, groups, and classes; (3) rural social organization in relation to the great society.
- SELLIN, THORSTEN. *Annual Report, 1941, of the Philadelphia County Prison Board of Inspectors*. Philadelphia, Pa.: Board of Prison Inspectors of the Philadelphia County Prison, 1942. Pp. 64.
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- SHAW, CLIFFORD R., and MCKAY, HENRY D. *Juvenile Delinquency and Urban Areas*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1942. Pp. xxxii+451. \$4.50. The findings of a study of the distribution of juvenile delinquency for twenty-one American cities in relation to the pattern of urban organization and a statement of the implications of the study for the control of juvenile delinquency.
- SIMPSON, ROBERT B. *Studies in the Geography of Population Change, Canandaigua Lake Region, New York*. ("Proceedings of the Rochester Academy of Science," Vol. VIII, Nos. 2 and 3.) Rochester, N.Y.: Academy of Science, 1942. Pp. 49-121. \$1.00. A historical view of the changing population from the aboriginal state to the present, together with a detailed account of the changing pattern of settlement in relation to basic environmental factors.
- SOROKIN, PITIRIM A. *Man and Society in Calamity*. New York: E. P. Dutton & Co., 1942. Pp. 352.

- \$3.00. A discussion of the effects of calamity and disaster on the human mind, behavior, institutions, and culture, with proposals of how to meet the challenge of disaster.
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- STRANZ, RUTH. *Exploration in Reading Patterns*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1942. Pp. ix+172. \$2.00. Contains a number of individual case studies of reading habits and quantitative findings.
- STUDY COMMITTEE, AMERICAN ASSOCIATION OF SCHOOLS OF SOCIAL WORK. *Education for the Public Social Services*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1942. Pp. xiii+324. \$3.00. This study attempts to analyze the training needs of social services under the Social Security Act and to make recommendations for training personnel.
- SUPER, DONALD E. *The Dynamics of Vocational Adjustment*. New York: Harper & Bros., 1942. Pp. xiii+286. \$3.00. Attempts to deal with the principles of vocational guidance "from the point of view of the needs to be met and of the task to be performed."
- THOMAS, W. STEPHEN. *The Amateur Scientist*. New York: W. W. Norton & Co., Inc., 1942. Pp. 291. \$3.00. A discussion of the field of amateur science, various organizations of amateur scientists, opportunities for the amateur scientists, and examples of their work. Illustrated.
- THURSTON, HENRY W. *Concerning Juvenile Delinquency: Progressive Changes in Our Perspectives*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1942. Pp. vii+236. \$2.75. Gives the historical perspective on the development of the juvenile court and its inadequacy to cope with the problem of delinquency without the help of other community agencies.
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- TOLMAN, EDWARD C. *Drives toward War*. New York: D. Appleton-Century Co., 1942. Pp. xv+118. \$1.25. A brief discussion of the drives, social techniques, and psychological mechanisms regarded as important in explaining war as well as its avoidance.
- TWENTIETH CENTURY FUND. *How Collective Bargaining Works*. New York: American Book-Stratford Press, Inc., 1942. Pp. xxviii+986. \$4.00. Discusses extensively the working of collective bargaining in sixteen trades and industries with brief summaries of thirteen other fields.
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SOCIAL STRUCTURE OF PRE-WAR FRANCE

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ABSTRACT

The disruption of continuity between succeeding generations, the tremendous increase of immigration, the deepening abyss between different strata of the French population, the political treason of some business circles—all contributed to the disintegration of French national unity. The fall of France and the defeatist and collaborationist attitude of the Vichy government can be explained sociologically. But the deep-rooted democratic patterns of French cultural, social, and political life have resisted treason and German domination. The deeper-lying institutions of self-government (local and professional) have remained or can be resurrected at any moment. A new French national unity is in formation, which will reinvigorate democratic principles in the economic, as well as in the political sphere by the establishment of the Fourth French Republic.

A. SOCIAL STRUCTURE

I. AGE GROUPS

Throughout the second half of the nineteenth century France suffered from a progressively diminishing birth rate. After World War I this tendency increased markedly. The consequence of this fact, plus the tremendous losses in the masculine age group of twenty to forty years during the war and the lowered mortality rate of aged persons due to improvements in sanitation and medicine, was that France had the largest percentage of aged persons among all the countries of the world. According to the statistics of 1931, more than 25 per cent of the entire French population consisted of the age group of fifty to eighty. On the

other hand, the age group of thirty to fifty in France after World War I was proportionately lower than in all other countries. It is obvious that under these conditions the abyss between generations became in France a very important factor even from a purely numerical viewpoint. The continuity between succeeding generations was seriously disrupted, and mutual understanding menaced. The situation was particularly aggravated by the traditional authority and moral ascendancy which had always been enjoyed in French social, cultural, economic, and political life by the oldest age group.

Despite its strong revolutionary and democratic traditions, France always remained a very traditionalistic country; and this trend was combined with a clearly pronounced tendency to gerontoc-

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racy. France has never known the trust in young and new men characteristic of the United States. In its academies and universities, its Parliament and governmental departments, its general staffs of the army and navy, as well as in the tribunals, political parties, and even business unions and trade-unions, the oldest persons always retained the leadership and played the most important role. It is no historical accident, but a significant illustration, that the central figure during World War I, leading France to victory, was Clemenceau, a septuagenarian, and that the leader of the defeated and reactionary France of today, Pétain, is a man of eighty-six years.

The numerical strength of the age group of fifty to eighty in France during the period between World War I and World War II reinforced this tendency considerably. The legislation, which retained civil officers in service up to the age of seventy to seventy-five years² and imposed on young men uncommonly long and hard steps before promoting them in administrative careers, was a very favorable frame for gerontocracy as an institution. For instance, it was unusual for a French scholar to become an assistant professor before the age of forty.

The dominance, both numerical and moral, of the oldest generations in France as an institutionalized structure had very important repercussions in the period before the present war. Although the oldest group of the population—a group which occupied the leading positions in all sectors of French life—had, as a general rule, never manifested pro-Fascist tendencies, it was at the same

time entirely under the sway of the patterns of the nineteenth century and did not show any understanding of present-day problems. This is one of the sources of the tremendous conservatism of the inner policy of the French democracy during this period, as well as of the tragic myth of the defensive war "behind the Maginot Line." Innumerable other examples might be cited, one of the most striking being the famous rejection by the French General Staff in 1934 of the project of Colonel de Gaulle, a man of forty (*sic!*), for the motorization of the French Army, on the basis of belated considerations drawn from the last war.

In all groups and strata of French population the representatives of the younger generation were in open conflict with *les vieilles barbes*, who, they felt, were excluding them from an effective role in life. One could observe, in the last years before 1939, the growth of many youth groups: young Radicals, young Socialists, young Catholics, young rightists, and so on. In many of them, the democratic ideal, more or less universally approved or accepted by the elders, was completely doubted, if only because it characterized the faith of the older generation. This situation was exploited by the propaganda of the fifth columnists. Such slogans as "The elders who did not participate in the past war, but sacrificed the younger generation, want to repeat it a second time; after their sons, they are ready now to sacrifice their grandsons," could not have met with success had not the relations between the age groups in France been entirely lacking in equilibrium.

2. GROUPS OF IMMIGRANTS

France had always been the country of refuge for political emigrants, but up to the period after World War I she had never known a large-scale immigration.

² When the Popular Front government tried to lower the age of retirement of civil officers to sixty-five, it met with very strong opposition and was forced to make concessions. The age of retirement, in 1937, was fixed at sixty-seven to seventy, depending upon the positions involved.

The situation changed abruptly after 1919. The devastation produced in France by the war and the tremendous diminution of the most productive age group of twenty to forty brought about a great demand for foreign workers. After the war France favored the immigration of Polish miners and peasants in the north and of Spanish and Italian agricultural workers in the south. The greatest part of the Russian anti-communist emigration, of which the bulk consisted of the remnants of White armies, was also concentrated in France. After 1933 a very considerable number of Germans, victims of Nazi persecutions—principally Jews—were admitted to France. After the collapse of the Spanish Republic, the bulk of the remaining Loyalist Army found refuge in France. Thus, before the start of the war in 1939, France possessed the largest immigrant group in Europe, something between seven and eight millions, which was one-sixth of the entire population. The greatest part of these immigrants (Italians, Spaniards, Poles, Russians) were unskilled workers with low standards of living, accepting the worst conditions of labor.

Despite some inevitable friction, the French labor unions succeeded in integrating the foreign industrial workers in special national sections of trade-unions. The Confédération Générale du Travail and the Confédération Générale du Travail Unitaire favored the movement to lighten the naturalization laws by lowering the required ten-year period of residence to three years. After the adoption of the new naturalization law in 1926, more than one and one-half millions of immigrants were naturalized. Only some privileged corporations, such as the bar and physicians' associations and the rightist group of Action Française were, from the start, opposed to the new natu-

ralization law and made propaganda against *les méthèques*.

But the situation changed radically with the development of the economic crisis after 1930 and the continuously increasing unemployment in France after this date. The flood of immigration continued for political reasons, but France was no longer economically able to absorb it. Various circles began to show fear of the ever increasing competition of foreign workers. After 1933 and the appearance of German anti-Nazi immigration, many factors (of which a very important one was the appeasement tendency of the French rightist and moderate parties) led to a rapid growth of agitation in the bourgeoisie against foreign groups. The slogans "La France aux Français" and "A bas les méthèques," intensively utilized by the fifth-columnist propaganda between 1934 and 1939, played a role in the riot of February, 1934, when, in connection with the Stavisky scandal, a crowd of pro-Fascist elements tried to storm Parliament. A few months after these events, in July, 1934, certain restrictive measures were adopted against naturalized citizens by the terms of which they were prevented from occupying public office or from exercising the professions of attorney or physician before a ten-year period had passed after their naturalization. From this time on the hostility toward immigrants, naturalized or not, increased more and more. The economic and cultural difficulty of France, with its intense homogeneity, in absorbing rapidly and without friction its millions of immigrants, was largely exploited by pro-Fascist propaganda.

3. OCCUPATIONAL GROUPS

France was, and remained to the last, a country where agriculture of different kinds played a prominent role. The greatest supporter of the French Repub-

lic and democracy was and is, even today, the French farmer. As a general rule, the French peasant had sufficient land (which he obtained by the French Revolution) and enjoyed some ease. The first World War did not destroy the economic strength of French farmers; in fact, it augmented it. The farmer-voters were a factor of political stability because they always remained true to the same party—the Radical-Socialists, which, despite its name, was a party of moderate social reform and the cornerstone of the Third Republic. But the distribution between the agricultural and urban occupations in France underwent notable changes. Keeping in mind that French statistics apply the term “rural” to all the population of communes which have fewer than 2,000 inhabitants, we can state that, from 1846 to 1931, the rural population diminished more than 25 per cent (from 75.6 per cent in 1846 to 48.8 per cent in 1931). During the period of 1919–39 this diminution progressed even more quickly. Many villages, especially in the south, were entirely abandoned; in others, the young generation was replaced by foreign agricultural workers.

The growth of urban population in France was rather peculiar, for it took place principally in cities of fewer than 100,000 inhabitants and in many cases of fewer than 20,000. According to the statistics of 1931, only 7,500,000 of the entire French population lived in large cities of more than 100,000 inhabitants; of these, 5,000,000 were concentrated in Paris and its suburbs. In small cities and towns the population remained semi-rural, maintaining economic contact with their farmer-families and coming back to the village for seasons of agricultural work or continuing to cultivate land in the suburbs. Even in great indus-

trial cities, some unemployed workers returned to their family farms. Nevertheless, there is no doubt that the progressive diminution of the rural population in France, especially in the last twenty years, contributed considerably to France's political and social instability.

As far as the urban population is concerned, according to the statistics of 1921, the number of workers in industry, in commerce (salaries), was 10,159,944. By 1939 this number had increased to about 12,000,000, or more than one-third of the entire urban population.

Particular stress must be placed on the important role played by two groups within the French urban population: artisans and owners of little commercial enterprises, with only a few or no employees, and *fonctionnaires* of different kinds. In France the entire school system, from the communal school (*école primaire*) to the universities and academies, is organized as a public service. This also holds true for all types of communication and transportation. This is the reason why the percentage of *fonctionnaires* in the urban population was very important. Even in little villages, they were much more numerous than in America.

Among the French, occupational status is not the sole determinant of the total social status of the individual. In this respect France is considerably nearer to America than to Germany. All people are called *monsieur* and not by their occupational titles. Every Frenchman has a very high ideal of personal dignity apart from his occupation. The democratic way of everyday life, which levels all distinctions of professional status, was more deeply rooted in France than in any other European country. The average Frenchman had no consideration at all for any kind of uniform. Even the

regular officers of the French Army and Navy never wore their uniforms when not on duty.

The professional status was, in France, not bound at all to traditional prescriptions. There was, generally speaking, no trend to institutionalization of occupational groups. The professions were flexible and fluid. Even in such professional groups as teachers, professors, attorneys, physicians, which have some degree of corporative character in all countries, the patterns of conduct and attitude had no rigidity. Although the requirements for entering these professions were strictly regulated by state legislation, the patterns of their inner life remained very flexible.

Here also, however, the elders played a pre-eminent role, in accordance with the general pattern of French social customs.

4. SOCIAL STRATIFICATION

As a general rule, social stratification in France was apt to be linked to economic situations and occupational hierarchy more closely than in all other European countries.

The landed aristocracy was entirely destroyed by the French revolutions. The circle of persons who conserved noble titles lost their prestige completely, for ideological as well as for economic reasons. Whereas, formally speaking, 180,000 persons (according to the statistics of 1910) continued to add the "de" to their family name, from 75 to 85 per cent of them were entirely *déclassés*. Their economic situation did not permit them to have any peculiar social standard corresponding to their titles, and they were dissolved in different occupational groups of an average range. The remaining narrow circle of wealthier noblemen intermarried throughout the past century with the upper strata of the

bourgeoisie; it was an almost inevitable method for conserving their privileged economic situation. The "castles" of the remaining French aristocrats were, as a general rule, bought and restored with the money of their wives, who derived from the financial or industrial bourgeoisie. During the Third Republic the nobility did not play any particular political role. The only point which may be cited is the tendency of the remaining wealthier aristocracy to aspire to military careers and, to some extent, also to diplomatic service and the high offices of the church. But they were neither numerically predominant nor particularly influential in these careers. Moreover, neither the career officers of the Army nor the representatives of the Catholic clergy enjoyed great authority or great moral prestige. They had been profoundly compromised by the famous Dreyfus affair. The rehabilitation of Dreyfus, a wealthy Alsatian Jew, who had been unjustly accused of being a German spy, was the starting-point for the democratization of the officers corps of the French Army and for the radical separation of state and church (1902).

The traditional anticlericalism of the French progressive parties, which was an important factor in the period between 1902 and 1930, undermined the authority and prestige of the Catholic clergy in France. The confiscation of the bulk of the property of the Catholic church impoverished it; the Catholic priests in the villages were economically in a very low position, and not a few of them had to take to farming, in addition to their clerical duties. The entire educational system was completely secularized, and religious instruction in public schools was interdicted. At the beginning the church reacted by a radical political opposition to the Third Republic, and many influ-

ential churchmen supported the royalist group of the Action Française. The classical struggle in the village between the teacher (a leftist and anticlerical; very often at the same time the secretary of the mayor) and the priest (a rightist) was always in favor of the teacher. If we add the fact that the greater part of the urban population of France was emancipated from religion (according to the statistics of 1931, in the industrial suburbs of Paris only 3-5 per cent of the population were *pratiquants*), we may say that the anticlerical tendency was totally victorious in France.

After World War I, the situation changed considerably, especially during the period from 1930 to 1939. On the one hand, there developed a progressive and liberal movement in the Catholic church itself. The condemnation of the Action Française by the pope in 1928 facilitated the new tendency. The Social Catholics, supporting social reforms, became more and more numerous and increasingly inclined to effect a reconciliation with the Third Republic and even to accept the law of separation. The Catholic group in the French Parliament, the *Démocrates Populaires* (12 persons, 1936), was on good terms with the Radical-Socialists. The Catholic trade-unions, influential in the north of France, came into very close contact with the Confédération Générale du Travail. Some influential leaders of the Catholic church, such as Archbishop Lehnard of Lille and Cardinal Verdier of Paris, became known for their sympathy with the left wing of France and even with the Socialist party. Many young Catholic intellectuals (especially those grouped around the review *Esprit*) had a close relationship to socialist and syndicalist circles.

Furthermore, the influence of Catholic thought (especially of its liberal seg-

ment) upon French intellectuals and scholars increased considerably during the last years. Before the war of 1939 there was an indisputable intellectual renewal of Catholicism in France, free of any connection with the rightist parties. All this increased the authority and the prestige of Catholic clergy, but the process was only in its beginning, and the reactionary and the progressive wings of the Catholic church in France were locked in an irreconcilable struggle. This is why the attitude of different leaders of the Catholic church—toward the appeasers and defeatists, toward the government of Pétain (himself a reactionary Catholic), and toward the German invaders—has not shown any unity. For instance, whereas Cardinal Baudrillart appealed for collaboration, many archbishops, the village clergy, and especially the Catholic trade-unions became the strongholds of resistance. It is worth mentioning that General de Gaulle, the symbol of French resistance, himself belongs to Catholic circles.

Before describing the purely economic stratification of French society, we must analyze briefly the measure of prestige and authority enjoyed by two specific groups: the French intellectuals—especially the university and college (*lycées*) professors—and the attorneys. Ever since the eighteenth century, intellectuals in France—especially professors and scholars—have enjoyed a particularly high social standing and moral authority. Being irremovable, they have manifested great independence in their attitudes. Excepting the law schools and perhaps the academies, the French scholarly bodies always were very progressive and liberal (they played a great role in the defense of Dreyfus and in the anticlerical movement) and influenced a large public because of the gratuity of

so many courses. The social position of a French professor is one of the highest, without any relation to its economic situation. For instance, marriage with a university professor was considered very attractive for the richest heiresses in France. In the struggle of the last years before the war of 1939, the French universities (except for the law schools, which were connected with the upper bourgeoisie and reactionary Catholicism) participated energetically on the side of anti-appeasers and anti-Fascists. They are now one of the strongholds of resistance against collaborationism with the invaders and against the Vichy government.

It is also necessary to mention, in the description of social stratification in France, the large group of attorneys and lawyers, because their social position and their authority and prestige were not closely related to their economic situation. The members of this group, associated with different economic classes and political parties, became the professional French politicians. Among the deputies of the French Parliament, the leaders of French political parties, the ministers, etc., this professional group was, during the Third Republic, the most important, numerically and morally. The Third Republic was often called "La république des avocats," and some of the mistrust of politicians in France during the last decades was connected with their too close relations with the group of lawyers who were professionals in politics and changed their sponsors and orientations more easily than all other people.

As we mentioned at the beginning of this section, economic differentiation was, with the above exceptions, absolutely decisive for social stratification in France. Following the classification proposed by the French sociologist and econ-

omist, F. Simiand, who subdivides the bourgeois class into *petite bourgeoisie*, *middle bourgeoisie*, *great bourgeoisie*, and industrial or financial magnates, we may draw the following picture of their effective role in France.

The circle of industrial and financial magnates was narrow but had a tremendous influence on economic and, indirectly, on political life. They were well organized in the famous *Comité de Forges*, presided over by the brothers De Wendel, and in the French Employers Federation (*Confédération Générale du Patronat Français*). In the last years before the war of 1939 there were—quite properly—innumerable discussions about the two hundred families controlling the *Banque de France*, the autonomous institution issuing money in France, as well as all other private banks.

This circle owned and controlled most French newspapers, starting with the most influential, *Le Temps*. They were involved in many partnerships with German heavy industry, especially in organized exchanges of the abundant French iron ore for German coal. The Saar region, under French political control until 1935 but jointly exploited economically by Germany and France, permitted many combinations of this kind. The return of the Saar to Hitler Germany did not change the situation. For instance, the Dillinger Huttenwerke, which belonged to the German Richling concern, owned ore mines in France under cover of French directors. The same concern in 1932 joined the French Lorraine Mine and Metallurgy Society, one of the chief suppliers of the Maginot Line. At the same time a direct French-German ore agreement, concluded at the insistence of the *Comité de Forges*, enabled Hitler to rearm. In 1936 French ore mines exported 8,000,000 tons of ore to Germany;

and in 1937, 9,000,000 tons. When, in 1936, after taking over the first Popular Front government, Léon Blum tried to abrogate the agreement, the Comité de Forges threatened a stock exchange panic and the closing of many factories. This move was backed by the French ambassador in Germany, François Poncet (formerly the editor of *Information économique*, the organ of the Comité de Forges). He assured the French government that Germany needed the French ore not for rearmament but only for building houses, bridges, railways, and merchant ships! Blum yielded and, except for the interruption of one week, during the Munich crisis, French ore continued to flow to Germany until the outbreak of war. The quantities actually rose, for the Daladier government had decreed large tax remissions for export trade. Not less than 800,000 tons of ore were transported monthly to Germany under the guidance of the Comité de Forges.

The political attitude of French industrial and financial magnates was, until the last years, a moderate one. The political party with the closest connection to the Comité de Forges was the Alliance Démocratique, formed by rightist dissenters of the Radical-Socialist party and headed by leaders as different as E. Flandin and Paul Reynaud. Only after the rise to power of the Popular Front, whose economic policy and social legislation evoked the strongest opposition by the two hundred families and by the Comité de Forges, did their political representatives split into two unequal, hostile groups: the predominant defeatists, appeasers, and collaborationists, who preferred the defense of their vested social positions and economic interests to the defense of France and who, headed by Flandin, congratulated Hitler after

Munich; and the patriotic minority, ready for economic sacrifices and led by a very courageous man, Paul Reynaud. Some industrial and financial magnates were so afraid of the Popular Front that they went much further than Flandin and supported the secret Fascist group of Cagoulards, a direct agency of Mussolini and Franco; Michelin, owner of the greatest tire industry in France, was one of them.

The class of great bourgeoisie beneath the magnates was neither numerically important nor economically or politically influential. Moreover, because it included a large contingent of prosperous representatives of the liberal professions—successful physicians, attorneys, engineers, managers, judges, notaries, professors, high civil officers, etc.—it lacked a pronounced political attitude and participated in very different political parties. Many of them voted for moderate representatives of the Radical-Socialist party; others, for the conservative party of Républicains Démocrates, headed by Louis Marin, which, though reactionary in all matters concerning social problems, was true to the Republic, retaining a thoroughly anti-German attitude and resisting the defeatists and the armistice.

Incomparably more important numerically and economically, as well as politically, were the middle bourgeoisie and the petite bourgeoisie, who—with such intermediate groups as average employees, teachers, intellectuals, *fonctionnaires* of less importance, and commercial intermediaries—constituted the bulk of French “middle classes.” Except for the relatively large and characteristic circle of French *petits rentiers* (modest stockholders), who suffered tremendously from the inflation, the middle classes in France remained in relatively good economic condition. The prosperity of

French domestic trade, the attraction of France for foreign tourists, and the flow of immigration to France favored the middle classes participating in business life. For the most part, they supported the democratic regime and voted principally for the Radical-Socialist party; on occasion, many of them also voted for socialists of different shades.

The social situation and standing of the middle classes was a good one; their members were well educated, attended high schools and even colleges (*lycées*), and followed a deeply rooted democratic, cultural, and political tradition. This is the reason why, although they were not so stable politically as the farmers, they remained, in the bulk, impervious to Fascist propaganda and, as a general rule, are now strongly opposed to defeatists and collaborationists. We have to add that a particular group of the middle classes, the teachers of public schools (*instituteurs*) had a pronounced leftist tendency; having organized into a union, integrated in the Confédération Générale du Travail, they represented a strong antimilitarist tendency, which they refused to abandon even after the growing menace of a war with Nazi Germany. Only after the invasion did this attitude change, but, in general, it was somewhat peculiar and certainly not characteristic of the middle classes in France.

We have already spoken about the French peasants. We have here only to add a few considerations about the French working class, which has always been guided by revolutionary and socialistic patterns. The memory of the Paris Commune of 1871 and of the Revolution of 1848 was never effaced. French workers, although feebly organized in political parties, have always voted for Socialistic candidates. After the split between the Socialists and Communists (1920), the

Communist influence grew, especially in the great industrial suburbs and particularly around Paris. But before the formation of the Popular Front in 1936 and an electoral agreement between Socialists, Communists, and Radical-Socialists, the Communists did not succeed in electing a large representation to the French Parliament, whereas the Socialists did form a large group in Parliament.

The French workers were, at the same time, traditionally fond of the independence of their trade-unions from political parties. The trade-unions had their own doctrine of syndicalism—revolutionary before 1914, constructive and reformist after 1919—but always considering the problems of economic reorganization and industrial democracy as independent of the state. The French *syndicats* were incomparably better organized than the Socialist party and had many more members than both the Socialist and Communist parties. Despite the split, provoked by Communists, of the Syndicalist movement in 1920, into Confédération Générale du Travail and Confédération Générale du Travail Unitaire (controlled by Communists), one-fifth of all French workers in 1921 remained organized in unions. After the re-establishment of the unity of the Syndicalist movement (1936) and during the Popular Front (1936-38), more than one-third of all workers (4,000,000) were *syndiqués*.

A peculiar tendency of the French syndicalism, socialism, and even communism was an extremist antimilitarist and pacifist tendency. Only during the short period of the Popular Front agreement did the communist elements, in line with instructions from Moscow, unexpectedly espouse a patriotic position, which they abandoned immediately after

the agreement between Stalin and Hitler in September, 1939. Their demagogic action and defeatist position during the war years of 1939-40 contributed directly to the disaster; all the more because it did not meet a real resistance in the worker class, accustomed to an antimilitarist propaganda during many decades. More generally speaking, the unpreparedness of more responsible socialistic and syndicalistic circles to take a patriotic position, combined with the abandonment of this position by leading elements of top bourgeoisie and of the army, considerably precipitated the catastrophe. After the invasion, the situation became completely different; and the trade-unions and the remnants of the socialistic party, and indeed the entire working class, became a stronghold of resistance.

5. POLITICAL PARTIES—PRO-FASCIST GROUPS

We have already made some references to the connection of political parties with the stratification of French society. We have to add here a more general picture, as well as some indications concerning the pro-Fascist groups developed during the last ten years before the collapse.

The most striking features of French political parties were their splitting into innumerable splinter groups and the lack of correspondence between their names and their real character. Besides the larger parties, such as the conservative Republican-Democrats, the upper bourgeois Alliance Démocratique, the basic Radical-Socialists, the Socialists (S.F.T.O.), and the Communists, there were many others: the Independent Republicans (Rightists); Démocrates Populaires (Social Catholics); Républicains-Socialistes and Socialistes Français (moderate socialists), headed by Briand and Paul Boncour; Neo-Socialists, etc. There

were also many representatives without allegiance to any group ("independents").

The names of the parties had a historical origin which corresponded neither to their programs nor to their effective attitudes. The Républicains-Démocrates were moderate republicans but not democrats; the Alliance Démocratique was not democratic at all; the Radical-Socialists were neither radical nor socialists; the Republican-Socialists (later Union Socialiste et Républicaine) were more progressive than the radicals for the solution of social questions but more conservative than the radicals in political affairs, and compromised more easily with representatives of more conservative parties. They also included very different elements—from outstanding personalities such as Briand and Boncour to the unreliable De Monzie, the appeaser and defeatist, and to Marcel Déat (former Socialist), who later became one of the principal leaders of collaborationism. Many ambitious and unprincipled politicians preferred to participate in the small parties rather than the larger ones, because this afforded more opportunity for political intrigue and for obtaining positions in often-changed ministerial combinations.

That so many political parties could exist in France was an outcome of the peculiarity of the electoral system and of the fact that parties had more the character of electoral committees than of consistently organized bodies. The French electoral law did not have any proportional system but limited the elections to local sections; the *second tour*, in which the relative majority was sufficient, was always the decisive one. The issue depended upon local agreements between the electoral committees. This also provided voters with the opportunity to vote in the *second tour* for the most ap-

pealing candidates—ones who had a real chance to be elected, according to the results of the first *tour*. Often the candidates of small parties profited by the *second tour* elections because of their intermediary positions. At the same time, because the parties were not strongly organized, the same circle of voters voted according to circumstances and the personality of the candidate—now for a Radical-Socialist, now for a Republican-Socialist, now for a Socialist, now for a Communist.

All this created political and ideological confusion; it permitted many political intrigues and combinations, and it favored politicians who, profiting by this confusion, changed their allegiances either before election in order to be elected or after election in order to receive a position in the government. For instance, the unscrupulous Laval was successively Socialist, then Communist, then once more Socialist, then Republican-Socialist, then Independent Radical, then rightist Independent, etc. Another characteristic feature of the French party system was that, during the electoral period, all parties presented programs with more or less left tendencies but after elections revealed themselves as more moderate or conservative. (The only exception was the Communist party, which, on the contrary, during elections presented itself as very moderate, in order to get the votes of the farmers and some elements of the middle classes, but forgot its moderation after elections.)

The desire of the French political parties to appear more radical than they were in reality can be explained by the deeply rooted tradition of the successive French revolutions and by the fact that the French voter often hesitated between parties with more or less similar programs. The result was, as many ob-

servers of French political life have noted, that France always had the tendency to vote toward the left and that the House of Representatives always inclined more toward the right in the middle of the legislature period.

After World War I, the leftist parties in France, including the Radical-Socialists, preached reconciliation with Germany and proposed disarmament and collective international security. They had the entire approval of all French farmers, workers, and middle-class groups. The policy of Briand embodied this position; the slogan was: "With us in the government there will be no more war." As the German Republic was destroyed, and first Von Papen and then Hitler came to power, the inertia of the pacifistic position, taken by the left French parties, remained for a long time. The voters were so accustomed to vote for the candidates who promised that there would be no more war that the candidates for elections feared to reveal to their voters that war had become inevitable. They spread promises that France would never be the first to attack and declared that they were able to maintain peace, even with Hitler. If one takes into consideration that, after Hitler's coming to power, some of the conservative parties lost their patriotic and pugnacious attitude and also spoke about compromising with Germany, it will be easy to understand the tremendous danger of the atmosphere they created. It can be partly explained by the enormous losses in men which France suffered during the war of 1914-18, which could not be forgotten so soon by the French population.

The earlier pro-Fascist group, very moderate in its tendency, was the Croix de Feu, a rightist veteran organization, founded by François Coty, the

perfume-manufacturer, in 1927. He was the first among French industrial magnates to try to steer France into the Fascist path, following Mussolini's example. Toward this aim, he founded the newspaper *Ami du peuple*, which was sold more cheaply than all other French papers. A conflict with the monopolist newspaper distribution enterprise, *Hachette*, contributed to its downfall.

General Weygand, who took an interest in all veterans' groups, picked the utterly unknown Colonel de la Rocque, who became the chief of the Croix de Feu in 1928. Colonel de la Rocque was very prudent in his political declarations; he did not deny either the French republican tradition or the necessity of a complete alliance with Britain but only insisted on the leftist danger in France and on the necessity of combating it in the interest of French military strength. He also advocated the inclusion of Fascist Italy in the French-English alliance. The Croix de Feu succeeded in enrolling many different kinds of persons, even some organizations of Jewish veterans, and De la Rocque even delivered speeches in synagogues. Some members of the Croix de Feu were admirers of the famous French patriot, the Jew Mandel, one of the most outspoken foes of French appeasers and fifth columnists. But at the same time the Croix de Feu attracted a majority of outspoken Fascists, like the rightist and anti-Semitic deputy Ybernegaray, the future minister of the Pétain government for Jewish persecution. Other leaders were Mermoz, the aviator, and Jean Borotra, France's tennis star.

The slogan of the Croix de Feu was, "Travail, Famille, Patrie," which was accepted many years later by the Pétain government as the device to replace "Liberté, Égalité, Fraternité." The Croix de Feu was never a large move-

ment. Its maximum membership, of exclusively middle-class and upper-class people, at the moment of its greatest ascendancy, was 400,000, half of whom were actual war veterans. Most of them were pro-Italian but strongly anti-German. The movement attained its climax in 1934 when, during the Stavisky scandal, the rightist elements of Croix de Feu, together with the Action Française, tried to overthrow the government by storming Parliament. This assault ended with disaster for the movement. Many honest war veterans resigned. The left parties reached a *rapprochement* which led to the Popular Front movement. Tardieu, himself a rightist, revealed in 1938 that De la Rocque had for many years been drawing on secret government funds, in order to keep the Croix de Feu quiet.

After the interdiction of all "leagues" in 1936, the remnants of the Croix de Feu formed the Parti Social Français, which had no more than four or five members in Parliament, with Ybernegaray as their head. During the war they pledged full support of the governmental war effort; but after the armistice Ybernegaray became minister of the Pétain government and De la Rocque appealed for support of it, although he himself no longer enjoyed any political influence. The remnants of Croix de Feu split; some of them, as French patriots, joined the Free French movement of General de Gaulle; others supported General Weygand in his struggle against Laval.

A more outspoken Fascist group than the Croix de Feu was, and still is, the Parti Populaire Français, founded and headed by Jacques Doriot. Doriot was for many years a famous and notorious Communist leader; he was the head of the Communist group in Parliament as

well as the mayor of the large working-class suburb of Paris—St. Denis. He left the Communist party in 1935 and formed his own party in the summer of 1936, at the very moment of the Popular Front electoral victory. His new party was financed by big industrial magnates with the help of Flandin, who bought for Doriot, on the eve of the Munich crisis, the evening paper *Liberté* (1938). The 200,000–300,000 members of Doriot's party were composed of about equal proportions of disappointed Communists and Socialists and of rightist elements of the ancient Croix de Feu. Doriot was a good speaker and an experienced demagogue. His official slogan was "Neither Moscow nor Berlin," but his entire propaganda was anti-British and anti-Semitic. The party wanted a break of alliance with London and Moscow and an agreement with Germany. They were very active during the Munich crisis, favoring the abandonment of Czechoslovakia, and before 1939 and during the war they kept up an active anti-war propaganda. At this time their slogans against the "capitalist war" coincided, in language at least, with the Communist propaganda. After the armistice (during the war Doriot had been drafted but enjoyed many privileges) Doriot hurried to Vichy to pledge allegiance to Pétain. His party then became the most energetic collaborationist group, backed by German military authority. There is no doubt that, among all candidates for a Fascist dictator of France, Doriot is the most fitted for the job. His only competitor in this sense might, perhaps, be Marcel Déat (see later).

There were some other attempts to form Fascist groups in France: for instance, the Jeunesse Patriote of the rightist Deputy Taittinger; the Francists, wearing brown shirts; the Green Shirts;

the Parti Travailleiste Français. But they were insignificant, had very few members, and were already in partial dissolution before the official interdiction in 1936.

As we have seen, not one of the pro-Fascist groups of France was a mass movement, and only the Parti Populaire Français of Doriot had a tendency in this direction. What is even more instructive is the fact that the most dangerous pro-Fascist group in France, the Cagoulards, took the form of a secret organization, a true conspiracy against the republic. On September 11, 1937, bombs destroyed two buildings in Paris; one belonged to the Employers' Union of Metallurgic Enterprises, the other to the French Employers' Federation. Investigation revealed that the crime was organized in order to compromise the Popular Front government by a secret organization, the U.C.A.D. (Union des Comités d'Action Defensive), or the C.S.A.R. (Comité Secret d'Action Révolutionnaire), calling itself "Cagoulards." The organizer of the plot was an engineer, Metenier, employed by the Michelin firm in Clermont. The advisory board of this organization, which was sponsored by General Weygand, Pierre Laval, and perhaps Pétain himself, included certain high officers, some large industrialists like Baron Moreau de la Meuse, Deloncle (future head of the campaign to recruit French volunteers for the Nazi war against Russia), De Bernonville, and others. This investigation was stopped on the insistence of the general staff of the army and of the president of the Republic, since it threatened to compromise many high-ranking officers in the army and many powerful politicians.

During the investigation a tremendous quantity of arms made in Germany and Italy had been found, the origin of which

was never entirely explained. It is certain that a *Putsch* was being planned against the Popular Front government, in order to forestall a Fascist regime. Probably the arms came from the large commerce in smuggling German and Italian arms into Spain for the support of Franco against the Loyalists; in this trade several pro-Fascist groups were involved, working on the premise that by helping Franco they were combating the Communist danger in France, as well as combating the Popular Front government. Whether some foreign arms were given directly by Hitler and Mussolini to the Cagoulards in order to shape a Fascist revolution in France cannot be established for a certainty, but it is very probable. Several years later the Cagoulards took vengeance against the man who led the investigation against them—the Socialist minister, Max Dormay, who was killed by their henchmen after the armistice of 1941. Some of them assumed very important positions in the Vichy government and in the Legion, the only party now permitted in defeated France.

Despite all the disintegrating activity of the pro-Fascist minority groups, they did not appeal to French masses and could act only in a concealed way. Only to the degree that the old French political parties were split and demoralized after Munich (1938), and especially after the military collapse (June, 1940), did they become—under the protection of the invaders—a serious factor in the “accepted defeat” through collaboration.

6. GOVERNMENT AND THE INTEGRATION OF THE HIERARCHY OF AUTHORITY

The patterns of political authority in France were deeply rooted in the democratic tradition. The several French rev-

olutions remained in the minds of the population and of holders of political and administrative power as symbols of the total control of authority by the people. The national holiday of the taking of the Bastille, observed July 14, reminded all Frenchmen of the patterns of revolution. The masses, on this day, danced in the streets of French towns the dance of the revolution, “La Carmagnole.” In no country, perhaps, was there so much distrust of personal political authority as in France.

Characteristically, the French Radical-Socialist philosopher, Alain, defined democracy as “control”—not as social control, in the American sense of the term, but as strict surveillance of the government, of the deputies, and the administration by the voters. The result of such an attitude was that the political leaders and government officials did not enjoy any particular personal prestige. They were considered more as servitors than as leaders. At the same time, the president of the French Republic, elected in the joint meeting of the House of Representatives and of the Senate, did not enjoy any discretionary power. He was a very passive element in the French political machine, considerably more passive than the British king. His personal prestige and authority were low. The effective French rulers, the *présidents du conseil*, changed so often (generally every six or eight months) and were so dependent on the mood of Parliament, where the majority was always unstable and continuously mobile, that they could not affirm great authority, even if the general mistrust of power in France had permitted. A negative strong control of French administrators, ministers, and governors (*préfets de département*) was established through “the administrative justice” exercised by the Conseil d’Etat, in which

any citizen could sue any official for *abus et détournement* of power.

It is likely that greater authority and prestige were enjoyed by the mayors of cities and villages, the elected chiefs of local self-government bodies. The composition of the French Senate, elected by local self-governing councils, reinforced the spontaneous authority of councilors and mayors. The deputies and senators could, at the same time, be mayors; they sought to be and to remain such, and the most influential French parliamentarians were always simultaneously mayors of great cities; and the longer they remained heads of local self-governing bodies, the higher was their prestige (the case of Herriot, who was mayor of Lyons for more than twenty-five years, is classic).

The strength of the French leftist parties, not only the Radical-Socialists but also the Socialists and Communists, lay in the fact that many of their representatives were mayors of towns, cities, and villages. During the retreat of the French Army, June, 1940, the flight of the government from Paris, and the exodus of twelve millions of civilian population dispersed on the roads of France, the only effective government was the *mairies*, which saved France from complete anarchy. It is very instructive, too, that the Pétain government, in suppressing the French Republic, started with the dissolution of all local self-government bodies and with the dismissal of the greater number of French mayors. It cannot be doubted that during the period of the second front, the first body of French democracy which will be resurrected and will act as an organizational factor will be the local self-governments, and especially the *mairies*.

With the development of French syndicalism, especially after World War I, a

new source of authority arose in the leaders of labor unions. They never claimed governmental power but were always consulted by the government regarding all economic, social, and industrial measures.

The general secretary of the French General Confederation of Labor, Léon Jouhaux, his aides, and the secretaries of the most important syndicates enjoyed a considerable social authority and prestige—a fact which had to be taken into account not only by the Popular Front (1938) but by all other governments. To combat this rising influence, the employers' group (Comité de Forges) Confédération Générale des Fabricants Français), who had previously acted more through their influence on deputies, also interposed directly, after 1936. However, they had no real prestige but only economic power, and their action was very negative and obstructive. Another source of authority for the faithful was the Catholic church, obviously independent of the state.

To sum up, we can say that the entire social and political structure of France was opposed to the totalitarian appeal. It was a type of society where structurally important prestige and authority elements were independent of the state and government and where the population mistrusted all discretionary power. This is why a painless resurrection of French democracy and its elaboration of new forms of social organization, based on pluralistic principles and on a new system of checks and balances, is a certainty.

B. THE CULTURAL TRADITION

In our description of the social structure, reference has been made to the two main cultural traditions of France: that which originated from successful revolu-

tions and that derived from Catholicism. We have also alluded to the clash between the victory of the democratic-revolutionary tradition and the trend toward partial reconciliation through the modernizing and liberalizing of Catholicism. It must be added here that the democratic-revolutionary tradition is connected with the entire development of French thought from the eighteenth century until today. The criticism of Descartes, the skepticism of Montaigne and Pascal, the rationalistic enlightenment of Voltaire and of the *Encyclopédie*, the democratic enthusiasm of Rousseau, and the antistatist socialism of Saint-Simon, Fourier, and Proudhon were deeply rooted patterns of the French mental attitude, with a definite tendency toward institutionalization. The predominance of the rationalistic attitude, with its faith in universally valid principles, was very characteristic of French international and colonial policy; it was a faith that the democratic principles of the French Revolution could be applied in all countries, which led also to the humanitarian treatment of natives in the colonies and the refusal to countenance any ethnic discrimination.

The counterrevolutionary reaction, at the beginning of the nineteenth century, to this main cultural tradition (sponsored by, for instance, De Bonald and De Maistre) was influential only in very restricted circles, such as the *Action Française* and the rightist Catholics. Its real result was the transcendence of individualistic rationalism by the development of French socialistic doctrines and of French sociology, both of which continued the revolutionary-democratic-rationalistic French cultural tradition. The new antirationalistic reaction at the end of the nineteenth century and beginning of the twentieth century, due to the

widely influential Bergsonian philosophy, remained true to French universalistic and humanitarian cultural tenets. It was utilized most by the syndicalist movement to exalt the creative energy of the revolutionary struggle, and also by liberal Catholics to modernize Catholic thought (e.g., by Peguy). An exception to these trends is the deviation from Bergson's thought by Sorel, whose doctrine, implying some Fascist elements, remained without influence in France.

Thus the cultural traditions of France were well integrated, strongly institutionalized, and strongly unfavorable to the Fascist patterns. The inadequacy of the resistance to the Fascist menace and propaganda was due not to the competition of uninstitutionalized cultural traditions but, on the contrary, to the slowness of transformation and adaptation to new circumstances. The French Democrats and Socialists were too much dominated by symbols and slogans elaborated during their previous revolutions. The Radical-Socialists repeated the formulas of the Jacobins, and the Socialists the formulas of the revolution of 1848. Too deeply dominated by a particular cultural tradition, they have not had sufficient feeling for the necessity of a perpetual renewing of symbols and techniques of fulfilment, according to the dynamics of social circumstances and situations. They were too traditionalistic, even conservative, in their thought and attitudes. (This is true not only of Herriot but of the leader of the Popular Front, Léon Blum.) The above-mentioned trend toward gerontocracy, to the leadership of elders in French life, reinforced this situation. The result was the weakening of the attractive force for the masses of the crystallized democratic symbols and patterns, repeated exactly as they were formulated more than one

hundred and fifty years ago. The deeply rooted French cultural tradition was not renewing itself sufficiently fast to have the necessary creative force for a quick solution of the tremendous difficulties which were developing.

C. THE INSTABILITY OF THE SOCIAL SITUATION

Yet, in spite of a deeply rooted democratic cultural tradition and a well-integrated society, the social situation in France became very unstable in the last years before the war. We have tried to emphasize the essential factors of this instability—the depopulation, the abyss between generations, the tremendous unabsorbed immigration, the diminution of the rural population, the obstructive and increasingly antinational attitude of the upper bourgeoisie, the pacifistic demagoguery of the leftist parties, the slow adaptation of the old political and social techniques to urgent new circumstances. It may be stated, without any paradox, that it was the very crystallization and rigidity of patterns of institutional structures and of cultural orientation which turned out in France to be a factor for instability and weakness. France badly needed a political, administrative, and economic reorganization, something like the New Deal on a large scale. But this was slow to come, with the result that rapidly changing events and the growing threat from abroad obviated all palliative measures and destroyed the hope for any new tendencies.

Tired from the tremendous war effort of 1918-19, France lost this race. The Popular Front government came to power far too late to reverse the situation; and various projected reforms were obstructed, perverted, and prevented, as much by powerful inner resistance as by the external, always more dangerous, sit-

uation in France. Only four months before the elections of 1936, which gave the majority to the Popular Front, Germany reoccupied the demilitarized Rhine zone, and Britain refused to join France in any military action to stop this first act of undeclared war. France was now under the daily menace of direct German attack. It was forced to sacrifice a tremendous portion of its budget for military preparation.

When Blum came into power, his first project—influenced by suggestions of the *Confédération Générale du Travail*—was to augment the French industrial (military and civilian) production by the establishment of a true industrial democracy; indeed, the forty-hour week was conceived as a means of providing several uninterrupted worker-teams during twenty-four hours, absorbing the unemployment in this way. But the refusal of the *Comité de Forges* and of other French employers' organizations to accept any agreement on this basis (they threatened to close the factories and to transfer their capital to foreign countries, creating a stock exchange panic), as well as the large-scale strikes of impatient masses of workers, influenced by Communists, forced Blum and the Popular Front government to a disastrous compromise. Instead of achieving structural reforms and augmenting production, the measures taken involved only the rise of wages and the diminution of labor hours by denying, on the insistence of employers, the principle of several worker-teams during the day. The result was a terrific decrease in France's productive power and the rise of living costs.

The failure of the Popular Front policy served as encouragement not only to Hitler's plans for further aggression but also to the reinforcement of Fascist propaganda within France, which was increas-

ingly supported by some portions of the bourgeoisie. The civil war in Spain (summer of 1936), organized by Hitler and Mussolini, was considered by all pro-Fascist elements in France as a welcome warning against the Popular Front government. Even some Radical-Socialist ministers in the Blum government opposed any measure for helping the Spanish Loyalists. Blum feared that any such measure, which was obviously to the interest of France, might provoke an outburst of civil war in France itself. So he yielded a second time.

The conflicts among the three parties supporting the Popular Front government—Socialists, Radical-Socialists, and Communists—grew increasingly strong. After one year of rule, Blum was forced to yield the presidency of the Council of Ministers to his Radical-Socialist colleagues (Chautemps, and later Daladier).

During the spring of 1938, when France was undergoing a new ministerial crisis, Hitler invaded Austria, and immediately afterward he started agitation for the annexation of a part of Czechoslovakia. The appeasement-defeatist line of policy now found supporters not only in pro-Fascist and upper bourgeoisie circles but also among certain Radical-Socialist leaders, such as Bonnet and Chautemps, who joined Flandin and Laval. The two last named conspired against the government, with all elements contributing to produce a civil-war atmosphere in France; while Bonnet, who had been chief of the Foreign Office since the spring of 1938, led France's international policy in yielding to Germany without war. He played a sinister role during the Czech crisis when he betrayed some of his colleagues in the government who were for resistance, as well as betraying the Czech government.

It was Bonnet, too, who was responsible for the activity in France of the German agent, Otto Abetz, the future ambassador of Hitler in occupied Paris. The latter presented himself as a peace-loving democrat, who asserted that the Nazis did not want a war with France and who established in Paris a French-German committee for appeasement. He succeeded in attracting the French writer Jules Romain (a left-wing man), who, because of his political naïveté, served in veiling the criminal activity of Abetz and Brinon, his French manager and the future envoy of the Pétain government to German-occupied Paris. The chief of the government, Daladier, trusted his friend Bonnet, for he was an appeaser, although not connected with Fascist conspirators. He believed that the policy of Bonnet had helped France in delaying the conflict and in winning time, but he did not recognize the profound moral and political disintegration of France and its penetration by fifth columnists, which was the only result of this policy.

The Munich agreement (managed by Chamberlain and Bonnet) was not only a tremendous blow to the morale of the French people and the prestige of France but was also an enormous military defeat without war, resulting in a disintegration of the morale of the entire French Army. A great part of it was mobilized a week before the Munich agreement. The many millions of men concentrated on the Rhine border and on the Maginot Line (the writer of this article was among them) were ready to fight. They were encouraged by the knowledge that the Siegfried Line was far from finished. The precipitate demobilization after the Munich agreement was considered by them as a definite renunciation by France of any intention of opposing the expansion of Germany. The slogan of the demobi-

lized and depressed soldiers was: "*Nous sommes foutus*" ("We are lost").

The Munich agreement produced a tragic split in all French parties and circles. France, already divided since 1934 and 1936 into two camps by a concealed civil war, was now divided anew according to a different criterion; the bitter opposition between "Munichois" and "anti-Munichois" was to be found among the rightists, as well as in the leftist, parties. Within the Radical Socialist party, the friends of Bonnet were in conflict with the friends of Herriot; within the Socialist party the followers of Paul Fauré were in opposition to the followers of Blum; the same situation could be observed in the Confédération Générale du Travail, in each syndicate, and perhaps even in most French families. Even the anti-Fascist organization of intellectuals, Vigilance, split, and the opponents of Munich resigned. The French nation was no longer a community but an amorphous mass. The French national unity was gone, and France was defeated without war.

It must be recognized that, after the complete occupation by Hitler of Czechoslovakia (February, 1939) and after the pugnacious speeches by Mussolini regarding Tunisia, Corsica, Savoy, and Nice, there was a new awakening of French patriotism and unity. But too little time remained for the development of this tendency. Despite the intrigues of Bonnet and such treacherous articles by Déat as "Is It Necessary To Die for Danzig?" France was forced into the war by Hitler's invasion of Poland (September, 1939).

External unity was achieved, except for the exclusion of the Communists from Parliament, since they were compromised by the Stalin-Hitler agreement; but what was not attained was a govern-

ment of national union among all parties, nor the real liquidation of the appeasers, pro-Fascists, and fifth columnists in France. In fact, there was not even an outcropping of true enthusiasm in the French Army. Many politicians, such as Flandin, Laval, Déat, Bonnet (at that time minister of justice), contrived their intrigues for a quickly negotiated peace with Germany. They were surrounded by Italian and Spanish agents, who served as spies for Germany. When Georges Mandel, only a few weeks before the collapse in the spring of 1940, became the minister of the Paul Reynaud government, he brought a list with him of no less than two hundred important French personalities compromised by negotiations with enemy agents. After the armistice the majority of them became strong supporters either of the Vichy government or of the more radical collaborationists with Germany!

The mobilization of 1939 was not taken seriously by the soldiers because of the memory of the mobilization without war in 1938. The "war of nerves," the passive waiting during eight months without action, was tremendously demoralizing. The idea of a passive war behind the Maginot Line revealed itself not only as a tremendous military mistake but also as a grave social-psychological error. An army cannot affirm itself as a community without activity; passivity reduces it to an amorphous mass.

Inadequate mechanization of the army (for which the general staff was responsible) and the lack of aviation (for which the employers' organizations were to blame, as a result of their consistent interference with planned and democratized economy) caused a rapid military catastrophe. But a military catastrophe is not yet a defeat. Paris might have been defended for months, and the army

could have been reorganized during that time; there were, in the colonies, and on the Italian border, tremendous sections of an intact French armed force. But Pétain, who was introduced after the first reverses in the government, and Weygand, who was named commander-in-chief, backed by all pro-Fascist elements in France, decided to yield Paris to Germany without battle. The real, but concealed, motive was a fear of a new "Commune." Even before the yielding of Paris, the entire population of the French capital was disarmed. When the government was transferred to Tours, Weygand and Pétain declared in the Council of Ministers that a Communist revolution had broken out in Paris! Only later was the official reason for yielding Paris said to be the desire to save its monuments and buildings!

Even after the yielding of Paris, the war could have been continued in France, as well as in the colonies. But now the conspiracy of the rightist generals, headed by Pétain and Weygand and supported by all appeasers and pro-Fascists, decided to profit by the circumstances, in order to overthrow the Third Republic and to establish a counterrevolutionary regime in France. The government of Reynaud was eliminated without parliamentary vote, and Pétain, becoming *président du conseil*, asked for an armistice, which was announced publicly. This was the signal for the total disorganization of the French Army. The officers often abandoned their soldiers. The armies ceased to fight during the period of the discussion of the conditions

of armistice, which continued for eight days. Germany's armies profited by these circumstances by penetrating more and more deeply into France, beyond Lyons, Clermont-Ferrand, and Poitiers. The French counterrevolution was imposed with the help of German arms.

This fact alone is very instructive, because neither Fascism nor reaction could have triumphed in France without defeat, the treason of some leaders, and, above all, without the direct armed support of the invaders. Even the successive Vichy governments were not so much converted to the Nazi ideas as they have been seeking the re-establishment of "authority and order," according to patterns of French reactionary thought of the beginning of the nineteenth century. All the rest is only a result of the direct German pressure. The very thin and ineffective surface movement in occupied France in favor of the inner Nazification of France (of which Doriot and Déat are the most dangerous leaders) is constituted by men carefully selected, trained, and prepared in advance by Germany to play the Quisling role. The effect of the military defeat and political treason was rather to solidify French national unity. All the deeper-lying institutional patterns of French life have remained and have resisted, with incomparable strength, German domination and destruction. These patterns will reappear in a renewed and reinvigorated form after the liberation, by the establishment of the Fourth French Republic.

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THE MYTH OF CHINESE FAMILY SIZE¹

FRANCIS LANG-KWANG HSU

ABSTRACT

The belief that the Chinese family tends to be a large one, with several generations living under the same roof, has recently been challenged by field studies which show the average size of the Chinese family to be about five. The social emphasis on the father-son relation makes for a potentially larger family, but there is also always a potential cleavage centering around the husband-wife relation in the larger family. The poverty of the vast majority of the people of China may account for the statistical finding of a small family, for the large family tends to appear when the economic foundations of the family make such an expression practical. The large family is intimately connected with the rest of the social organization—with the yearning for a glorious ancestry and for an esteemed family group.

THE PROBLEM

To the West, China has been known as a land of large families, each with several generations living under the same roof. Many writers, popular and academic, take the fact for granted. On the other hand, some recent field studies have shown conclusively that the average size of the Chinese family is about five.² More than once I have come across scholars who, following these recent results, regard the Chinese large-family idea as another exploded Chinese myth. In their view, therefore, such arguments as advanced by Lin Yu-t'ang regarding the virtues and evils of the large family are popular dramatization without any foundation in fact.

Is, then, the Chinese large family a myth? That is a question we have yet to answer.

OPPOSING TENDENCIES IN THE CHINESE FAMILY SYSTEM

One explanation which has been offered to account for the smallness of the

average Chinese family is that of C. M. Ch'iao, who stresses the potential disharmony between brothers and brothers' wives or between parents and daughters-in-law in the joint family.

When we classify the members of the family into near genetic relationship, it is found that Chinese family-heads live more with their immediate blood relatives than with their parents and brother's family, because family disorganization usually occurs between brothers and brothers' wives. Thus it is more natural for family-heads to live with their close relatives by family division than with their brothers.³

This potential disharmony within the family is not an obscure phenomenon everywhere. From my own observation in two North China communities⁴ and in one Yunnan village,⁵ I can also give much evidence to show the potential cleavage in a family containing more than one married couple. My conclusions are that as soon as the sons get married individual families begin to develop around each couple and that this development tends, sooner or later, largely through troubles among the

¹ The writer is indebted to Dr. Kurt Block, Mr. O. Tzueyi Chang, and Dr. H. T. Fei for their reading of the paper and for Dr. Fei's kindness in allowing the use of his yet unpublished manuscript.

² C. M. Ch'iao, *Rural Population and Vital Statistics for Selected Areas of China, 1929-1931* (Shanghai, 1934); L. S. C. Smythe, "The Composition of the Chinese Family," *Nanking University Journal*, V, No. 2 (1935), 371-93.

³ Ch'iao, *op. cit.*, pp. 48-50.

⁴ For a brief description of one of them see my article, "The Problem of Incest Tabu in a North China Village," *American Anthropologist*, Vol. XLII, No. 1 (1940).

⁵ This is the village where I am staying and studying the problem of social mobility at present. Some of the results will be published later on.

women of the house, to lead to a final breaking-up of the joint family. This possibility is, I suspect, universal wherever a composite family of this nature is found.⁶

Beyond this elementary tendency, however, we have to realize that what characterizes the Chinese family organization is the fact that the father-son relation is socially emphasized, while the husband-wife relation is socially suppressed.⁷ With this emphasis we find a series of functionally related phenomena, some of which may be easily enumerated. We find that marriage is always arranged by the families, irrespective of individual predilections; that second marriage is undesirable for women but not for men; that the system of education is adult centered (i.e., children must imitate adults even when they are children); that expression of sexual affection in family life is strongly discouraged, so that the husband-wife relationship is often a formal affair; that women have a much lower position than men, in theory and

in practice; that the cult of ancestors is restricted exclusively to the patrilineal line; that within the family the ideal is for all couples to behave as though they cared little about their own spouses and children but much more about the family group as a whole; and that lastly, therefore, a division of the family is a strongly disapproved step and an evil resorted to only when circumstances make it necessary.

The net result of this social emphasis, with the operation of its related factors enumerated above, would be a Chinese family potentially larger than any modern European family which emphasizes the husband-wife relationship, because the universal tendency to cleavage within the larger family tends to be overshadowed by the forces making for greater unity. On the other hand, while the husband-wife relationship may be suppressed, it cannot be entirely obliterated. That fact makes it clear that, in spite of the social emphasis, the cleavage within the larger family must always be a potential reality. The latter has been ample confirmed by the facts.

The duel between the two basic relationships in the Chinese joint family is thus: A greater play of the husband-wife relationship tends to pull it asunder, while a greater play of the father-son relationship tends to result in the impressive but rare picture of many generations under one roof. Because rare, these families are usually objects of public admiration and royal rewards on account of their being the highest development of the emphasis on the father-son relationship. They show, also, that large families of the dramatized type are not mere accidental curios, having nothing to do with the sociology of Chinese family. They have a genuine foundation in the social organization.

But having arrived at this point is to

⁶ The universality of this tendency is still a matter of controversy. The case for its nonuniversality is that certain preliterate tribes, notably the Eskimos, are known to practice wife-lending. Even in China, in rare parts, cases are known of temporary marriage arrangements based on "hiring" a wife for periods of various length—often sufficient for the production of a child. But the psychological significance of the Eskimo wife-lending is still to be discovered, and the Chinese practice of "hiring" a wife is a rare happening and comes very near to "monopolizing" a prostitute. Having been born and nurtured in a traditional Chinese family of considerable size, and having, naturally, observed many others, the present writer is in a position to state that, in spite of every social training, restraint, and sanction against the cohesion of the individual marriage unit, as the traditional Chinese family ideal dictated, the distinctive "cohesive tendency of the individual marriage unit" was and is ever ready to show up, leading finally toward the breaking-up of the larger family unit.

⁷ These two relations are, in meaning, identical with what Professor R. Linton has called the "consanguine relationship" and the "conjugal relationship," respectively (*The Study of Man* [1936], p. 159).

have arrived at an apparent impasse, for we have merely noted two opposing forces in the family. Unless we can find out some additional forces which can add weight to one or the other of them so as to offset their relative equilibrium, our arguments about them will be forever confined within a circle. We shall be able only to note the existence both of the larger families, which are due to the inherent property of the social emphasis, and of the smaller families, which are the natural result of the universal cohesive tendency of the individual marriage unit. We must ask: Assuming these opposing forces to be equally at work, why do some families remain small while others, even though comparatively few, grow into giant structures?

THE QUESTION OF TECHNOLOGICAL EFFICIENCY

For an answer to the last question we have to look into the wider social context and beyond the immediate family relationships. H. T. Fei started in the right direction when he said that the "so-called large-family is chiefly found in towns and evidently has a different economic basis."⁸ But he failed to follow it up and turned to the influence of the existing stage of agricultural technology. He writes:

Group work yields no more than the sum total of individual efforts. It also does not increase the efficiency very much. Present technology has fixed the amount of labour required by the size of the land. Thus we have approximately identical figures for the amount of land which can be cultivated by each worker. This fact has far-reaching influence on land tenure, on the scattered system of farms, *on the frequency of family division, and on the small size of the household.* [Italics mine.]⁹

There is no objection to the assumption, in theory, of an automatic adjustment

between technological requirement and the sizes of farm and of family. But if Fei is correct, we should have an average farm unit, throughout the large part of China, which is the most profitable unit under the existing conditions. This, unfortunately, we do not find. For J. L. Buck, on the other hand, observes:

Each succeeding generation of sons, upon inheriting land from their fathers, can testify to a size of holding diminishing with each redivision. The result is a farm smaller than the best economic unit for profits.¹⁰

What is the unit which Buck refers to as the "best economic unit for profits"?

In other words, the best size of farm is above the lower limit of the class interval used for the large-size group. . . . The median size of these farms is 3.51 hectares (farm-area) and the range of medians between localities is 1.37 to 14.71 hectares (farm area).¹¹

Now, even taking the lowest limit of Buck's figures¹² in this group (1.37 hectares), we still obtain a farm more than double the average amount of land owned by each of the 90 per cent of the *chia* (joint families) in Fei's village.¹³ It is true that in Fei's village there is the fact

¹⁰ *Chinese Farm Economy* (1930), p. 143.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 142.

¹² Buck's classification of farm units according to profitability might have injected a foreign element into the discussion of Chinese agriculture, for even in European peasant countries farm units are smaller than optimal both on account of overpopulation and on account of the rigidity established by property rights which renders expansion and contraction according to changing working capacity of the family difficult. But in North China this "rigidity" appears to be less than in South China, and while interclan transference of land is difficult, intraclan transference is not socially debarred from taking place. Very often, in North China, rich clan members were known to buy over the land that poor members of the clan were about to sell, in order to keep the land from falling into outside hands.

¹³ In Fei's eastern China village about 90 per cent of the *chia* each owns 1.5 acres of their own land (see Fei, *op. cit.*, p. 192), as compared with Buck's lower limit of the large-size group, 1.37 (hectares) \times 2.471 = 3.38527 acres (see Buck, *op. cit.*, p. 142).

⁸ *Peasant Life in China* (1939), pp. 170-71.

⁹ *Ibid.*

that, with regard to some land, the dissociation of the right to the surface from that to the subsoil (i.e., the permanent title of the land belongs to one party, but the permanent right to till the land belongs to another party) may be a complicating factor which disturbs or makes the relation between technology and division of family less clear (since there is a chance that the average family which owns 1.5 acres of its own land, both subsoil and surface tilling rights, may in fact own the surface right to some more land). On this point the situation in Fei's eastern China village is obscure, but his recent investigation in Yunnan, where there is no such dissociation, sheds a significant light.¹⁴ In his work the return on land system shows two tendencies. Among the families the ownership of land shows the following distribution: 30 per cent with no land; 35 per cent with 1-15 kung¹⁵ of land (0.056-0.88 acres); 19 per cent with 16-30 kung of land (0.93-1.76 acres); 15 per cent with 31-65 kung of land (1.81-3.8 acres).¹⁶ The size of farms (including both owned and rented land), on the other hand, shows the following distribution: 15 per cent with no farm; 16 per cent with 1-15 kung (0.056-0.88 acres); 48 per cent with 16-30 kung (0.93-1.76 acres); 21 per cent with 31-65 kung (1.81-3.8 acres).¹⁷

These figures make clear to us that Buck might have overestimated the size of the best economic unit for profits, as 69 per cent of the families in the Yunnan village have farms varying in size between 0.88 and 3.8 acres, while Buck's best eco-

nomic unit for profits is somewhat above 3.38527 acres. It is also possible that the differences in conditions of agriculture not discovered by Buck have exerted influences on and reduced the size of the best economic unit for profits in the Yunnan village. But the unmistakable, fundamental fact remains that, as a general rule, the actual amounts of land owned by families are, on the whole, smaller than the sizes of farm which they cultivate under existing conditions of technology. It indicates that the land actually owned is usually too little either as the best economic unit for profits or as a unit, the return from which to the family, under existing technological conditions, is adequate for a customary livelihood.

This means that, although the importance of technology in shaping the life of an agricultural society may not be ignored, it certainly is not a most vital factor responsible for the frequency of family division which reduces the amount of land per average family to its present size. We may even agree that the conditions of the existing technology offer no great encouragement to very large concentration of land ownership. But that is merely a negative observation, besides failing to explain why some families have divided and redivided to such an extent that the land they hold has become smaller than either the best economic units for profits or units the return from which will insure to the families a normal livelihood.

Between Buck and Fei there is a contradiction of observation, and the cause of it is clear. First, both of them recognize the oversupply of labor.¹⁸ "They

¹⁴ *Earth-bound China: A Sociological Study of Land System in a Yunnan Village* (in Chinese) (Hongkong). In press.

¹⁵ Each kung equals 2.6 mows, and each acre equals 2.471 mows.

¹⁶ Fei's forthcoming book on Yunnan (see n. 14), Table V, chap. iv, sec. 2.

¹⁷ Fei, *ibid.*, Table X, chap. vii, sec. 1.

¹⁸ Buck, *op. cit.*, p. 143. "The question arises, why are the farms not larger? . . . The over-supply of farmers is the answer" (Fei, *Peasant Life in China*, p. 192). Professor R. H. Tawney indorses this view too (*Land and Labour in China* [1932], p. 44).

have surplus labour but not enough land. Therefore they become lessees and tenants." Second, the silk industry in Fei's eastern China village makes the position of agriculture less important.

Life cannot be supported by agriculture alone. The deficiency amounts to 175 dollars a year. . . . Thus it becomes clear that a supplementary industry is indispensable for maintaining a normal livelihood.¹⁹

SOCIAL STATUS AND SOCIAL EMPHASIS

But to describe the economic conditions under which the small farms emerge is to have told only part of the story. The basis of the larger families, which do occur, is a problem that remains to be tackled. The beginning of an answer to this problem, it seems to me, is not far to seek. A clue may be taken from the fact that the amount of land owned, although often undersized, tends to show a rough correlation with the size of the family.²⁰ The implication of this fact is partially explained in the words of Fei:

Since population control is considered as a precaution against poverty, families with comparatively large estates are free to have more children. They are proud of their numerous children, and these are taken as a sign of their wealth in the eyes of the people.²¹

But it is only a clue, and our problem goes further. In the village, when occasion presents itself, a farmer may climb up the social ladder in the course of generations. The sequence is as follows: farmer, rich farmer (more land), landowner (who hires laborers or tenants to

work for him), student, official.²² From my observation in the two North China communities mentioned previously, I find that when a farmer has owned enough land to enable him to live comfortably on rents, his prestige is immeasurably higher than that of one who cannot do so. Then the ideal but also common thing for him to do is to move into a town, where, in the traditional conditions of life, he not only finds better protection against robbery but brings himself and his descendants a step nearer the official circles.²³ But his prestige continues to have its basis in the quantity of land to which he can testify ownership and from which he can collect rents. Land was the source of social prestige both in the village and in the towns. The only difference is that in the village the land represents to the farmer and his children a concrete entity, with all its practical aspects, while in the town it becomes a mere symbolic abstraction for rents, with its size the only point of importance.

Now, on the one hand, as I have pointed out elsewhere, poor families usually worship their ancestors only up to the third ascending generation. On the other hand, richer families have better records of their genealogies and usual-

²² It is naturally not argued that the officials necessarily came from the farm nor that all landowners' sons or grandsons became students and then officials. Nevertheless, these were the stages through which many families passed.

²³ In Yunnan, as Fei's recent investigation shows, there are fewer large absentee landlords than in other parts of China. The reason, it seems, is largely topographical. The small landlords here tend to remain in the villages, supervising the work of hired laborers, etc. (see his coming book in Chinese, *Earth-bound China*). Another investigator, Mr. Chang Tsu-yi, who has worked among the farmers in a village of Yu-shi Hsien (Yunnan), tells me that the farmers cannot normally get rich through farming and thrift like those in other parts can, but the few who got rich, did so through daring commercial enterprises, moral or immoral. Within limits they invest in land in the village. Many of them move to towns afterwards for safety and other reasons.

¹⁹ Fei, *Peasant Life* . . . , p. 202.

²⁰ C. M. Ch'iao, "A Study of 143 Rural Families in Ch'ing Yuan, Shansi Province" (in Chinese), in *China's Population Problem* (1931), pp. 267-73; H. F. Feng, *Outline of Rural Sociology* (in Chinese) (1931), pp. 128-32.

²¹ Fei, *Peasant Life* . . . , p. 34.

ly worship more ascending generations beyond the third or even the fifth.²⁴ As late as 1937, in Peiping, I saw two families which had established special bureaus, each employing a staff of considerable size for the sole purpose of collecting information regarding their genealogies covering not only the lineal ancestors but also the lateral branches. They wanted, as all rich families did, to record all these relatives in one book. It is apparent that the families which can afford to undertake such a task are those which are wealthy or highly placed in official life (the second being synonymous with the first in the popular mind).

So, when a farmer-landowner is rich enough to move to the town, he does not stop at enjoying the town life; he proceeds to do all in his power to "paint up" the glory of his ancestry. This is most clearly observed when the change in the family fortune has been sudden. The following case from my notebook is instructive; it occurred when I was about fourteen:

The son of C. (one of our neighbours in one of the previously mentioned two North China communities) appeared in the school one day expressing great indignation. It transpired that one of his remote clan "grandfathers" had hanged himself in the little T'u Ti temple in our neighbourhood. The dead man had been a loiterer for a long time, receiving frequent aid from the C. family. The son of C. was indignant because, he made it very plain to his school-mates and the teachers, by committing suicide like that the dead had put a dirty-spot on his family name (*kei wo men chia chao yien*). The C. family then provided the dead with a coffin and an abridged funeral in which I participated. Some of the people who saw the son's fury did not think much of him at all. They smiled to each other and said that it was an unnecessary exaggeration.

This exaggerated attitude may be understood when we consider the immedi-

ate history of the family. The family was very poor until the time of the young man's father, who, through personal ability or luck, made it suddenly wealthy. They were then known for their touchiness about their "face" and for their wedding, funeral, and birthday celebrations, all of which were disproportionately ostentatious and were occasions for displaying the family's honors, genuine or pretended.

It seems then that the care for ancestors and relatives is to a large degree correlated with the financial and therefore social status of the family. When we consider that ancestor worship is the *charter* of the family organization, then the position is further clarified. The implications of this correlation are this: while poor people concern themselves very little about their wider clan, they tend also to be indifferent toward the social emphasis which prescribes that the family should continue and enlarge itself almost indefinitely;²⁵ conversely, the people who try to do everything to touch up their ancestry would naturally desire that the immediate kinship relationship be conducted in such a manner as to be above the par of the customary standard. In each case the two attitudes are function-

²⁵ A discussion of the relationship between both the large and the small Chinese families and the clans is beyond the scope of the present paper. From my field work at present among the Mingchias, a people highly acculturated to the Chinese culture, and from my previous experience in North China I am under the impression that the size or number of large families in a clan tends to be directly influenced by the size of the clan. That is, if the size of the clan is large the number of large families in the clan and the size of many of these large families tends to be larger than if the size of the clan is small. But my data at present are far from adequate. However, the importance of clans is different in different regions of China. In Fukien, Kwangtung, and Hunan, clans seem to be more important than in most North China provinces. Among the Mingchias who have completely taken on Chinese culture, the clan is also important as a social grouping and agency of control. The present writer hopes to publish an article on the last-mentioned people soon.

²⁴ See Hsu, "The Problem of Incest Tabu in a North China Village," *op. cit.*, p. 130, n. 26.

ally one, for it is inevitable that those who worship the same ancestors should generate among themselves a sense of solidarity not shared by those who do not. Thus it is clear that the contents of the higher levels of the social organization are much more the concern and inspiration of the rich than of the poor.

We have previously observed that the duel between the universal cohesion of the natural family and the social emphasis designed to ignore it is apparently indecisive and that unless we uncover the other forces which tip the scale in favor of the one or the other we must remain in the dark with regard to the ultimate conditions under which the "large" or "small" families appear. The apparent social emphasis on large families is inconsistent with the vast number of small families of five revealed by field results.

We may now understand that, because of the indifference to the social emphasis, in a poor family the husband-wife relationship has a greater chance over the father-son relationship, so that the struggle is made harder and the family breaks up sooner. Under such conditions the difficulty of living together is easily aggravated by poverty and often overshadows the wisdom making for closer economic co-operation, so that the more a family needs to keep the land intact the more it tends to divide. But the members of such a family are not necessarily unwise with regard to their immediate concern. In their kind of family, they know, to secure a wife for a younger member is not an easy matter. No parents would like to give their daughter to a poor family. So, if the daughter-in-law chooses to run away or to kill herself, the loss to the family and especially to the husband is great. He may have to go for the rest of his life a widower and without a natural heir. It is therefore in the interest especially of the husband that he

should side with his wife. When he does so the larger family breaks up, reducing the land owned to an amount below the best economic unit for profits.

On the other hand, a rich family has little to fear in securing wives for its younger members. If the daughter-in-law chooses to kill herself or to run away, there will be others to take her place. At all costs she must conform to the rules and spirit of the family, so that the source of the family's status and prestige (i.e., integrity of the family and of its land) will not be impaired. She must be content with her assigned place in the patriarchal organization and take an entirely submissive attitude toward her husband and her parents-in-law. In such a family her husband can find plenty of other pleasures than his interest in his formal wife. Concubinage is always a prerogative of the rich. He is, therefore, much less likely to side with his wife against his mother. So, even if his wife carries on a struggle, she stands no chance at all. The natural consequence is a family growing toward the ideal and dramatized type.²⁶

CONCLUSIONS

Thus it is clear that the Chinese large family is not a myth, but its tendency is inherent in the social organization which expresses itself as soon as the economic foundation of the family makes such an expression practical. With and in the existing economic technology and structure, overpopulation provides the suitable background for a people the vast majority of whom are peasants of small means. Given this fact, it is little wonder that the predominant picture which this "land of the large families" presents to investigators is a small joint family of about five. But against this background

²⁶ Except in rare circumstances, this type of family always occurs in towns.

families grow large or small according to the adjustment between the two main relationships within each of them.

It is clear that the economic foundation of the family does not determine the family size but merely provides conditions under which the inherent tendencies within the social organization may be released. It is not merely the question of capability or incapability of supporting more children. The desire to have numerous children is closely bound up with the yearning for a glorious ancestry and an esteemed family group. Correlated with the glorification of the ancestors, by displaying their true or invented deeds or virtues, is almost certainly the probability not only of enlarging the immediate family composed of lineal relations of two or more generations but also of a greater solidarity and an expansion of the sphere of the wider clan. For a

glorious ancestry and an esteemed family group are two sides of the same road. The first is the condition of the second, and vice versa. It is only natural that the farther back the remote ancestry is traced the wider the recognized kinship ties tend to extend. In any case, it requires not only having numerous children, which is only the beginning, but the children must marry and produce other children, not divide among themselves, work with the aim of adding to the common store of ancestral honor, see that the weak and needy of other families of the clan are not neglected, and, in these and many other ways, insist on a greater conformity to the higher levels of the social emphasis, which aims at the large family of the dramatized type.

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SOCIAL TYPES IN A MINORITY GROUP FORMULATION OF A METHOD

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ABSTRACT

This paper attempts to describe a method for studying a minority group (the Negro community in Chicago). The object is to isolate empirically some of the significant social types that are defined by the group, to ascertain their meaning in the life of the community, and to indicate the lines of orientation out of which the various social types emerge. It is believed that the empirical study of such indigenous types should offer a strategic means of learning the run of attention of the community, its main problems, and the definitions that are made with reference to issues, crises, and special situations.

THE CONCEPT OF SOCIAL TYPE

No clear distinction has been made in sociological literature between the concepts of "social type" and "personality type," which are often used interchangeably. Usually, studies of personality types are based on the intention of securing an inclusive scheme into which all individuals can be placed. A series of classes is recognized, and it is believed that all individuals of the population can be considered to belong in one or another of these classes. Furthermore, each class or type is broken down into a series of traits; each personality type is consequently regarded, either in an additive or a synthetic way, as a composite of such traits. Such an approach to the study of personality types easily resolves itself into a study of the makeup of the individual and correspondingly ignores or minimizes the reaction which the group has toward the form of conduct of the type.

This study starts from a different kind of interest.¹ It accepts the social types which the members of a group refer to and recognize in their everyday language. Such types are creations inside of the col-

lective life of the group. They are constructs which the group arrives at by selecting or abstracting accentuated forms of conduct displayed by some of its members and having specific connotations in terms of the interests, concerns, and dispositions of the group. By "conduct," reference is here made to the manner in which people act toward one another in their interpersonal relations in accordance with the norms and expectations of the group. Thus ways of acting, generally accepted and regarded as indicating one's social status in a group would be instances of conduct as here defined. An exaggerated form of conduct in a situation of this nature catches the attention of the people who categorize it accordingly, e.g., the "social climber" or, in the case of the Negro community of Chicago, the "striver."

Social types, as constructs arrived at by the group through abstraction and categorization, emerge in communication. Social types can be understood to arise in the same manner in which objects become meaningful in the process of activity. According to George Herbert Mead, an object is represented by the kind of activity the individual directs toward it. The essential aspect of an object is determined by the type of experience the individual will have with the ob-

¹ The writer is indebted to Professors Herbert Blumer and E. W. Burgess for their invaluable criticism and suggestions. Professor Louis Wirth's *The Ghetto* served as an orientation for this study.

ject. Although objects get their meaning from individual experience, nevertheless one's ability to use objects is dependent upon his grasping the meaning of the objects of the community. Objects are shared because they depend upon the reactions of others. Similarly, a social type has its meaning shared by members of the group.

A person identified as a given social type may be considered as one who gives expression, through his distinctive manner of acting, to a particular set of latent tendencies in the group. These latent tendencies constitute restrained ways of action, precipitated by the special circumstances of the group's minority position. Thus the Negro group, as a result of its position in relation to the general society, is marked by intimacy of in-group social relations and by reticence, suspicion, and resentment toward the superordinate out-group. Such a situation produces social types who fight at "the drop of a hat" or "shoot, cut, or kill" in rebellion against insults caused by members of the superordinate society; or other types whose conduct is categorized as "smart" or as those "who can fool white folk" or "get by with whites." The minority position of such a group creates also the anomalous situation in which the group, though it regards with disfavor and contempt the conduct of that social type who kowtows to those of the superordinate group, nevertheless places a high premium on those who approximate the standards of the general society as exemplified by the preference shown toward those of light complexion. Thus the different social types tend to manifest through their respective norms, interests, and preoccupations the latent tendencies of the group, often of an ambivalent nature.

In the process of categorization the

special name and characterization ascribed to a social type depict his peculiar mode of action in a particular situation, arousing attention and emotions of esteem, admiration, envy, resentment, ridicule, or contempt from the group. To illustrate: the kowtowing to whites by a social type usually referred to by Negroes as a "white man's 'nigger'" brings forth resentment and contempt from the group, while the "race leader," who signifies race pride in the eyes of the community, elicits reactions of esteem and admiration.

Social types reflect various social worlds. The community is made up of a number of broad social classes. The lines of demarcation between the various classes are determined by such factors as social status, economic level, education, and, in the instance of the Negro community, also color differentiation. The members of these social classes may live in various social worlds. Each social world is marked by its objects of attention, perspectives, orientation, problems, conflicts, tensions, and norms, which in turn determine the meaning of the particular characterizations assigned to the social type as well as the kind of emotional reaction the type elicits. Social types stand for what the members who live in these various social worlds believe to be critical and important and refer to what they approve or reject. Thus, for members of one social world, the social type "race leader" is of crucial significance because through his strivings for "race uplift" he tends to bring about a changing conception on the part of the group toward its minority status. In another social world, on the other hand, the social type "policy king" (one who amasses large sums of money through the policy game, a form of gambling) is highly admired because he epitomizes "success"

and because of his role as benefactor in a community which is subject to precarious economic conditions. The group recognizes the exceptional form of conduct of the social type with reference to the portentous situations it faces. These singular forms of conduct which characterize the social type reflect the run of attention of the particular social world amid which the type functions and gives expressions to the social forces within the group.

Since the Negro community of Chicago is in a constant process of social integration and organization development, some of the significant social types through their respective characterizations by the group are indicative of trends, i.e., the growth of race consciousness, the emphasis on race pride, the emergence of social classes, and the stress on Negro business. The process of social change affecting social situations tends to develop new lines of orientation in the collective life. This results in a shift of attention on the part of the members of the group toward the new social types which arise, reflecting the new situations and the direction of the change. In the Negro community the "radical" and the "Communist" are emerging as social types for some segments of the group, owing to the economic crisis with its attendant problems. These social types are beginning to be regarded in terms of racial advancement, however, rather than as exponents of a political and economic doctrine. It is assumed, then, that, by isolating all the more important social types and by studying their social role and meaning, it is possible to form a good judgment of the values and norms of the community, the prevailing conception of life, and the changing forms of their striving and aspirations.

THE CONCEPT OF AXIS OF LIFE

The characterizations which the group ascribes to the various social types it recognizes among its members have specific reference to different axes of life along which the social types tend to cluster. The axes of life are crucial lines of interest in the life of the group (e.g., "Negro-White Relations," "Race Pride," "Social Status," "Economic Success," etc.) and constitute frames of reference according to which the group categorizes some of its members. An axis of life should be viewed in terms of collective action, of relationships based on meanings of one's actions toward others and in which the individual has his interests defined with reference to the larger aims of the group. In the collective life of the group the hopes, problems, and goals of its members become channelized into various lines of common interest. Because they constitute telescoped collective norms and aspirations, axes of life become controlling forces, animating and initiating action. Although an axis of life represents a crucial line of orientation cutting across all classes, nevertheless it elicits different reactions from each part of the group in accordance with the meaning the axis has for a given social class. Different culture groupings will have different axes of life as a result of varying environments, kinds of experience, and cultures. A knowledge of the axes of life enables one to understand what animates the group and what are its vital streams of social life. The axes of life subsume the major problems and concerns which the group faces. These problems and concerns which create tensions and conflicts in the different social worlds are revealed in a particular cluster of social types along a corresponding axis of life.

This point may be illustrated by referring to the Negro community in Chi-

cago. The characterizations ascribed to the social types that cluster along the axis of life, "Color Differentiation," reveal the intense strain, antagonism, and discontent existing in the various social worlds. Thus the dark person may attempt to compensate for his feeling of insecurity through superior achievement and may try to alter hair form and skin color through the use of bleaching creams and hair straighteners. On the other hand, the lighter Negro experiences the type of insecurity that results from his greater awareness of his subordinate position than the darker Negro (color preference tends to enter into some of the most important phases of life in the community). As a result of this, a distinct ambivalence ensues: on the one hand, race pride and sensitivity to the conception some of the members of the white society have of certain sections of the Negro community, and, on the other hand, the discriminatory conduct within the Negro social world toward those of a dark hue. Thus one of the social types, the "black woman," along the axis of life, "Color Differentiation," is generally characterized as "evil," "suspicious," "quarrelsome," "brings bad luck," and "whiskey head." This illustration suggests also that the axes of life comprise the non-formalized problems of the in-group relations between the members of the various segments of the group.

Although the axes of life are interdependent, some are more crucial than others. In the instance of the Negro community of Chicago the axis of life, "Negro-White Relations," emerges as a *primary axis of life* for the entire group, with slight variations in meaning for the different social worlds. The primary axis of life arises as the principal motivating force in the life of a group, constituting a core of common interests and initiating

a course of action for the whole group. It centralizes the aspirations and the outlook on life of the members. Thus the primary axis of life intensifies the community of interests of the group by mobilizing and directing the attention of its members toward the ideals of the collectivity. It defines in a general way the functions of the social institutions of the group. Major activities are judged by the extent to which they are directed toward or deviate from the aims inherent in the primary axis of life.

Reference to the primary axis of life in the Negro community of Chicago will illustrate its crucial significance in the social life of the group. The persistent and devious ways in which Negroes are cut off from the general society and segregated into a "black belt" in this northern industrial metropolis have intensified race consciousness. This kind of Negro-white relationship is inconsistent with the increasing participation by Negroes in the industrial and political life of the city. As a result, the tension and strain arising from their exclusion reverberate in every phase of life in the Negro community, producing a change in the conception the Negro has of his subordinate position and emphasizing the role of racial solidarity in the struggle to maintain self-respect in the face of degradation and discrimination. The nature of the social organization, social institutions, and the general way of life in the Negro community is profoundly affected by the axis of life, "Negro-White Relations." Emphasis upon Negro art, Negro literature, and Negro music as well as the conscious attempt to devise a racial mythology and rituals have all gone into the building of a 'cult of race,' which is reflected in such total community rituals as "Negro History Week" and inspirational stories such as the one about Jean Baptist Point du

Saible, the San Domingan trader, who is reported to have founded Chicago. Further manifestations of the primary axis of life are the constant exhortations in the Negro press and by civic and religious leaders to create racial unity and race pride. Thus there is a development among Negroes of self-regarding behavior, the assumption of a "superior culture," and a feeling of rebellion against and depreciation of whites.

A primary axis of life affects other axes of life in the community which can be viewed as *subordinate*. Thus the axis of life, "Race Pride," is not only a resultant of the primary axis, "Negro-White Relations," but is being constantly modified by its influence. Likewise, the other *subordinate axes of life*, "Economic Success," "Social Status," "Color Differentiation," "Religion, Cults (Sorcery), and Magic," "Sporting Life (Big-timing or High Life)," and "Radicalism," are shaped and given direction by the primary axis of life, "Negro-White Relations." The subordinate axes, "Social Status," "Economic Success," and "Color Differentiation," exemplify the manner in which the primary axis of life, "Negro-White Relations," intensifies the competition among the various social levels and influences the social norms of the community. The keenness of competition and the criteria of "Success," the exaggerated struggle for status and the discrimination among Negroes on the basis of complexion are due, on the one hand, to the insecure economic condition within a restricted sphere of life and, on the other, to the adoption to some extent of the culture and standards of the general society.

Subordinate axes of life may react back on the primary axis. To illustrate: the organizational and institutional life of Negroes under the impact of some of

the subordinate axes, such as "Race Pride," etc., has produced a situation in which Negroes constitute a political pressure group strong enough to bring about changes in the pattern of race relations in the North. This implies interdependence of the axes of life and indicates that their relation is dynamic and not static.

The foregoing considerations suggest the following problems in the study of a community in terms of social types: What social types are recognized in the everyday language of the community? How widely are these social types recognized? What are the characterizations ascribed to each social type and the various versions the different segments of the community have of these descriptions? What are the axes of life out of which these social types arise? What clusters of social types emerge along the various axes? What social phenomena do the different axes with their corresponding clusters of social types reveal? What do these social types symbolize to the different social classes of the group and, as far as possible, to outsiders? What are the attitudes (emotional reactions)² toward the social types and under what conditions are they held in esteem or disapprobation? What conception do the social types have of their role in the community? What part do they play in the various social worlds?

SOCIAL TYPES IN THE CHICAGO NEGRO COMMUNITY

It was with these questions in mind that the writer studied social types in the

² In defining the concept of social type, the notion of attitude was used synonymously with emotional reaction or orientation. It was pointed out that the social type arises in the process of communication within the group and has its meaning as well as the response it brings forth shared by the members of the group. Consequently, the attitude or emotional reaction of the members of the community toward a social type is socially defined.

Negro community in Chicago.³ The first step in acquiring the empirical data was the collection of a comprehensive list of prevailing social types in the Negro community. In order to obtain such a list, the co-operation of a number of Negro workers was secured. They reported periodically the different types they heard people refer to in daily conversation. Supplementary information was gathered from popular sayings, newspapers, magazines, literature, interview materials, case records, and from direct participation in the life of the group.

When the list seemed inclusive enough, as was indicated by the fact that no more names could be collected, the next step was to find out how people defined and described the various social types. The task was to have the types identified by a wide scattering of individuals in the community and to secure diversified characterizations of them. A schedule⁴ was devised to reveal a threefold relationship with reference to a particular social type: that of the individual, the community, and the race. Thus the informants were asked (1) how they regarded a particular social type, (2) how the community regarded him, and (3)

whether the particular social type was a credit to the race. There was also a question calling for the informant's description of the identifying characteristics of a social type (e.g., "How do you know when you meet one?"). The question as to how whites regarded particular social types was put to the informants in order to infer the extent to which these indigenous social types are known in the general society or whether knowledge of them is restricted to the Negro community.

The investigator sought also to determine whether the notion of social type as defined in this study corresponded to specific individuals. For that reason there was an additional question on the schedule asking the informant to name someone he knew to be the counterpart of the social type he described. The writer was thus enabled to interview persons identified as social types in the community and to learn the kind of conception they had of themselves as well as their attitude toward the group. The object was to arrive at a composite picture of the relation between the social type and the different segments of the community. In some cases extended accounts of their experiences were secured in order to reconstruct as far as possible the situations leading to their development as social types.

³ Acknowledgments are due Mr. Horace R. Cayton for courtesies extended as superintendent of a W.P.A. research project in the Negro community of Chicago.

⁴ For illustrative purposes only, the form (Schedule 1) is shown here. There were sixty-five names of social types. While some overlapped, they were all included in order to isolate the ones most fully identified and characterized. The schedule was composed of twenty-two pages. On each page there were three such identical forms:

Name of Social Type	1. How do you regard him?	Liked Greatly	Liked Somewhat	Neither Liked nor Disliked	Disliked Somewhat	Disliked Greatly
4. How do you know one when you meet one? (describe below as fully as possible)	2. How does the community regard him?					
	3. How do you think whites regard him?					

5. Is this type a credit to the race? (check one of the squares) Yes ☐ No ☐

6. Please name a person of this type if you can:.....

During the interviews the types were also induced to comment on other social types in order to gain knowledge of their roles in the community from perspectives other than those of the informants.

The number of those who filled out schedules in the first sample consisted of 77 informants, 39 of whom were males and 38 females, all residents of the Negro community in Chicago, ranging in age from twenty to thirty-five. Owing to limited economic opportunities for Negroes, a condition aggravated by the depression, most informants had experienced wide fluctuations on the economic scale despite their educational level. The ecological distribution of the informants was arrived at by spotting their residences on a map representing those census tracts of Chicago having 50 per cent and over Negro population in 1934, grouped in twenty-seven districts, showing desirability of neighborhood. The main object in the preliminary use of such a map was to learn how widely dispersed the informants were in the various areas of the Negro community. They came from all districts and satellite areas. About half the informants resided in the favorable sections, and the balance came from poorer neighborhoods and disorganized areas.

In order to test the validity of the data obtained through the sample of informants who filled out schedules and those who were interviewed, the following procedure was employed. A list of the most widely known social types was drawn up,⁵ so devised that informants were

asked to check only whether they knew the type and what attitudes they had toward him. Several young Negro men interviewed people directly and distributed these schedules among various social groupings in the community with the object of ascertaining how widely recognized these social types were and what attitudes were expressed by the respective groups. In this manner it was possible to learn how widespread the knowledge of these social types was in the community and what significance they had in daily conversation. Four social groupings filled out the second schedule. The first group was composed of thirty Negro students at the University of Chicago. The second group, numbering seventy-five, consisted of teachers, social workers, post-office employees, and some business people—all residents of the Negro community of Chicago. The third included fifty attendants of store-front churches; and the fourth was composed of ninety-five Negro men and women interviewed in taverns, poolrooms, and barbershops, west of State Street. There was random selection among the various groups.

ORGANIZATION OF THE EMPIRICAL DATA

By studying the contents of all the definitions of the various social types, it was found that the types clustered along specific lines of interest or axes of life. Since the identifying characteristics of each social type were often noted to be similar in the various characterizations given by informants, a series of defini-

⁵ A sample of Schedule 2 is shown below. There were twenty-five names of social types.

Name of the Social Type	I Know the Type		My Attitude to the Type			Credit to the Race	
	Yes	No	Like	Indifferent	Dislike	Yes	No

tions corresponding to each social type and representative of the entire array of definitions were chosen for analysis. It should be stated explicitly that the definitions selected contained all the views expressed by informants either in interviews or on schedules. The clusters of social types along their respective axes of life which emerged from the characterizations of the informants can be seen in the following:⁶

I. The *Primary* Axis of Life: "Negro-White Relations"

1. The white man's "nigger"
2. The bad "nigger"
3. The smart "nigger"
4. The white man's strumpet
5. The mammy
6. The sheet-lover

II. The Axis of Life: "Race Pride"

1. The race leader
2. The race man
3. The race woman

III. The Axis of Life: "Economic Success"

1. The policy king or policy baron
2. The big "nigger"
3. The big shot
4. The post-office man (post-office clerk)
5. The Pullman porter⁷
6. The hero of the race (Joe Louis, Jesse Owens, etc.)

IV. The Axis of Life: "Social Status"

1. The dickty
2. The hincty
3. The uppety

⁶ For a description and analysis of the empirical data upon which this paper is based see Samuel M. Strong, "Social Types in the Negro Community of Chicago: An Example of the Social Type Method" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Chicago, 1940).

⁷ Some occupational types have the characteristics of social types and meet the criteria established for identifying a social type. The particular way people refer to their conduct, the role they play in the community, the meaning ascribed to them, and the emotional reaction shown toward them make such types as the Pullman porter, the post-office man, etc., distinguished by the people from persons in other occupations.

4. The muck-ti-muck
5. The striver
6. The strainer
7. The joiner
8. The club woman
9. The Mayor of Bronzeville

V. The Axis of Life: "Color Differentiation"

1. The black woman
2. The peola
3. The high yellow (yaller)
4. The mariney

VI. The Axis of Life: "Religion, Cults (Sorcery), and Magic"

1. The jack-leg preacher
2. The women preachers
 - a) The motherly type
 - b) The mannish type
3. The sanctified or holy person
4. The healer
5. The spiritual reader
6. The voodoo or hoodoo man
7. The numerologist
8. The herb doctor or conjurer

VII. The Axis of Life: "Sporting Life (Big-timing or High Life)"

1. The jiver
2. The con man
3. The flunky
4. The flycat or icky
5. The tapper or barfly
6. Mr. Bitch
7. The jive cat
8. The mack
9. The sporting man
10. The freeby
11. The cat
12. The tavern tout
13. The sporting woman
14. The pimp
15. The rug-cutter or carpet chopper
16. Female impersonators (freaks)

VIII. The Axis of Life: "Radicalism"

1. The radical
2. The Communist

The problem as to the number of axes of life in the Negro community was not completely dealt with in this study; for example, "Education" may be discovered to be a developing axis of life and may reveal significant phenomena in the

various social levels. Preliminary investigation in this direction indicated, as a "post-office man" put it: "The average intellectual Negro tends to separate himself from others. He likes to feel himself superior." There are other versions which tend to indicate the increasing interest on the part of the people in the improved status which is directly related to education. It would be interesting to learn which are the emerging social types that may cluster along this axis of life and what they mean to the various segments of the community. Further research is necessary in order to establish whether there are any incipient axes of life in the community by noting the new social types who arise.⁸

The conception some of the significant social types have of their role in the group discloses important data concerning the meaning of the axes of life for the different social levels of the community. Methodologically this device aids in ascertaining the concrete situations to which these social types refer. It reveals the web of complex problems confronting the different segments of the community and throws light on the nature of the social divisions in the group. The conception these types have of their role tends to explain also their genesis as social types, the part they play as central fig-

ures, and their awareness of the crucial and subtle issues in the respective social worlds. For example, the "woman preacher" ("motherly type"), one of the social types along the axis of life, "Religion, Cults (Sorcery), and Magic," while described by those segments of the community who disapprove of her as uneducated and employing crude and discrediting means to maintain her position, is, nevertheless, regarded favorably by those who come to her for faith-healings and attend her church services. Her story reflects the experiences of the newcomers from the rural South who bring with them their own mode of life. She understands the insecure, fluctuating existence of the people in that social level where she is followed and is definitely bent on exploiting that situation. She conceives of herself as the central figure in the life of her group and is constantly striving for more power and control. The conception she has of her role reveals the phenomenon of faith-healing as one of the socially equilibrating forces that exists in an area in which social disorganization is highly prevalent. Faith-healing serves as a social orientation in a social world which is isolated and segregated from the rest of the Negro community. It is a propitiatory form of behavior resulting from the aleatory elements in this environment.

Preliminary investigation was made to learn the extent to which it can be assumed that the social types in the Negro community are indigenous, and thereby indicate the degree of segregation of the Negro social world from the general white society. Schedule 2, comprising the most widely known social types among Negroes, which had been presented to the four social groupings in the community, was submitted to fifty white informants from the middle class residing on the

⁸ The entrance of the United States into the war, the role this minority group plays in the various branches of the armed forces, and its renewed struggle for rights and privileges have no doubt reverberated in the social life of the community to produce new axes of life. In this connection it should be noted that the dynamic character of social life affects the position of the axes and may shift them in such a manner that the different points of contact along the axes assume new connotations for both the subordinate and superordinate groups. Thus, the entrance of Negroes in the Navy and the acceptance of Negroes in industries would alter the direction of the primary axis of life, "Negro-White Relations," which, in turn, would affect the subordinate axes so that new social types would arise who would reflect the changed social situations.

South Side of Chicago and to thirty white students doing graduate work in the social sciences at the University of Chicago. While no conclusive statement can be made, owing to the limitation of the sample, the results are nevertheless sufficiently significant to warrant some consideration. Only a small number of the social types were identified by the whites. Of the few identified, there was no knowledge of what they meant to Negroes. There seems to be very little awareness among the general society of the lines of orientation prevalent in the Negro social world, of the run of attention of the various social levels, and of the problems and concerns confronting the people. In the light of these results it may be stated that a study of such indigenous social types tends to indicate also the degree of separation between the two social worlds: that of the minority group and that of the superordinate general society.¹⁰

Viewed against the background of the entire preceding discussion, it appears that the constructs of the social-type method are not products of the investigator and, consequently, are relatively free from any imputations on his part. It would seem, therefore, that a greater degree of objectivity may be attained through the use of the social-type method than through the use of methods in

which the constructs are heuristic devices arrived at by the sociologist through a process of abstraction and intensification of one or several aspects of a concrete occurrence. The social type differs from Max Weber's ideal type in that the former methodology does not imply any logical constructs on the part of the investigator. Max Weber's ideal-type method may be regarded as a logical approach to reality in the sense that he conceives the function of the empirical sciences of reality as that of bringing order into the empirical world through the power to think. The ideal type, i.e., city economy, capitalism, imperialism, feudalism, is, according to Weber, an ideal boundary concept, according to which reality is measured with a view to clarifying certain significant phases of its empirical makeup. It is an ideal concept with which reality is compared.¹¹ In the process of "measuring reality" with reference to "an ideal boundary concept," account is not taken of the dynamic nature of our changing conceptual world. The static character of the ideal type implies a mechanistic approach to a reality which may be viewed as an ongoing process. It is conceivable also that the investigator may unwittingly be placed in a position in which his "measured reality" should actually represent an epiphenomenon. The crucial question is the manner in which the ideal type is constructed. Will different investigators measure the same reality with reference to "an ideal concept boundary"? Will there be a basis for reconciliation in their respective

¹⁰ The social-type method assumes that socially isolated minority groups develop their own universe of discourse which is likely to give expression to many reactions which are withheld from conventional communication with the out-group. It seems feasible, therefore, that criminal groups could also be studied with the aid of the social-type method. It would be of interest to know what kind of categorizations exist in such groups, what constitute their primary and subordinate axes of life, what social worlds exist within a criminal group, what conceptions the various social types have of their role in their respective segments of the larger groups, and what is the run of attention of the various levels in such a group.

¹¹ Max Weber, "Die Objektivität sozialwissenschaftlicher Erkenntnis," in *Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Wissenschaftslehre* (Tübingen, 1922). See also Talcott Parsons, *The Structure of Social Action* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1937), pp. 601-10; Albert Salomon, "Max Weber's Methodology," *Social Research*, I (May, 1934), 147-68, and "Max Weber's Sociology," *ibid.*, II (February, 1935), 60-73.

schemata? Will the criteria of constructing "an ideal concept boundary" in the instance of different investigators lead toward precision in their respective ideal types?

In formulating the concepts of the social-type method, it was seen that this process of abstraction and categorization is carried on by the group and that the resulting constructs, the social types, identifiable through the attitudes (emotional reactions) and definitions of the group, emerge along different axes of life of the community. These axes are inductively arrived at from the various characterizations of social types by the members of the community. Thus the subjective element on the part of the investigator would tend to be reduced to a minimum by the very nature of the data.

The social-type method offers a strategic means of learning the interests,

problems, and definitions made by a minority group with reference to the general social situation in which it lives. The assumption is that socially isolated minority groups, resenting their exclusion from the larger out-group, develop their own universe of discourse which is likely to give expression to many reactions usually withheld in conventional communication with the out-group. Under such conditions there may develop indigenous social types whose role and function in the group may have specific meaning with reference to particular axes of life. The concrete data which the social-type method yields are of an intimate nature and reveal the collective preoccupation and orientation of the group to its problems. The value of the method, therefore, may be determined by the kind of social phenomena it reveals and by the manner in which they are obtained.

EDUCATIONAL AND ECONOMIC COMPOSITION OF RELIGIOUS GROUPS: AN ANALYSIS OF POLL DATA

HADLEY CANTRIL

ABSTRACT

This article illustrates how public-opinion surveys can be used to gather vital information of interest to sociologists. The economic status, education, and religious affiliation of approximately fourteen thousand persons are analyzed to show the relationships among these variables. The data indicate the increasing proportion of Protestants with increasing income and education. In the middle income group, church membership increases particularly rapidly as education increases.

INTRODUCTORY NOTE

The sampling procedures currently used by investigators concerned with the study of public-opinion and market research have uncovered a mine of information pertinent to the relationships among various indices commonly used for classificatory purposes in social research. By now several hundred thousand people have been questioned by polling agencies, and the economic status, sex, age, political affiliation, and place of residence of most of these people have been recorded. The data given here are meant merely to illustrate a type of information now available from the public-opinion polls.¹

Most investigators realize that sampling techniques, as well as other techniques with which they deal, are still in their infant stages. As more census figures are accumulated, as criteria for the determination and classification of economic status, education, and occupation are improved, as the problems of selecting and training of interviewers are solved, as new statistical tests are developed for the treatment of such data, more adequate data will become available and more reliable analysis can be made.²

¹ Dr. George Gallup has generously permitted the writer to reproduce all the data of the American and British Institutes of Public Opinion and to use the facilities of the American Institute for purposes of social research. The Office of Public Opinion Research is glad to co-operate with qualified scholars by putting its facilities at their disposal in so far as practicable.

² No attempt is made here to check the data against the 1940 census returns. The adequacy and goodness of poll samples is another problem. The concern here is merely to examine the relationships in these sample data.

SOME CHARACTERISTICS OF RELIGIOUS GROUPS

The comparison of the economic and educational composition of Protestant and Catholic groups has been selected here for special examination because of the intrinsic interest of the problem and because comparatively few data are available. All data shown here are based on two surveys conducted by the American Institute of Public Opinion (A.I.P.O.) and two by the Office of Public Opinion Research. These particular surveys were taken between March, 1939, and December, 1940. They represent a total of approximately fourteen thousand cases. The totals of different tables vary because of incomplete answers to certain questions. In each survey a "social" rather than a "political" cross-section of the population was obtained. This means that an equal number of men and women were sought by the investigators and that more Negroes and poor people in the South were obtained than is usual in A.I.P.O. surveys.

Besides the respondents' religion, the other information obtained on these ballots was economic status, education, section of the country, rural-urban status, and political affiliation. Tabulations on this material could proceed almost indefinitely. It is not the task here to try to explain any of the relationships obtained. More systematic descriptions of the relationships should occur in the context of some problem.

Tables 1, 2, and 3 give the raw data. Table 4 is based on Table 1 and illustrates the shape the data assume in percentage terms. Any person interested in a specific

problem can percentage the data as he prefers, holding constant any two variables. No attempt is made here to go beyond a tertiary breakdown because of the dwindling number of cases then obtained.

income while the percentage of Catholics in each section except the South increases inversely with the increase in income. The percentage of Protestants classified in the "lower" income group in all sections except

TABLE 1
RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN RELIGION, EDUCATION, AND ECONOMIC STATUS*
(Figures indicate number of cases in each group)

EDUCATION	RELIGION	ECONOMIC STATUS			TOTAL NATIONAL
		Lower	Middle	Upper	
College.....	Catholic	14	97	53	164
	Protestant	71	685	399	1,155
	Nonmember	33	191	116	340
Total national.....		118	973	568	1,659
High school.....	Catholic	154	414	65	633
	Protestant	534	1,676	424	2,634
	Nonmember	219	559	124	902
Total national.....		907	2,649	613	4,169
Grade school.....	Catholic	352	335	50	737
	Protestant	1,026	1,219	192	2,437
	Nonmember	639	591	69	1,299
Total national.....		2,017	2,145	311	4,473
Less than grade school	Catholic	233	118	17	368
	Protestant	953	547	49	1,549
	Nonmember	505	291	19	875
Total national.....		1,751	956	85	2,792
National.....	Catholic	753	964	185	1,902
	Protestant	2,584	4,127	1,064	7,775
	Nonmember	1,456	1,632	328	3,416
Total.....		4,793	6,723	1,577	13,093

*"Nonmembers" also includes Jews; "College" means college graduate; "High school" means high-school graduate; "Grade school" means grade-school graduate.

SOME RELATIONSHIPS SHOWN

The tables, first, offer further evidence for certain commonly known facts: that Catholics are poorer and less well educated than Protestants, that the South has by far the largest proportion of Protestants of any section of the country, that the Pacific Coast states have the largest concentration of those who are not church members.

More specifically, with respect to economic status, the percentage of Protestants in each section increases with the increase in

the South ranges from 25 to 32 per cent, while the percentage of Catholics classified in the lower income group ranges from 30 to 51 per cent; the percentage range of Protestants in the upper income group varies from 14 to 18 per cent and of Catholics from 6 to 15 per cent. The southern Protestants present, of course, a special case: in most sections the ratio of upper- to lower-class Protestants is about 1 to 2, whereas in the South the ratio is about 1 to 6.

In New England and the Middle Atlantic states, where there are large numbers of

Catholics,³ the drop in the percentage of Catholics with increased income is approximately of the same magnitude as the gain of Protestants with increased income in these sections. Hence the percentage of nonmembers remains relatively constant.

There is a definite tendency for the percentage of Protestants within the upper and middle income groups to increase with the increase in education. Stated differently, the percentage of persons with higher education is greater for Protestants than for Cath-

TABLE 2
RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN SECTION, RELIGION, AND ECONOMIC STATUS
(Figures indicate number of cases in each group)

SECTION	RELIGION	ECONOMIC STATUS			TOTAL
		Lower	Middle	Upper	
New England.....	Protestant	98	225	72	395
	Catholic	120	147	25	292
	Nonmembers	82	111	35	228
Middle Atlantic.....	Protestant	511	834	242	1,587
	Catholic	362	409	70	841
	Nonmembers	377	453	120	950
East Central.....	Protestants	401	792	261	1,454
	Catholic	142	175	43	360
	Nonmembers	383	396	87	866
West Central.....	Protestants	310	659	199	1,168
	Catholic	83	170	27	280
	Nonmembers	200	280	60	540
South.....	Protestants	1,210	1,325	203	2,738
	Catholic	79	70	16	165
	Nonmembers	505	388	44	937
Rocky Mountain....	Protestants	138	252	63	453
	Catholic	40	34	4	78
	Nonmembers	108	156	17	281
Pacific Coast.....	Protestant	132	234	81	447
	Catholic	28	35	11	74
	Nonmembers	145	215	60	420
Total.....	.....	5,454	7,360	1,740	14,554
Grand total.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	14,554

However, in other sections the decline in the proportion of Catholics with increased income is relatively slow while the increase of Protestants is relatively large, resulting in a larger number of those who are not church members for the lower economic group.

³ Other poll data available show that first-generation Irish and Italians number 17 per cent in New England, 13 per cent in the Middle Atlantic states, and 4 per cent or less in the other sections of the country.

olics in the upper and middle income levels. This trend is not found, however, in the lower income group where the below-grade-school group contains a greater proportion of Protestants and a smaller proportion of Catholics than does the grade-school group. This is due primarily to the peculiar economic and educational distribution of southern Protestants, who represent nearly 60 per cent of all the Protestants in our miniature population. Whereas 33 per cent

of all the Protestants sampled were placed in the lower income group, 44 per cent of the southern Protestants were so placed, only 28 per cent of all Protestants with the southerners excluded. While 37 per cent of all the Protestants in the low income group

group. Within the middle income bracket, church membership increases significantly with educational status.

Protestants in every section have had more schooling than Catholics. For example, excluding the South, 15 to 20 per cent

TABLE 3
RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN SECTION, RELIGION, AND EDUCATION
(Figures indicate number of cases in each group)

SECTION	RELIGION	EDUCATIONAL LEVEL				TOTAL
		Less than Grade-School Graduate	Grade- School Graduate	High- School Graduate	College Graduate	
New England.....	Protestant	33	94	163	74	364
	Catholic	42	96	100	29	267
	Nonmembers	34	56	77	40	207
Middle Atlantic.....	Protestant	198	476	522	244	1,440
	Catholic	161	310	243	55	769
	Nonmembers	159	307	245	127	838
East Central.....	Protestant	172	486	508	252	1,418
	Catholic	57	141	108	36	342
	Nonmembers	203	332	223	63	821
West Central.....	Protestant	124	383	453	177	1,137
	Catholic	38	100	101	20	259
	Nonmembers	93	216	144	46	499
South.....	Protestant	919	785	626	252	2,582
	Catholic	61	39	44	15	159
	Nonmembers	378	293	139	37	847
Rocky Mountain....	Protestant	38	122	187	82	429
	Catholic	12	24	29	5	70
	Nonmembers	37	102	80	29	248
Pacific Coast.....	Protestant	40	107	204	81	432
	Catholic	5	28	31	6	70
	Nonmembers	52	138	156	52	398
Total.....		2,856	4,635	4,383	1,722	13,596
Grand total.....						13,596

have had less than complete grade-school education, this figure rises to 53 per cent of the southern Protestants in the low income group and drops to 25 per cent of low income Protestants with the South excluded; and while 23 per cent of all Protestants in the low income group have had high-school education or better, this figure drops to 14 per cent for southern Protestants.

The percentage of those who are not church members is highest in the low income

of the Protestants in each section are recorded as college graduates as compared to only 7 to 11 per cent for the Catholics.⁴ The range of those who have had at least a high-

⁴ These percentages are high when compared to census data. The reason is the extreme difficulty of obtaining by polling device an honest answer on educational status because of the obvious prestige value of enhancing one's educational attainments. However, the error here is probably constant with respect to Protestants and Catholics.

school education is 53 to 66 per cent for Protestants and 38 to 53 per cent for Catholics. In other words, the highest ratio of high-school graduates found for Catholics in any section of the country (Pacific Coast) was no higher than the lowest ratio of high-school graduates for Protestants (Middle Atlantic and East Central states). The lower percentage of Protestants in the below-

who are not church members, as education declines.

Within each educational group the percentage of Protestants increases with the increase in economic status.⁵ This trend is least noticeable in the lowest educational group, but in each of the other educational groups the upper economic class has about 10 per cent more Protestants than the low-

TABLE 4
EDUCATIONAL DISTRIBUTION BY RELIGION WITH ECONOMIC STATUS CONSTANT

ECONOMIC STATUS	RELIGION	EDUCATION				NATIONAL (PER CENT)
		Below Grade School (Per Cent)	Grade School (Per Cent)	High School (Per Cent)	College (Per Cent)	
Upper.....	Catholics	20	16	11	9	12
	Protestants	58	62	69	70	67
	Nonmembers	22	22	20	21	21
Total.....		100	100	100	100	100
Middle.....	Catholics	12	15	16	10	14
	Protestants	57	57	63	70	62
	Nonmembers	31	28	21	20	24
Total.....		100	100	100	100	100
Lower.....	Catholics	13	17	17	12	16
	Protestants	55	51	59	60	54
	Nonmembers	32	32	24	28	30
Total.....		100	100	100	100	100
National.....	Catholics	13	17	15	10	15
	Protestants	56	54	63	70	59
	Nonmembers	31	29	22	20	26
Total.....		100	100	100	100	100

grade-school and the grade-school levels and the higher percentage of Protestants in the high-school and college levels in Table 4 are statistically significant.

As was found with respect to economic status, in New England and the Middle Atlantic states the drop in the percentage of Catholics with the increase in education is approximately of the same magnitude as the rise in the percentage of Protestants in these sections. In the other sections the increase of Protestants is relatively large and the decline of Catholics relatively small, with a correspondingly larger proportion of those

⁵ When the relationship between educational status and income is determined more exactly by calculation of coefficients of contingency and product moment correlations, the following results are obtained:

Religion	C	r	Standard Error of r
Catholics.....	.37	.36	.02
Protestants.....	.41	.43	.01
Protestants, excluding southern Protestants.....	.37	.38	.01
Southern Protestants.....	.42	.44	.02
Nonmembers.....	.40	.41	.01
National total.....	.40	.42	.01

Although the assumptions of correlation procedures are by no means fulfilled by data of this

est economic class. Again the trends are upset in the lower educational groups because of the southern Protestants: southern Protestants with less than grade-school education are slightly lower in economic status than Catholics, only 53 per cent of grade-school Protestants in the South are classified as middle income or above, while 60 per cent of the other Protestants in the sample are so classified.

Those who are not church members are found in increasing numbers as either income or education decreases. The highest percentage of those not church members occurs in the lowest educational group and—within that group—in the lowest income bracket. Conversely, church membership goes up with income, particularly among persons who do not have a high-school education. Increased church membership is absorbed entirely by the Protestants in the three upper educational groups.

To summarize the economic and educational composition of Protestant and Catholic groups in the United States:

1. The ratio of Protestants in a population group tends to increase with the economic status of the group. Conversely, the ratio of Catholics in a population group tends to decrease with the economic status of the group. A higher concentration of Protestants and a lower concentration of

Catholics in the middle and upper economic groups is likely to be found among the persons in these groups who have had the most formal education. This tendency is not found in the low income group because of the heavy weighting given by southern Protestants to the low income and low educational groupings.

2. The ratio of Protestants in a population group tends to increase with the educational status of the group, and a higher concentration of Protestants within any educational group is likely to be found as economic status increases. With the exception of Catholics in the lowest educational group there is a tendency for the ratio of Catholics in a population group to decrease as the economic status of the group increases. The exception is due to the heavy weighting of southern Protestants in the lowest educational and income group.

3. The number of church members in a population increases with both the economic and the educational status of the members of the population. Or, conversely, the number of those without church membership increases as the income or educational levels are descended. At the upper income level, however, the proportion of church members is relatively constant irrespective of educational status. The most marked increase in church membership with increasing schooling is found in the middle economic group, while the most marked increase in church membership with increasing economic status is found among persons who have had only a grade-school education or less.

type, the similarity of *C* and *r* indicates that there is some linear correlation between economic status and education. A further analysis of these data is now in progress to define more fully the relationship between economic status and education, so that a basis for prediction from one of these variables to the other may be established.

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PREMARITAL RESIDENTIAL PROPINQUITY AND ETHNIC ENDOGAMY¹

RUBY JO REEVES KENNEDY

ABSTRACT

In New Haven the increasing rate of marriage between persons living within twenty blocks of one another (64.43 per cent in 1931; 76.31 per cent in 1940) is closely related to ethnic endogamy. While the pattern of in-marriage on a neighborhood basis prevails within every racial and nationality group, it is particularly pronounced among Negroes, Jews, and Italians. Very little intermarriage (5.7 per cent) occurs between persons residing in areas markedly different in social, economic, and cultural traits. The fact that more than half of these were ethnic in-marriages suggests a change in the character of the areas rather than any increasing tendency toward nationality exogamy.

Proximity of residence appears to be an increasingly important determinant in the selection of marriage partners in New Haven. In 1931 almost two-thirds of all New Haven residents getting married in that city lived within twenty blocks of one another.² A similarly high degree of closely propinquitous addresses (63.19 per cent) was true of Philadelphians marrying in Philadelphia in that same year.³ In 1940 this phenomenon was even more pronounced in New Haven. More than three-fourths of its residents marrying in the city lived within twenty blocks of one another, an increase of 12 per cent over 1931 (see Table 1).

The trend to increased proximity was marked in every distance category. There was even an increase in marriages of persons living at the same address. Correspondingly, there was a decided decline in marriages of persons living more than twenty blocks apart (from 35.37 to 23.69 per cent) (see Table 2).

From Table 3 it is readily apparent that through the years certain groups (e.g., Ital-

ians, Negroes) have remained highly propinquitous in their mate selection. Others, previously less so, showed a sharp increase in propinquitous marriage between 1931 and 1940. The degree of residential proximity and its tendency to increase differ among the groups, as shown in Table 3. Particular-

TABLE 1
DISTRIBUTION OF MARRIAGES BY RESIDENTIAL
PROPINQUITY BEFORE MARRIAGE IN NEW
HAVEN IN 1931 AND 1940

NUMBER OF BLOCKS APART	NUMBER OF CASES		PER CENT	
	1931	1940	1931	1940
Within twenty . . .	480	892	64.43	76.31
Over twenty . . .	265	277	35.57	23.69
Total	745	1,169	100.00	100.00

ly marked was the trend toward propinquitous marriage among Negroes and British-Americans within the five-block range; among Poles, Irish, British-Americans, and Germans within the ten-block distance; and among Jews, Irish, British-Americans, and Germans within twenty blocks. That the Italians do not figure in this ranking of high-propinquity trends is due not to a lessening of propinquitous marriages among them but rather to their already pronounced rate in 1931. The over-all picture of increasing propinquity appears clearly in the decline of

¹ The writer is indebted to Maurice R. Davie of Yale University for valuable aid and suggestions in the preparation of this paper.

² Maurice R. Davie and Ruby Jo Reeves, "Proximity of Residence before Marriage," *American Journal of Sociology*, XLIV (January, 1939), 510-17.

³ James H. S. Bossard, "Residential Proximity as a Factor in Marriage Selection," *American Journal of Sociology*, XXXVIII (September, 1932), 219-24.

marriages between persons living more than twenty blocks apart for every group except the Negroes. The Negro irregularity is due to the recent scattering of small segments of the colored population to two or three new zones of residence far removed from their main Negro area. The general pattern of lessening distance between premarital abodes is further emphasized by the appreciable tendency, in every group except the Irish, toward marriages between persons living five or fewer blocks apart. Their 13 per

TABLE 2*

CUMULATIVE PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF RESIDENTIAL PROPINQUITY BEFORE MARRIAGE IN NEW HAVEN IN 1931 AND 1940

NUMBER OF BLOCKS APART	PER CENT	
	1931	1940
Same address.....	9.05	9.92
Within five.....	33.30	35.79
Within ten.....	55.44	55.48
Within twenty.....	64.43	76.31
Over twenty.....	35.57	23.69
Total.....	100.00	100.00

* The percentages are cumulative up to the twenty-block range. Cases where one of the contracting parties was not a resident of New Haven have been eliminated from this study.

cent increase of marriages within ten or fewer blocks, however, brings the Irish into line with the general trend (see Table 3).

Since marriage on a neighborhood basis (within twenty blocks) is on the increase among nearly all groups in New Haven's population, the question arises: Is the increase in propinquitous marriage due to ethnic endogamy? The best way of securing an answer is to examine the distribution of "in" and "out"⁴ marriages for each nationality and racial group in the various distance ranges.

⁴ "In" marriage refers to a union between two persons of the same ethnic stock, whereas "out" marriage implies a crossing of ethnic lines. Exceptions are the Jews, among whom religion rather than nationality is the criterion, and the Negroes, among whom race is the distinguishing feature.

While two-thirds of all the marriages in New Haven in 1940 were "in" unions, Negroes, Jews, and Italians—with 94.4, 90.1, and 85.5 per cent, respectively—led all other groups (see first two rows in Table 4). This strong pattern of "in" marriage reflects the special solidarity existing in these three groups, which is accentuated by the fact that each forms its own area of residence, within which selection of marriage partners is more common than among the other groups (see Table 4).

TABLE 3*

PREMARITAL RESIDENTIAL PROPINQUITY FOR EACH ETHNIC GROUP IN NEW HAVEN IN 1931 AND 1940

GROUPS	NUMBER OF BLOCKS APART							
	Within Five		Within Ten		Within Twenty		Over Twenty	
	1931	1940	1931	1940	1931	1940	1931	1940
Negro.....	57.14	70.35	82.86	74.06	96.30	88.88	3.70	11.12
Jewish.....	29.58	33.93	54.93	62.49	76.06	89.28	23.94	10.72
Italian.....	33.73	36.21	53.09	57.12	70.37	76.31	29.63	23.69
Polish.....	31.59	32.90	37.85	52.64	57.89	68.43	42.11	31.57
Irish.....	25.74	24.04	36.03	49.62	56.51	69.00	43.49	31.00
Brit.-Amer.	21.85	36.04	37.82	56.20	57.98	69.55	42.02	30.45
German.....	25.40	31.48	33.33	50.00	50.79	72.21	49.21	27.79
Total...	33.30	35.79	55.44	55.48	64.43	76.31	35.57	23.69

* Only major groups are included. Those having fewer than twenty marriages were omitted since generalizations based on such limited numbers would be weak.

We may take 66.7 per cent as the normal standard of measurement for "in" marriage, since it indicates the over-all behavior of the entire community. We may then compare the conformity of each group with reference to it, and thus determine the relationship which propinquity bears to this as well as to the "out" marriage standard of 33.3 per cent. Clearly, there is a high correlation between "in" marriage and premarital distances of twenty blocks or less. Correspondingly, "out" exceed "in" marriages when more than twenty blocks separate premarital addresses of spouses. The Irish are the only exception; and explanation for this irregularity is offered below.

The ethnic groups in which the proportion of "in" unions exceeds the 66.7 norm (Negroes, Jews, and Italians) rank highest

in propinquitous marriages of less than twenty blocks; while groups whose "out" marriage rate exceeds the general standard of 33.3 per cent (Poles, Irish, British-Americans, and Germans) have much higher proportions of unions between persons living more than twenty blocks apart (see Tables 3 and 4). Here, then, are three factors creating geographical boundaries within which mate selection ordinarily occurs: (1) a divergent and clannish religion in the case of

groups in the city. This is even further corroborated by the fact that the Irish, who registered a decrease in very propinquitous marriages (within five blocks) in 1940, are much more likely to go beyond twenty blocks for their mates if they are also Irish than if they are not. It seems clear, therefore, that cultural, especially religious, ties still hold, even in long-distance marriages, among the Irish. This is not true, however, of any of the other groups, for in each of them greater residential distance is much more likely to accompany "out" than "in" marriage (see Table 4).

To test further the possibility that there is in New Haven an increasing tendency toward the development of segregated communities based upon ethnic, racial, and religious characteristics, the addresses of couples were analyzed according to the ecological units or "natural areas" into which the city of New Haven has been divided. The method by which these areas were derived and a description of their predominant traits have been reported elsewhere.⁶ Twenty-two residential areas have been distinguished.

Table 5 shows the distribution of marriages according to premarital residence of 1,112 couples, or 2,224 individuals. This is a smaller number of cases than that upon which the foregoing statements have been based. For the ensuing ecological analysis, the total of 1,169 couples married in New Haven in 1940 had to be reduced by the elimination of 39 instances where one or both of the contracting parties did not dwell in areas predominantly residential and of 18 cases where either bride or groom was residing in a given area solely because of employment there as a servant.

The relationship between ecological residence and marriage selection may be observed more readily by classifying the twenty-two areas into three major groups as follows ("predominant" is taken to mean more than one-half):

⁶ M. R. Davie, "The Pattern of Urban Growth," *Studies in the Science of Society*, ed. G. P. Murdock (1937), pp. 133-61.

TABLE 4*

PREMARITAL RESIDENTIAL PROPINQUITY FOR
"IN" AND "OUT" MARRIAGES OF EACH ETH-
NIC GROUP IN NEW HAVEN IN 1940

	To- tal	Ne- gro	Jew- ish	Ital- ian	Pol- ish	Irish	Brit.- Amer.	Ger- man
Per cent "In", . . .	66.7	94.4	90.1	85.5	56.5	58.8	48.5	37.8
Per cent "Out", . . .	33.3	5.6	8.9	14.5	43.5	41.2	51.5	72.2
Blocks apart:								
Five								
"In",	36.7	70.6	32.7	37.8	32.6	18.2	36.8	20.0
"Out",	34.3	66.7	36.4	26.7	33.3	30.2	35.3	35.9
Ten								
"In",	57.8	74.5	63.4	58.4	65.1	40.9	52.6	53.3
"Out",	51.4	56.7	54.5	49.2	36.4	58.7	50.9	48.7
Twenty								
"In",	78.3	90.2	89.1	80.1	74.4	60.6	70.6	73.3
"Out",	73.3	56.7	81.8	74.6	60.6	77.8	68.6	71.8
Over twenty								
"In",	21.7	9.8	10.9	19.9	25.6	39.4	29.4	26.7
"Out",	26.7	33.3	18.2	25.4	39.4	22.2	31.4	28.2

* The percentages in this table indicate the proportions of all "in" and "out" marriages, respectively, which fall within each of the distance ranges. The percentages are cumulative up to the twenty-block range.

the Jews, (2) race in the case of the Negroes, and (3) a high degree of ethnocentrism, cultural peculiarities, and persistent Old World folkways among the Italians, owing in part to their relatively large numbers.⁵ These factors operate to isolate these three groups geographically and maritally; each lives in its own area and marries within that area. However, the increasing tendency of other groups, formerly less propinquitous—the Poles, Irish, Germans, and British-Americans—in the direction of propinquitous marriage, further suggests a gradually increasing tightening of all social, and hence residential, barriers between the various nationality

⁵ Italians comprise about 40 per cent of all persons of foreign white stock in New Haven.

- A. Predominantly foreign-born; Catholic; laborers and artisans—low income: Areas III, IV, V, VI, XII, XIII
- B. Predominantly mixed nativity; mixed religion; laborers, artisans, office workers, dealers, and proprietors—low to median income; which may be subdivided as follows:
1. Predominantly mixed nativity; Catholic; laborers, artisans, and office workers—low income: Areas VII, X, XI, XIX, XXII
 2. Predominantly mixed nativity; mixed religion; artisans, office workers, dealers, and proprietors—median income: Areas II, XV, XVI, XVIII, XXI
 3. Predominantly mixed nativity: Protestant; artisans, office workers, dealers, and proprietors—median income: Areas VIII, XIV, XX
- C. Predominantly native American; Protestant; professionals, business executives, office workers—high income: Areas I, XVII

One of the most interesting situations disclosed by this analysis is that in 42.8 per cent of the cases the marriage-contracting parties lived in the same area (see Table 5). This is especially significant in view of the small size of most of the areas. They range in maximum extent from four to thirty-two blocks, averaging about eleven blocks. Only two areas show a maximum distance range of twenty or more blocks. If to these cases are added those of individuals marrying within like areas (30 per cent), then nearly three-fourths (72.8 per cent) of all persons marrying within the city chose mates residing in similar types of neighborhood. Very little intermarriage (5.7 per cent) occurred between areas markedly dissimilar in social, economic, and cultural traits.

Contrasting these facts with those disclosed for 1931, we find that almost no change occurred in the proportions of marriages involving parties from the same area (43.4 per cent in 1931) and from like areas (30.4 per cent in 1931) (see Table 5). On the other hand, the slight decrease in percentage (from 22.5 in 1931 to 21.5 in 1940) of marriages between persons from related areas is accounted for in part by the increase of marriages between persons residing in dissimilar

areas (from 3.7 in 1931 to 7.5 per cent in 1940) (see Table 5). For instance, in the areas inhabited predominantly by the foreign-born who are Catholics, laborers, and artisans having low incomes (major group A: Areas III, IV, V, VI, XII, and XIII) there has been a marked increase of mar-

TABLE 5
PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF INDIVIDUALS
MARRYING IN NEW HAVEN IN 1931 AND
1940, BY PREMARITAL RESIDENCE ACCORD-
ING TO TYPE OF AREA

AREAS	AREA TYPES							
	In Same*		In Like†		In Related‡		In Dissimilar§	
	1931	1940	1931	1940	1931	1940	1931	1940
I.....	50.0	37.5	8.3	12.5	41.7	25.0	.....	25.0
II.....	18.2	24.3	54.6	43.9	13.6	9.8	13.6	22.0
III.....	45.0	26.2	32.5	50.0	22.5	13.1	.....	10.7
IV.....	44.0	51.7	30.0	32.4	17.0	13.1	.....	2.8
V.....	49.2	30.8	45.9	56.0	4.9	12.1	.....	1.1
VI.....	43.9	42.7	31.6	32.6	23.2	20.2	1.3	4.5
VII.....	38.0	34.4	27.6	22.6	31.1	43.0	3.2	.....
VIII.....	36.3	29.1	22.7	40.0	.....	41.0	30.9	.....
IX.....	.....	33.3	26.6	29.2	66.7	37.5	6.7	.....
X.....	10.5	42.9	42.1	30.4	42.1	25.0	5.3	1.7
XI.....	32.0	33.3	40.0	15.3	24.0	51.4	4.0	.....
XII.....	60.2	50.4	16.8	18.3	22.6	21.6	0.4	3.7
XIII.....	34.7	8.3	52.2	41.7	13.1	41.7	.....	8.3
XIV.....	32.5	34.8	40.5	37.7	2.7	.....	24.3	27.5
XV.....	52.0	48.2	25.9	25.7	20.2	25.6	1.9	0.5
XVI.....	32.6	32.8	32.6	35.3	25.5	27.9	9.3	4.0
XVII.....	29.6	11.1	3.7	11.1	55.6	5.6	11.1	72.2
XVIII.....	36.4	22.2	27.2	22.2	36.4	50.0	.....	5.6
XIX.....	.....	.....	50.0	100.0	50.0	.....	.....	.....
XX.....	.....	37.5	50.0	43.8	.....	6.2	50.0	12.5
XXI.....	25.0	32.6	42.8	34.0	32.2	23.6	.....	2.8
XXII.....	13.3	20.7	60.0	51.7	20.0	27.6	6.7	.....
Total..	43.4	42.8	30.4	30.0	22.5	21.5	3.7	5.7

* Both parties before marriage lived in the same one of the twenty-two areas.

† Both parties before marriage lived in areas that fall in the same major grouping, e.g., both in Group A.

‡ The two parties before marriage resided in areas falling in different, yet closely related, major groups.

§ One of the contracting parties lived in an area falling in a major group least related to the area where the other party resided.

riages involving dissimilar areas (see Table 5). Likewise, in areas populated predominantly by native Americans who are Protestants employed as professionals, business executives, or office workers earning high incomes (major group C: Areas I and XVII), there has been an increase in the number of marriages involving dissimilar areas (see Table 5). On the other hand, in sections populated largely by Catholics of mixed nativity who are laborers, artisans, or office

workers having low incomes (major group B, 1: Areas VII, IX, X, XI, XIX, and XX), there has been a pronounced decrease in marriages between persons from dissimilar areas (see Table 5). Over all, however, very little change has occurred between 1931 and 1940, and the conclusions of the former year still apply in New Haven:

Analysis of all the marriage licenses . . . has shown . . . that in the vast majority of cases marriage is an in-group affair, that is, the two contracting parties tend to be of the same race, nationality, religion, and socio-economic status. Urban ecological studies have disclosed that the population tends to be segregated spatially according to the same traits. Thus the coincidence of these two tendencies goes far to explain the factor of residential propinquity in marriage selection.⁷

A special analysis of the sixty-three marriages in 1940 between parties residing in dissimilar ecological areas of the city shows

that more than half (58.8 per cent) were "in" unions. In some groups an even higher proportion of the marriages involving dissimilar areas were of this type. This was true for all the Jewish marriages, 80 per cent of the Italian, and 77 per cent of the British-American. This indicates that the 2 per cent increase of marriages between partners residing in dissimilar ecological areas does not imply a corresponding increase of marriages between different ethnic, racial, and religious groups. Rather does it suggest a gradual change in the character of the areas, which is only to be expected in view of the sharp decline in the foreign-born population and the recent development of rehousing projects in several areas. The facts at hand point to shiftings in the location of homogeneous communities rather than to their disappearance and an increasingly firm integration of each on ethnic, religious, and racial lines as disclosed by the rising trend toward "neighborhood" marriages.

⁷ Davie and Reeves, *op. cit.*, p. 517.

INTERMARRIAGE AMONG NATIONALITY GROUPS IN A RURAL AREA OF MINNESOTA¹

LOWRY NELSON

ABSTRACT

Of 885 marriages representing ten nationality groups in rural Wright County, Minnesota, over two-thirds of the husbands and wives were of the same ethnic group. Endogamous rates were highest among Finns, followed by Germans, Poles, and Swedes in the order named. Inter-marriage appears to be influenced by numerical importance of the particular group in the population, residential propinquity, and religious differences. The high rates of in-group marriages suggest the persistence of culturally deviant groups and a retardation of assimilation. The melting-pot theory of amalgamation needs revision if present data are supported by further study. Also, the existence of these cultural diversities should be considered in educational and other social programs designed for rural areas.

There can be little doubt that the "melting-pot" as a figure of speech to describe the assimilation of the disparate elements into the American population has lulled us into complacency to the extent that very little attention has been given by students to what is the final test of assimilation: inter-marriage. This has been true especially with reference to the various nationality groups within the white race, particularly those from northern and central Europe. Moreover, with one or two rare exceptions—to be noted presently—practically nothing is known of the extent of endogamy among these groups in rural areas. The paucity of the literature on the field in general is always noted by the few students who have paid any attention to the subject. Thus Professor Bossard in a recent article comments as follows: "The subject of inter-marriage between different nationality and nativity groups has been neglected in sociological study seemingly in proportion to its social significance."²

Before presenting the material which is the main subject of this paper, brief reference will be made to other studies in the field. The most extensive study of inter-marriage in this country was made by Drachsler and was based upon nearly 80,000

marriages in New York City from 1908 to 1912.³ Bossard uses as the basis of his study the marriage statistics published as part of the *Annual Report* of the New York State Department of Health. These data are exclusive of New York City, but there is no tabulation by rural and urban segments of the population.

Both Bossard and Drachsler find a tendency to intranationality marriages, although there is a considerable range of difference between them in their rates. Moreover, inter-marriage rates increase with the second and third generations.

Constantine Panunzio recently reported on the intermarriages between certain nationality and racial groups in Los Angeles County, including Negroes, Chinese, Japanese, Mexicans, Filipinos, and American Indians.⁴ He found that 97.3 per cent of the marriages were intraracial. This study, valuable as it is in the contribution it makes to the general subject, sheds no light at all on the question of intermarriage among nationality groups within the white race. The hypothesis that "sex ratios and culture" are "the basic factors" in intermarriage⁵ is nevertheless significant and undoubtedly would be applicable to any study of white nationality groups.

¹ "Miscellaneous Journal Series," No. 470. Minnesota Agricultural Experiment Station, St. Paul, Minn.

² James H. S. Bossard, "Nationality and Nativity as Factors in Marriage," *American Sociological Review*, IV, No. 6 (December, 1939), 792-98.

³ Julius Drachsler, *Democracy and Assimilation* (New York: Macmillan & Co., 1920).

⁴ "Intermarriage in Los Angeles, 1924-1933," *American Journal of Sociology*, XLVII, No. 5 (March, 1941), 690-701.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 691.

John Kolehmainen made a study of 350 Finnish marriages in Conneaut, Ohio, covering the period 1895-1935, in which he reports a recent tendency (since 1926) toward "increasing predominance of mixed over homogeneous unions." Out of 230 marriages of American-born Finns during the whole period, 123, or nearly 54 per cent, were mixed.⁶ Here, again, the study is based upon an urban group.

Niles Carpenter, using the nationality data reported for parents of children born

TABLE 1

RATES PER 1,000 OF MATINGS WITHIN THE SAME NATIONALITY OF PARENTS OF CHILDREN BORN IN THE REGISTRATION AREA IN 1920

Ethnic Group	Fathers	Mothers
Italy.....	828.0	970.6
Poland.....	815.2	910.6
United States.....	950.7	897.9
Russia (including Russian Poland).....	752.9	857.7
Hungary.....	856.2	849.9
Austria (including Austrian Poland).....	772.5	803.0
Denmark, Norway, Sweden.....	481.8	652.1
Ireland.....	707.5	612.9
Germany (including German Poland).....	295.3	421.6
Canada.....	386.9	411.4
England, Scotland, Wales.....	337.8	373.1

in the registration area for 1920, finds a strong tendency for races and nationality groups to be endogamous.⁷ The extent of this tendency is shown by the rates of matings of fathers and of mothers within the same ethnic group⁸ (Table 1).

Since the data are based upon the birthplace of the father and the mother, only the foreign-born population is involved. There is no way of knowing to what extent the matings within the native-born population are within the same ethnic group. For example, Carpenter observes that in cases of mixed marriages the tendency is for the for-

eign-born to marry into the "American" population rather than to choose a mate from among other foreign nationalities. This may simply mean that in choosing a mate individuals are selecting, from within the so-called "American" stock, persons of the same or of similar ethnic background to their own. On the basis of the facts it is a bit difficult to see how Carpenter could come to the conclusion that "there can be no doubting that America's 'melting pot' is fusing at a very rapid rate."⁹ With such high in-group marriage rates, "fusion" is limited indeed.

Carpenter notes that there are more mixed marriages in the rural portion of the registration area than in the urban. That is, foreign-born people intermarried with natives more often in the rural area. This, as he points out, is no doubt due to the smaller proportions of the foreign-born in the rural population and to the rural-urban differences in the sex ratios. No separate analysis of rural and urban groups was made on a nationality basis.

About the only major study of intermarriage among rural people according to nativity and nationality was made by Edmund de S. Brunner; his study covered 44,643 marriage-license applications in the states of New York, Wisconsin, and Nebraska for a pre-war period (1908-12) and a post-war period (1921-25).¹⁰ This is an important study, and it would have been of even greater value had the nationality groups been treated separately rather than by clusters (Anglo-Saxon, Scandinavian, Teutonic, Slavic, Latin). However, the author, by way of justification of the use of these categories, points out that in "most groups one nation considerably exceeded all others in the number of grooms."¹¹

For the five ethnic groups the proportion of intermarriages was highest among the Anglo-Saxon in Nebraska and Wisconsin,

⁶ "A Study of Marriage in a Finnish Community," *American Journal of Sociology*, XLII, No. 3 (November, 1936), 376.

⁷ *Immigrants and Their Children, 1920* ("Census Monographs," No. 7 [Washington, D.C., 1927]).

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 243 (Table 111).

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 233.

¹⁰ *Immigrant Farmers and Their Children* (New York: Doubleday, Doran & Co., 1929), chap. iv.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 85.

with the Scandinavians ranking first in New York. Germans were second in intermarriage rates in Nebraska and Wisconsin and third in New York. The difference between the rates for "Teutonic" and Scandinavian, however, were very small. "Latins" ranked fourth and "Slavs" fifth in all three states. With the exception of the Anglo-Saxons in Nebraska and New York, and the Scandinavians in New York, intermarriages were less than 50 per cent. In common with other studies, this one indicates a tendency for intermarriages to increase with the second and third generations of foreign stock.¹²

The data reported in this paper represent an incidental phase of a larger study of social areas and community relations in Wright County, Minnesota. The original study was an attempt to determine neighborhood areas of Wright County, and it was anticipated that the nationality factor might bear some relationship to such neighborhoods as might be located. With this idea in mind, the schedules, which were gathered through the co-operation of the 114 rural schools, asked for the nationality of the fathers and mothers of the children in the schools. This made possible the analysis of intermarriage reported here.

In all, 1,032 schedules were returned. Of these there were 134 children who gave the nationality of one or both parents as "American." While the smallness of this number would tend to indicate a high degree of accuracy in nationality identification, the validity of the returns for present purposes could not be established, and all "American" schedules were eliminated from consideration. An additional 13 schedules involved nationalities (Belgian, Austrian, Danish, Swiss) so few in number as to be insignificant. This left a total of 1,770 persons,¹³ with ten nationalities represented,

several of which have fewer cases than is desirable.

Admittedly, the incidental nature of the data left much to be desired. There was, for example, no way of knowing how many of the individuals were foreign-born or native-born of foreign or mixed parentage. It may even be that some of them are native-born of native parents, yet identify themselves with ancestry of a given nationality. The fact that all the individuals were parents of children who were in the grade schools, and therefore not over fourteen years of age, would lead to the supposition that the vast majority are native-born and that those who are foreign-born probably emigrated at earlier ages.

The ten nationalities under consideration are representative, from a numerical standpoint, of the more important foreign stock in the Wright County population. In 1930 they constituted 91.7 per cent of all foreign stock. Since the 1940 census data on the native-born of foreign parentage is not yet available, the 1930 census has been used as a basis for comparison with the sample. Slightly over half of the county population in 1930 was classified as foreign-born and native-born of foreign parentage.

It will be noted from Table 2 that the sample is distributed in numerical order among the groups as was the population within the same groups in 1930. Since the sample can be considered as almost entirely farm population and the 1930 figures are for the county population as a whole, some deviation is to be expected. The 885 families represent approximately 20 per cent of the farm population of the county in 1940.

While there is no inclination to attempt to establish Wright County as typical of a larger area, it cannot be said to be atypical of the northern Middle West. A cursory glance at the census data for this area reveals the large extent to which the population is composed of immigrant stock from north-

¹² See also Bessie Bloom Wessel, *An Ethnic Survey of Woonsocket, Rhode Island* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1931), for similar findings with reference to an urban group.

¹³ Before it was decided to eliminate these 134 schedules, tabulations were made including them. The "American" group showed 90.4 per cent intra-group marriages. The other four nationalities were

all intermarried, with one exception. Leaving these groups out of consideration altered the intermarriage rates of eight of the group, reducing them by from 1 to 2.3 per cent.

ern and central Europe, notably Germany and Scandinavia. The Middle West was the first great rural melting-pot area of the country.

Tables 3 and 4 indicate the pattern of marriage among the groups. Over two-thirds of all matings are endogamous. Only three (French, Irish, and Norwegian) fell below 50 per cent in the case of husbands,

TABLE 2

COMPARISON OF PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF SELECTED NATIONALITY GROUPS IN TOTAL WRIGHT COUNTY POPULATION FOR 1930 AND SAMPLE

NATIONALITY	WRIGHT COUNTY (FOREIGN-BORN AND NATIVE-BORN OF FOREIGN PAR- ENTS, 1930)		SAMPLE (HUSBANDS AND WIVES)	
	Num- ber	Per Cent	Num- ber	Per Cent
German.....	5,036	38.8	790	44.6
Swedish.....	4,073	31.4	368	20.8
Finnish.....	1,214	9.4	169	9.5
French*.....	582	4.5	105	5.9
Irish.....	406	3.1	81	4.6
Polish.....	147	1.1	67	3.8
English.....	206	1.6	57	3.2
Dutch.....	323	2.5	41	2.3
Norwegian.....	667	5.1	57	3.2
Bohemian.....	324	2.5	35	2.0
Total.....	12,978†	100.0	1,770	99.9

* Includes Canadian French.

† Constitutes 91.7 per cent of all foreign stock in 1930.

and only the Irish and Norwegian in the case of wives. The numbers involved in the case of some of those with low percentages of intragroup marriages are very small, and this would be expected to increase the number of marriages with other groups. The Poles are an exception, however, since they show the third highest rate of in-group marriages, while at the same time only thirty-four cases are reported. It was discovered, however, when the distribution of nationalities was mapped, that the Poles were rather highly concentrated in one or two community areas.

This suggested the idea of attempting to

isolate the effect of residential propinquity, which is known to be an important factor in marriage selection.¹⁴ Naturally, since we do not have the addresses of the marriage partners previous to marriage, it is simply a matter of making a rough approximation as to the influence of propinquity. To this end, the three most numerous groups (Germans, Finns, and Swedes) were grouped according to communities in which they outnumbered any other group, and the percentage of intermarriage was then determined. Germans outnumbered other groups in fourteen of the twenty community areas of the county, Swedes in two, Finns in one, and French in one. The results of this tabulation show markedly higher rates of in-group marriage for Swedes and Germans as between "majority" and "minority" communities, and a considerable, though smaller, difference for the Finns.

The percentage marrying within the same nationality in communities where they were in the majority or in the minority are shown in Table 5. The numerical importance of the particular nationality group in the population bears some relation to the rate of intermarriage. If the nationalities are grouped according to their numerical importance in the sample, a further demonstration of this relationship is indicated (Table 6).

It should be noted that while the more numerous nationalities when grouped exceed the less numerous in the proportion intermarrying, the combined percentage in the three largest is smaller than that for either Germans or Finns when considered separately, although it exceeds that for the Swedes (Table 4). In the middle group it is the influence of the Poles which brings the group percentage above that of either the

¹⁴ J. H. S. Bossard, "Residential Propinquity as a Factor in Marriage Selection," *American Journal of Sociology*, XXXVIII (September, 1932), 219-24; Howard Y. McClusky and Alvin Zander, "Residential Propinquity and Marriage in Branch County, Michigan," *Social Forces*, XIX (October, 1940), 79-81; Donald Mitchell, "Residential Propinquity and Marriage in Carver and Scott Counties, Minnesota" (unpublished manuscript):

TABLE 3

DISTRIBUTION BY NATIONALITY GROUPS OF HUSBANDS AND WIVES, WRIGHT COUNTY, MINNESOTA

HUSBANDS	WIVES										
	Total	German	Swedish	Finnish	French	Irish	Polish	English	Dutch	Norwegian	Bohemian
German.....	385	308	23	4	13	13	4	6	1	10	3
Swedish.....	195	35	120	9	4	6	.....	4	1	15	1
Finnish.....	83	2	4	72	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	3	1
French.....	54	16	3	.....	26	5	1	1	1	1	.....
Irish.....	43	18	6	1	2	10	3	1	.....	1	1
Polish.....	34	6	.....	.....	.....	1	25	1	.....	.....	1
English.....	27	4	3	.....	2	.....	.....	16	.....	1	1
Dutch.....	24	7	1	.....	.....	1	.....	1	14	.....	.....
Norwegian.....	22	5	10	.....	2	1	.....	.....	.....	4	.....
Bohemian.....	18	4	3	.....	1	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	9
Total.....	885	405	173	86	51	38	33	30	17	35	17

TABLE 4

PERCENTAGE OF HUSBANDS AND WIVES
MARRYING WITHIN THE
SAME NATIONALITY

NATIONALITY	PER CENT MARRYING SAME NATIONALITY	
	Husbands	Wives
German.....	80.0	76.0
Swedish.....	61.8	69.4
Finnish.....	86.7	83.7
French.....	48.1	51.0
Irish.....	23.2	26.3
Polish.....	73.5	75.8
English.....	59.2	53.3
Dutch.....	58.3	82.4
Norwegian.....	18.2	17.4
Bohemian.....	50.0	52.9
All groups.....	68.2	68.2

Irish or French when they are taken by themselves, while the Poles alone exceed the combined rate.

Again, the original schedules did not indicate the religious affiliation of the partners. However, certain groups are known to be nominally Catholic—the Poles, French, Irish, and at least part of the Germans; while Swedes, Norwegians, Finns, English, and Dutch are normally Protestant. It was not possible to identify Bohemians, although they are probably Catholic. The

TABLE 5

PERCENTAGE OF IN-GROUP MARRIAGES FOR
THREE NATIONALITY GROUPS IN COMMUNITIES
WHERE THEY WERE IN THE MAJORITY OR MINORITY

Nationality	Majority	Minority
German.....	80.7	50.0
Swedish.....	72.5	49.66
Finnish.....	87.9	79.2

TABLE 6

PERCENTAGE OF INTRAGROUP MARRIAGES
ACCORDING TO NUMERICAL IMPORTANCE
IN THE SAMPLE

Group	Per Cent of Inter-marriages within Groups
3 largest (Germans, Swedes, Finns).....	71.9
3 next largest (French, Irish, Polish).....	57.9
4 smallest (English, Dutch, Norwegian, and Bohemian).....	50.5

German group is known to be part Lutheran.¹⁵

By segregating the sample in accordance with the location of Catholic parishes and

¹⁵ C. A. French and F. B. Lamson, *Condensed History of Wright County, 1851-1935* (Delano, Minn.: Eagle Printing Co., 1935), pp. 115-33. This gives the location of Catholic and Lutheran parishes.

parochial schools, and considering the Germans in these communities as Catholic along with French, Irish, and Polish, and considering as Protestant those Germans located in communities with no Catholic parishes (with the exception noted in the footnote) along with nominally Protestant nationalities, we get the results shown in Table 7. While this classification is only an approximate distribution according to reli-

TABLE 7
INTERMARRIAGE RATES AMONG NOMINALLY
CATHOLIC AND PROTESTANT
NATIONALITY GROUPS

NATIONALITY RELIGION (HUSBANDS)	TO- TAL	MARRIED TO WIVES WITHIN COMBINED GROUP		SAME NA- TIONALITY	
		No.	Pe. Cent	No.	Per Cent
Catholic (German*, French, Irish, Po- lish).....	280	251	89.7	214	76.0
Protestant (Ger- man,† Swedish, Finnish, Norwe- gian, Dutch, Eng- lish).....	336	340	92.9	257	70.0

* In communities reporting organized parishes.

† In communities other than those with Catholic parishes except Buffalo, which was arbitrarily classified in this group, although it contains a Catholic parish as well as Protestant churches.

gious preference, it is believed to have some validity. It is noteworthy that Protestants show a slightly higher percentage than do Catholics and that intermarriage between the religious groups is markedly less than among nationalities.

It is recognized that this method of analysis incorporates the element of residential propinquity as well as religion, since the analysis is on a community-area basis; but the fact that the intermarriage rate is considerably higher than that shown when the communities were grouped according to the numerical dominance of specific groups points to the possible influence of church affiliation as a factor of importance. This is

in line with expectation, since most religious denominations encourage intermarriage. It has been suggested that the tendency to discourage intermarriage with Catholics is stronger in Protestants than is true with Catholics where Protestants are concerned.

As far as the writer is aware, there are no comparable data on intermarriage among farm people. New York State, as previously noted, does record the nationality of brides and grooms applying for marriage licenses. Summaries are published annually showing nativity and nationality of foreign-born and native-born of foreign or mixed parentage. There is no segregation of rural and urban. On the basis of the New York report for 1939 the writer tabulated the grooms and brides (exclusive of those marrying native-born of native parents, in which case nationality could not be identified) for the five nationality groups most nearly corresponding to those involved in Wright County. The results are presented in Table 8.

The New York data are significant not in their degree of correspondence with or deviation from the Minnesota figures but only in that they reveal from another area evidence showing a persistent tendency among foreign stock toward endogamous marriages. While the tendency is more pronounced in some groups than others, it is significant in all of them.

It seems clear from the Minnesota data and the data from other studies that there is a tendency toward endogamous marriages among the nationality groups of northern and central European origin. This tendency to choose marriage partners along nationality lines is unquestionably reinforced by religious affiliation, which is so often associated with nationality. The tendency—not fully recognized in the past—for families of common national origin to settle in compact geographic areas also contributes to the persistence of in-group marriage.

The social significance of intermarriage or intramarriage lies chiefly in its relation to social assimilation. There are those who regard intermarriage as of secondary importance in assimilation. Galitz, for example,

maintains that "inter-marriage is not a condition *sine qua non* of assimilation, as complete assimilation can be achieved without racial amalgamation. It is more a cultural than a biological process."¹⁶ She quotes with approval the statement of Fairchild that assimilation means "adoption into the

TABLE 8*

GROOMS OF KNOWN NATIONALITY MARRYING BRIDES OF SAME NATIONALITY,† NEW YORK (EXCLUSIVE OF NEW YORK CITY), 1939

NATIONALITY OF GROOMS	TOTAL	MARRYING SAME NATIONALITY	
		No.	Per Cent
Danish, Norwegian, Swedish.....	300	120	40.0
English, Scotch, Welsh.....	575	150	26.1
German.....	1,471	590	40.1
Irish.....	616	243	39.4
Polish.....	2,151	1,581	73.5
Total.....	5,113	2,684	52.5

* Source: New York State Department of Health, *Sixtieth Annual Report, 1939* (compiled from Tables 34, 35, and 36).

† Includes for both brides and grooms those foreign-born and native-born of foreign or mixed parentage.

spiritual inheritance of a nation,"¹⁷ admitting, however, that intermarriage "hastens" the process.

On the other side of the issue, it is only necessary to call attention to the difficulty of an alien group "adopting the spiritual inheritance of a nation," if marriage is largely within its own membership, since this tends to perpetuate the native folkways, language, and cultural outlook. It is well to remember, moreover, that the family itself is "more a cultural than a biological" entity. Complete assimilation means that the alien group loses its social visibility, interacting

freely with the larger culture without prejudice. As long as prejudices exist with reference to a group as such, that group cannot be said to have achieved complete assimilation. Intermarriage is a test of the strength or weakness of these prejudices and must therefore be regarded as a final test of assimilation. Bossard rightly regards intermarriage as an "index of the assimilative process" and as a "severely realistic index of the social distance between distinctive groups and peoples living within a given area."¹⁸

There is a very common supposition that assimilation—or amalgamation—is inevitable. Illustrative of this point of view is the statement by Young: "It is a truism that two or more peoples living in the same geographical area, participating in the same economic system, no matter how divergent originally in racial or national origin, cannot be kept biologically separate; ultimately they become one stock."¹⁹

As long as the in-group marriage rate is at least 50 per cent, it is difficult to see how absorption or biological assimilation is going to take place. Even a smaller proportion than one-half practicing marriage within the nationality group would be sufficient to maintain a "hard core" of cultural identity. It would appear that instead of a "melting-pot," producing an amalgam out of the diverse nationality groups, we have something which might better be described as "soup." The basic ingredients of the "soup" are still distinguishable, although each ingredient has contributed something to the flavor of the whole.

It would be easy to assume that in rural society, where the primary-group relation is considered to be strong, nationality consciousness would tend to disappear earlier than would be the case in the cities. This survey, however, indicates that conclusions on this point must be drawn with great caution.

¹⁸ *Op. cit.*, p. 792.

¹⁹ Donald Young, *Research Memorandum on Minority Peoples in the Depression* (Social Science Research Council Bull. 31 [New York, 1937]), p. 199.

¹⁶ Christine A. Galitzi, *A Study of Assimilation among Rumanians in the United States* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1929), p. 168.

¹⁷ H. P. Fairchild, *Immigration* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1923), p. 408. In the 1920 edition of the book, however, this statement appears: "Perhaps the most efficient test of entire assimilation is that of free intermarriage" (p. 400).

We are beginning to discover that nationalities grouped themselves geographically in the initial years of settlement to a much greater degree than has been commonly recognized.²⁰ Such geographic concentration tends to reinforce cultural isolation and facilitates the preservation of cultural diversities. In such rural areas it is

²⁰ See, e.g., Hildegard Binder-Johnson, "Distribution of the German Pioneer Population in Minnesota," *Rural Sociology*, VI, No. 1 (March, 1941), 16-34.

quite likely that the assimilative process would be less active than in an urban area, even where comparable ethno-geographic concentration occurs.

At any rate, it is apparent that further study might profitably be undertaken in this field, since the existence and persistence of cultural differences profoundly affects the social structure of rural communities and assumes extraordinary importance in time of national crisis.

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A CONTRIBUTION TO THE STUDY OF ACTUARIAL AND INDIVIDUAL METHODS OF PREDICTION¹

THEODORE R. SARBIN

ABSTRACT

Are predictions of conduct more accurate when made by case-study methods than by actuarial methods? This study is an experimental rather than a polemical attempt to determine the relative accuracy of the two modes of prediction. A restricted form of behavior—academic success—was predicted from clinical (case-study) material and from a previously derived regression equation. The correlation coefficients demonstrate that the case-study method which presumably accounts for an innumerable assortment of variables is no more accurate than a simple statistical method which accounts for only two variables. Analysis of the predictions suggests that the case-study method takes behavior segments with known predictive weights and applies other weights which are less efficient. Case-study predictions—at least on the grounds of efficiency—should not be substituted for actuarial predictions. As a complement to the actuarial predictions, the clinical predictions add nothing. The possibility of generalizing to the prediction of other kinds of criteria is discussed.

INTRODUCTION

The object of this paper is to illuminate some of the dark corners of the concept of prediction in the social sciences. In recent years a number of writers² have expressed themselves to the effect that the clinical or individual method of predicting behavior is superior to the actuarial or statistical method. In order to determine the soundness of this assertion, one would have to test a hypothesis which might be formulated somewhat as follows: A complete case study will increase the accuracy of prediction of behavior over that obtained from the use of statistical tables based on experience with relatively few variables.

¹ This article is a condensation of two papers, one of which was read at the 1941 meetings of the Midwestern Psychological Association, the other at a seminar on "Problems and Methods of Prediction" conducted by Professor E. W. Burgess during the author's tenure at the University of Chicago as a Fellow of the Social Science Research Council. I am indebted to Dr. E. S. Bordin for many valuable suggestions and to Dr. J. G. Darley for permission to use data from the clinical files of the University of Minnesota Testing Bureau.

² Among them are: G. W. Allport, "The Psychologist's Frame of Reference," *Psychological Bulletin*, XXXVII (1940), 1-28; E. W. Burgess and L. S. Cottrell, Jr., *Predicting Success or Failure in Marriage* (New York: Prentice-Hall, 1939); M. S. Viteles, "The Clinical Viewpoint in Vocational Psychology," *Journal of Applied Psychology*, IX (1925), 131-38; E. G. Williamson, *How To Counsel Students* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1939).

That this hypothesis is too general to submit to experimental analysis becomes immediately evident. First, the term "behavior" here means too much. Second, no standards exist to tell us when a case study is complete. Third, statistical indices and regression equations are not available for the prediction of many forms of behavior. In order to make the hypothesis testable, we must narrow it down to coincide with these requirements: (a) the criterion to be predicted must be subject to definition and measurement; (b) experience tables or regression equations must be available beforehand in order to make statistical predictions; (c) the individuals whose behavior is to be predicted must have had at least one clinical interview; and (d), in addition to the statistically determined variables, other data which are presumably associated with the criterion must be made available to the clinician.

In performing their daily activities, clinical counselors³ make predictions of academic achievement. They provide a situation whereby the general hypothesis may be tested and where the four requirements just mentioned are satisfied. The criterion of

³ Clinical counselors are clinical psychologists with experience and training in working with college students. Four of the five clinicians in this study possessed the Ph.D. degree or its equivalent. All five had had considerable experience in clinical counseling work with university students.

success is honor-point ratio, admittedly not a highly reliable measurement, but nonetheless one that is in use in most institutions of higher learning. It is defined as the ratio of credits to grades which have been converted into honor points. Previously derived regression equations were available in which academic achievement is predicted by a combination of two variables: rank in high-school graduating class and college aptitude test. All subjects had one interview with the clinician prior to exposure to college classes. Data available to the predictors in addition to the measurement variables were in the form of additional tests of aptitude, achievement, vocational interest, and personality; an eight-page individual record form; a preliminary interviewer's form and impressions; and, finally, the counselor's own observations. Now the hypothesis may be stated more specifically: *By virtue of the case-study method employed, clinical counselors' predictions of academic success will be more accurate than those determined from regression equations.* In short, the testing of the hypothesis involves comparing the predictions made from regression equations on two variables to the predictions made by clinicians from an innumerable assortment of variables.

DATA AND RESULTS

This brings us to a consideration of the data. Predictions of academic achievement were made for 162 Freshmen—73 men and 89 women—who matriculated in the fall of 1939 in the arts college of the University of Minnesota. These predictions were made by five clinical counselors on the basis of tests, information obtained from the individual record forms, preliminary interviewer's reports, and whatever data might be gathered and summarized in the interview. These were made on an eight-point scale and were correlated with the actual honor-point ratios at the end of the quarter. Statistical predictions were made by the simple process of substituting the values of the two variables—high-school rank and college aptitude test—in the previously derived re-

gression equation and then solving for the most probable honor-point ratio. These predictions were likewise correlated with honor-point ratios. Table 1 gives the results.

By comparing the correlations obtained by the clinical method with those obtained from the actuarial method, we see that the correlations are not significantly different. The apparent differences which seem to favor the statistical mode of prediction are shown to be not significant⁴ by the application of Fisher's *z* test.⁵ If the trend were to remain the same with larger numbers of

TABLE 1
COEFFICIENTS OF CORRELATION BETWEEN ACTUAL HONOR-POINT RATIOS AND CLINICAL AND STATISTICAL PREDICTIONS

Type of Prediction	Men	Women
Clinical. . . . .	.35	.69
Statistical. . . . .	.45	.70

cases, we could safely conclude that statistical predictions are more accurate. At any rate, we can draw the conclusion that the clinical counselors in this study did not predict college achievement more accurately than did the statistical method.

The plausibility of the hypothesis that case-study predictions are superior is not without foundation. Starting from a position which is logically acceptable—namely, that items in the history of an individual are associated with subsequent behavior—clinicians seek to discover and weight items in the client's previous and current history. Information gathered from a survey of the individual's past, then, should have value for predicting events in the future. That the two items in the regression equation—the high-school rank and college aptitude test—

⁴ The usual confidence limits are used in this study. If a difference is significant beyond the 1 per cent point, we consider it a real difference. A difference that is significant to the 5 per cent point is suggestive and calls for further experimentation.

⁵ R. A. Fisher, *Statistical Methods for Research Workers* (London: Oliver & Boyd, 1938), p. 215.

could summarize all the pertinent and significant data that can be used does not seem plausible. So many other variables seem to be untouched. What of strivings, habits of work and play, special aptitudes, emotional patterns, systematic distractions, and the hundreds of other conditions which seem to be related to this complex form of social psychological behavior known as academic achievement? Have these forms of behavior no influence on the criterion other than that accounted for by the two variables? The answer is usually given in the affirmative—that these traits *are* associated with the criterion of academic achievement and, further, that these subtle factors can be identified and weighted by skilful interviewers.

Some of these so-called “nonintellective” factors were systematically observed on each of the cases in this study by means of the Strong Vocational Interest Blank⁶ and the Darley Personal Inventory.⁷ Four measures derived from the Strong blank were correlated with (a) actual achievement and (b) clinical predictions. None of the correlations obtained was significantly different from zero. These measures were: (1) presence or absence of primary pattern of interest;⁸ (2) agreement of expressed interest with measured interest; (3) masculinity-femininity; and (4) occupational level (this variable applies only to the men and is considered by some to be an estimate of the level of vocational aspiration). On the Darley inventory no significant associations could be found with four of the traits considered. These traits had been tentatively named “personal morale,” “social adjustment,” “family adjustment,” and “emotionality.”

That these variables are not associated with college achievement is no new finding. Harris has reviewed several hundred studies

in which tests and estimates of traits other than those determined by aptitude tests were correlated with achievement.⁹ His report shows essentially negative results. Whatever the value of these data for predicting other forms of behavior, they seem to be valueless for predicting achievement in college.

The data just mentioned were, of course, only a few of the many kinds that are available to the clinician. The question still remains: Of the wealth of data available to the interviewer, how much is used systematically in making predictions of academic success? The knowledge that all this case-study information is at hand in contrast to the usual few variables in regression equations has led many interviewers to work from a hypothesis such as the following: approximately correct average weights are applied to test and other data by clinicians—even to the measurements for which regression weights have been determined. If this hypothesis is true, then the multiple correlation coefficients between the criterion and the measures in the regression equation will not differ significantly from the multiple correlation coefficients of the clinical predictions with the same measures.

Two ways of testing this hypothesis are available. The two measures in the regression equation can be correlated with actual grade averages and also with clinical predictions. By using R^2 , the coefficient of multiple determination, we can make rough comparisons to see the *proportion* of the variance accounted for by the two measures. Another method, indicated by Bordin,¹⁰ is to determine the variance ratio, that is, the square of the standard error of estimate of one multiple R divided by the square of the standard error of estimate of the other multiple R . This gives us the *actual* variance

⁶ Stanford University: Stanford University Press, 1938.

⁷ New York: Psychological Corporation, 1941.

⁸ J. G. Darley, “A Preliminary Study of Relations between Attitude, Adjustment, and Vocational Interest Tests,” *Journal of Educational Psychology*, XXIX (1938), 467-73.

⁹ Daniel Harris, “Factors Affecting College Grades: A Review of the Literature, 1930-37,” *Psychological Bulletin*, XXXVII (1940), 125-66.

¹⁰ E. S. Bordin, “Tests of Significance Appropriate to Prediction Studies” (in preparation). This test is not entirely appropriate, for we have to assume the equivalence of the means and sigmas for both the honor-point ratios and the predictions.

accounted for in the predicted variable by the predictor variables. First we examine Table 2 to see if the multiple R values appear different.

The coefficients of correlation (R) are easily converted into coefficients of multiple determination (R^2).¹¹ For men the R^2 values are .31 and .49, respectively. Interpreting, we would say that the high-school rank and college aptitude test account for 31 per cent of the variance in honor-point ratio and for 49 per cent in the clinical predictions. For women the figures are 46 and 66 per cent, respectively. It would appear, then, that at least 18 or 20 per cent of the variance in the clinical predictions was due to "other

the F values in Table 3 are significant to the 1 per cent point. These data may be interpreted in this fashion: More of the variance in the clinical predictions can be attributed to the use of the two measures under discussion than can be attributed by these same measures to the actual achievement. These measures—the college aptitude test and rank in high-school graduating class—*have meanings for the interviewers different from what they have in terms of achievement.* Furthermore, the clinicians depend almost entirely on these two variables as seen from the high multiple R 's when clinical predictions are correlated with high-school rank and college aptitude test.

TABLE 2

MULTIPLE CORRELATION COEFFICIENTS OF CLINICAL PREDICTIONS AND OF HONOR-POINT RATIOS WITH HIGH-SCHOOL RANK AND COLLEGE APTITUDE TEST

	Men	Women
Honor-point ratios with high-school rank and aptitude test..	.56	.68
Clinical predictions with high-school rank and aptitude test..	.70	.81

factors" if the two variables had been given efficient weights by the clinicians. However, the previously submitted evidence on the nonintellective factors systematically studied shows that those "other factors" at least have no consistent relationship with the criterion. At this point we may safely say that the clinicians overestimate the contribution of the two measurement variables.

In order to show that the variance accounted for by these multiple R 's cannot be considered homogeneous, we use Snedecor's variance ratio. We find F by dividing the square of the standard error of estimate of the multiple R for clinical predictions by the square of the standard error of estimate of the multiple R for the actual honor-point ratios (see Table 3).

For the appropriate degrees of freedom,

¹¹ J. P. Guilford, *Psychometric Methods* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1936), p. 386.

TABLE 3*

SQUARED STANDARD ERRORS OF ESTIMATE FOR MULTIPLE CORRELATION COEFFICIENTS IN TABLE 2

	Men	Women
$\sigma_1 \cdot 23^2$.....	.54	.40
$\sigma_4 \cdot 23^2$.....	.13	.12
F	4.27	3.22

*Code: 1 = Honor-point ratio; 2 = High-school rank; 3 = College aptitude test; 4 = Clinical predictions.

In the light of these data it would appear that the case-study method takes behavior segments with known weights and applies other weights which are less efficient.

The data, to this point, demonstrate that, because they are no more accurate, clinical predictions cannot replace statistical predictions. This leads to the question: If the clinician cannot replace the statistical prediction, can he serve as a complement to it? This question can be answered quite easily by pooling the clinical predictions with the high-school rank and the college aptitude test. By comparing the multiple correlation coefficients with and without the clinical predictions, we can answer the question (see Table 4).

Neither of the differences shown in Table 4 is statistically significant. These results are to be expected in view of the high inter-correlations between clinical predictions

and high-school rank and college aptitude test. As reported before, the predictions of the counselors are based for the most part on the same data as go into the regression equation. We can draw the conclusion, then, that clinical predictions do not add to the validity of statistical predictions of academic achievement.

The clinical predictions were made on an eight-step scale. Some clinical workers maintain that predicting involves too much guesswork when dealing with so fine a scale. After all, they say, in practice we make predictions in terms of success or failure, not

ferent from the statistical predictions. For women the chi-square value shows a doubtful difference—favoring the actuarial predictions in regard to accuracy. (When the predictions for the men and the women are combined, the chi-square value is below the 2 per cent point of significance—again favoring the actuarial method.) The obvious conclusion is that the interviewers in this experiment could predict academic achievement no better than a simple regression

TABLE 4

MULTIPLE CORRELATION COEFFICIENTS OF HONOR-POINT RATIOS WITH HIGH-SCHOOL RANK AND APTITUDE TEST AND WITH HIGH-SCHOOL RANK, APTITUDE TEST, AND PREDICTIONS

	Men	Women
Honor-point ratios with high-school rank and aptitude test...	.56	.68
Honor-point ratios with high-school rank, aptitude test, and clinical predictions.....	.57	.73

usually in terms of degree of success or failure. We can do better, they continue, if we can make predictions on a two-point scale where success is considered to be "C" average or better and failure less than "C" average. Success would then be defined as 1.0 or honor-point ratio or higher; failure, as any value below.

The predictions of the counselors and those of the regression equation were assembled in fourfold tables, as shown in Table 5. The chi-square method was used to test the hypothesis.¹² The actuarial predictions are taken for the hypothetical or standard distribution; the clinical predictions, as the experimental distribution.

This analysis reveals that for men the clinical predictions are not significantly dif-

¹² Because of the small number of cases in some of the cells, Yates's correction has been applied (see G. W. Snedecor, *Statistical Methods* [Ames, Iowa: Collegiate Press, 1937], pp. 160-62).

TABLE 5

ANALYSIS OF CLINICAL PREDICTIONS AND ACTUARIAL PREDICTIONS IN TERMS OF SUCCESS AND FAILURE

PREDICTION	HONOR-POINT RATIO			
	Men		Women	
	Success	Failure	Success	Failure
Clinical predictions:				
Success.....	25	15	49	20
Failure.....	11	21	2	18
Statistical predictions:				
Success.....	27	12	48	14
Failure.....	10	24	3	24

$$\chi^2 = 1.25; P > .20; \chi^2 = 4.3; P < .05.$$

equation, whether the criterion was scaled in eight steps or in two.

Up to now we have considered the validity of clinical predictions as compared with actuarial predictions. Nothing has been said with regard to the reliability or consistency of the two modes of prediction. In the plan of this experiment it was possible to determine the consistency of the predictions by two methods: (a) a case-reader read each case and made predictions independently of the counselors and (b) six months later the same case-reader re-read all but his own cases and again made predictions. In this way we had determinations of reliability analogous to the "alternate form" and "test-retest" methods used in computing test reliability. Table 6 shows the reliabilities.

We must not confuse the reliability of statistical predictions as represented by such a statistic as the standard error of estimate with the consistency of establishing a prediction from a regression equation. Given the equation and the values of the predictor variables, the consistency of such predictions would be represented by a coefficient of unity. That is to say, the regression equation will always yield the same result for a given set of scores. This is not so in the case of clinical predictions where the correlation of one case-reader with himself is only .78, and of counselors with case-readers, .68.

TABLE 6

RELIABILITY COEFFICIENTS OF COUNSELORS' PREDICTIONS WITH CASE-READER'S PREDICTIONS AND CASE-READER'S PREDICTIONS WITH SECOND PREDICTIONS

	Reliability Coefficient
All counselors with case-reader	.68
Counselor A.....	.64
Counselor B.....	.82
Counselor C.....	.88
Counselor D.....	.72
Counselor E.....	.68
Case-reader with self.....	.78

From the point of view of efficiency in the practical situation where predictions serve as the basis for employment or college admissions, the regression equation is to be preferred. The margin of error is known for the regression equation ($S.E._{est.}$); for clinical predictions the margin of error varies from one interviewer to another, and this error is added to that which is inherent in the data used. In terms of consistency of prediction, then, the actuarial is to be preferred to the clinical method.

None of the previous evidence provides detailed information with regard to the nature of errors committed by the clinicians in making predictions. To determine in detail the causes for clinical predictions being less accurate is beyond the scope of the present paper. The experimental design does allow, however, for comparisons to be made of two important statistics, namely, the mean and the variance. In order to point

the way to better predictions, we should know, for example, whether interviewers overestimate or underestimate in their predictions and whether their predictions follow the same dispersion as the criterion.

The questions to be answered are two: "Are the means of the clinical predictions underestimations or overestimations of the actual honor-point ratios?" and "Are the means of the actuarial predictions underestimations or overestimations?" (see Tables 7 and 8).

TABLE 7

MEANS OF CLINICAL PREDICTIONS AND HONOR-POINT RATIOS AND CRITICAL RATIOS FOR DIFFERENCES BETWEEN MEANS

	Men	Women
Clinical predictions.....	1.24	1.50
Honor-point ratios.....	.92	1.19
Differences.....	.32	.31
Critical ratios.....	3.15	4.57

TABLE 8

MEANS OF STATISTICAL PREDICTIONS AND HONOR-POINT RATIOS AND CRITICAL RATIOS OF DIFFERENCES BETWEEN MEANS

	Men	Women
Statistical predictions.....	1.04	1.17
Honor-point ratios.....	.92	1.19
Differences.....	.12	.02
Critical ratios.....	1.35	.91

As seen in Table 7, the interviewers overestimate the college achievement of the group studied. The critical ratios, determined by Lindquist's formula,¹³ which takes into account the relationship between variables, show the differences to be significant. The means of the statistical predictions as shown in Table 8 reveal that they are not significantly different from the criterion.¹⁴

$$^{13} \text{ C.R.} = \frac{M_1 - M_2}{\sqrt{\frac{SD_1^2}{N_1} + \frac{SD_2^2}{N_2} - 2r(SD_{m_1})(SD_{m_2})}}$$

¹⁴ For some suggestions as to the reason for the overestimations on the part of the interviewers, the reader is referred to the writer's Ph.D. thesis, on file

We may conclude, then, that, on the average, clinical interviewers overestimate the grades their clients will receive.

One more question: "Are the dispersions of the clinical predictions and of the statistical predictions less than the dispersions of the honor-point ratios?" This question is stimulated by the claim of some advocates of the case-study method of prediction that the regression equation demonstrates the well-known phenomenon of statistical regression—predictions are therefore bunched too close to the mean. The case-study method can allow for this and make predictions which follow the distribution curve of the criterion. If we can show that the variance of the clinical predictions is close to the variance of the criterion, then the case-study method has a remarkably unique property. We know beforehand that the distribution of predictions from the regression equation will not be the same as the distribution of the criterion, although its form will be similar (see Table 9).

For degrees of freedom ($N - 1$), 72, 72, and 88, 88, respectively, for men and women, the F values are significant to the 1 per cent point. The distributions of both the statistical and the clinical predictions are significantly different, therefore, from the distribution of the honor-point ratios.¹⁵

That decreased variance is the chief disadvantage of the regression equation was pointed out long ago by Hull,¹⁶ and the reasons for this phenomenon are well known. The reasons for the decreased variance in the clinical predictions are not so well known. One suggestion is that the interviewers wanted to "play safe." The closer

to the mean, the safer the prediction. As a matter of fact, the interviewers used the uppermost two intervals only a few times; the lowest two, hardly at all. Hanks found similar results in studying prediction of personality test scores from case material.¹⁷ He interpreted the decreased variance to be "a feeling of caution" on the part of the judges.

TABLE 9

STANDARD DEVIATIONS OF CLINICAL PREDICTIONS, STATISTICAL PREDICTIONS, AND HONOR-POINT RATIOS, WITH VARIANCE RATIOS

	Men	Women
Clinical predictions . . . . .	.50	.60
Honor-point ratios . . . . .	.89	.86
Variance ratio (F)	3.13	2.05
Statistical predictions . . . . .	.42	.50
Honor-point ratios . . . . .	.89	.86
Variance ratio (F)	4.49	2.96

SUMMARY OF RESULTS

1. Many well-known social scientists maintain, expressly or by implication, that the case-study method of prediction is superior to the actuarial method. Evidence is submitted in this study which shows that clinical predictions of academic achievement, made on an eight-step scale, are not more accurate than statistical predictions.

2. Factors such as interest, inferred level of aspiration, and personality traits as measured in this experiment appear not to be related to achievement in college. Furthermore, clinical interviewers do not use these measures systematically, so that actually they give little or no weight to them in making predictions.

3. In formulating predictions, counselors rely for the most part on rank in high-school graduating class and college aptitude test results—the same variables in the regression equation—although many different kinds of data are available.

¹⁷ L. M. Hanks, Jr., "Prediction from Case Material to Personality Test Data: A Methodological Study of Types," *Archives of Psychology*, 1936, No. 207, p. 18.

in the library of Ohio State University, "The Relative Accuracy of Clinical and Statistical Predictions of Academic Success" (1941), pp. 100-101.

¹⁵ Variance ratios were computed between clinical predictions and statistical predictions. For men the F value did not fall within the 5 per cent point; for women the clinical predictions had a slightly higher variance—the F value falling just within the 5 per cent point.

¹⁶ C. L. Hull, *Aptitude Testing* (New York: World Book Co., 1928), pp. 470-71.

4. Case-study predictions—at least on the grounds of efficiency—should not be substituted for actuarial predictions. As a complement to the actuarial predictions, the clinical predictions add nothing.

5. When cast in the form of success-failure instead of the eight-interval scale, clinical predictions are shown to be no more valid than the more easily obtained statistical predictions.

6. The reliability of clinical predictions varies from .64 to .88 (correlation between interviewer and case-reader). Predictions made by the same case-reader from two readings of the same cases correlated to .78.

7. Clinical predictions overestimate the criterion by about a third of a letter-grade; the differences are statistically reliable. Statistical predictions do not overestimate the criterion by any significant amount.

8. As expected, the variance of the predictions made by statistical methods is significantly less than the variance of the criterion (a result of the phenomenon of statistical regression). The variance of the predictions made by the case-study method is likewise significantly less than the variance of the criterion.

Any jury sitting in judgment on the case of the clinical versus the actuarial methods must on the basis of efficiency and economy declare overwhelmingly in favor of the statistical method for predicting academic achievement. Even though the small differences which uniformly favor the actuarial method are not statistically reliable, the factor of time and efficiency will decide in favor of the regression equation with its known margin of error.

DISCUSSION AND IMPLICATIONS

What are the implications of the findings as they relate to the more specific problem of prediction in academic achievement? Since prediction serves as an aid to the control of events, the results of prediction studies can be utilized in the selection and distribution procedures within institutions of higher learning. Admissions officers can decide on the basis of prediction tables derived

from regression equations at what level of ability to accept students. Some have argued that the clinical interview must supplement the test procedures so that so-called "intangible" factors which go into achievement may be appropriately weighted. From the evidence of this study, this clinical step is unnecessary. Predictions of college grades can be made with as much accuracy by the simple device of placing a straight-edge on an alignment chart. In short, a competent statistical clerk can make predictions as well as a highly trained clinical worker.

Can we generalize and say that this set of procedures can be used in industrial selection as well? Not only on the basis of data presented here but also because of the logic of prediction¹⁸ is the answer in the affirmative. Some years ago Viteles submitted arguments against the actuarial approach,¹⁹ which were logically controverted by Freyd.²⁰ Notwithstanding, the so-called "clinical" interpretations of objective measurement have continued unchecked. If the trained psychologist, sociologist, vocational counselor, or case-worker can tell any better than a test whether a man is fit for a particular job, he should make explicit the factors upon which he disregards the objective measurements and then submit his predictions to experimental validation. Unless checked by statistical studies, the case-study method in the social sciences will become intellectually bankrupt.

May we go further and declare that statistical procedures shall be substituted for clinical procedures in the diagnosis and treatment of all behavior disorders? If we interpret the statistical method more broadly than the administration of mental tests, then we can again answer in the affirmative. As a matter of fact, Wittman has presented evidence which fully supports this proposi-

¹⁸ Theodore R. Sarbin, "The Logic of Prediction in Psychology" (in preparation).

¹⁹ *Op. cit.*

²⁰ M. Freyd, "The Statistical Viewpoint in Vocational Selection," *Journal of Applied Psychology*, IX (1925), 349-56.

tion.²¹ She compared the prognoses of patients in a mental hospital made by attending psychiatrists with prognoses made from a well-constructed rating scale. The results showed the statistical predictions to be superior to the "intuitive" judgments of the psychiatrists.

Realistic clinicians and case-workers know that their predictions are made on the basis of an informal statistical method. Those who hold that the case-study method can do more than the statistical method, even in the prediction of human behavior problems, must submit evidence. The *onus probandis* seems to fall upon those who advocate the individual mode of prediction.

A word is in order here relevant to the clinical method as used in this study. Predictions were made on the basis of the tests and other written data together with information gathered in the face-to-face interview. The author would agree with any critic who says that more interviewing would probably produce better predictions. The better predictions, however, would be made on the basis of the frequency interpretation of probability—the same basis upon which the regression equation is built. As the number of clinical periods is increased, the number of observations is likewise increased. Similar observations are ordered to a class, and the interviewer then makes a statistical prediction on the basis of many instances. It is conceivable that the clinician might discover certain traits which are not apparent from one interview. But he can only test the adequacy of his deductions by submitting his generalizations to test—by predicting future behavior and by comparing his predictions with events as they occur.

If advocates of the case study can identify traits, dispositions, attitudes, or motivations, then let these be put in the form of a hypothesis and tested. If predictions from

the hypothesis are shown to correspond to events, then the traits identified can be included with other measures in a regression equation. This is considered by the author to be one of the chief functions of the clinician: the formulating of hypotheses to be tested by him or by others in the field or in the laboratory. Another important function is that of serving as an agent of treatment. By the same statistical method we can predict which treatment method is most appropriate for a given symptom complex.²² Where the treatment involves a second person, such as play therapy, relationship therapy, group therapy, etc., the interviewer has a definite role. In diagnosis, however, his role is a secondary one. Except as he gathers data to include in the formal or informal regression equation, his diagnoses can be made from experience tables. If such an item as "Does your father beat your mother?" were found to have predictive value, then the clinician would serve to ask the question and to record the answer. The weight it would have in the regression equation, however, would be determined by considerations other than what the clinician intuitively thought the weight should be. This conclusion follows from evidence presented elsewhere²³ which demonstrates that a diagnosis without a future referent has no utility so far as treatment or control is concerned. As soon as a diagnosis is made meaningful, it takes the form—implicitly or explicitly—of a prediction. As shown by Reichenbach, predictions are expressed as probability statements.²⁴ Only after statistical manipulations have taken place, either informally, as in the case of generalizing from clinical experience, or formally, as in the case of regression equations, can we derive such a probability statement.

The implications of these paragraphs for

²¹ Mary Phyllis Wittman, "A Scale for Measuring Prognosis in Schizophrenic Patients," *Elgin Papers*, IV (1941), 20-33; "Evaluation of Prognosis in the Functional Psychoses," *Psychological Bulletin*, XXX-VIII (1941), 535-36.

²² Theodore R. Sarbin, "Clinical Psychology—Art or Science," *Psychometrika*, VI (1941), 391-400.

²³ Sarbin, "The Logic of Prediction in Psychology."

²⁴ Hans Reichenbach, *Experience and Prediction* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1938).

psychologists and other social scientists may be summarized:

1. Statistical predictions, being more easily determined and at least as accurate, are to be preferred to predictions made by the clinical method.
2. If clinical predictions can be shown to be more valid, the data which are used by the clinician should be made explicit, so that they may be quantified and included in prediction tables.
3. One of the chief tasks of the clinician is to formulate hypotheses to be tested by experimental methods.
4. Another task is that of serving as an agent of treatment.
5. Diagnosis is a secondary function in that predictive diagnoses are more readily made by the actuarial method; the clinician, however, may collect data called for by his formal or crude equations.

For the training of case-workers and clinicians, this study has an important contribu-

tion. If the proposition is accepted that the diagnostic function belongs appropriately to the statistician (since meaningful diagnoses are predictions of future behavior), then the clinician-in-training or apprentice case-worker will spend more of his training time in two activities: (a) learning from empirical studies which treatment devices are appropriate to certain symptom complexes and (b) learning how to administer the various types of therapy. In addition, he must learn how as an interviewer he can be a diagnostic tool. But the diagnosis itself should be made from experience tables, regression equations, or similar mathematical aids.²⁵

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²⁵ Paul Wallin discusses the general problem of this paper and provides many valuable research suggestions in his chapter on "Case Study Methods," in Paul Horst *et al.*, *The Prediction of Personal Adjustment* (New York: Social Science Research Council, 1941).

IN MEMORIAM

FRANZ BOAS

FAY-COOPER COLE

On December 21, 1942, passed the man who more than any other has dominated and influenced American anthropology in the past half-century. A brief appraisal of his career must be superficial, for the mere recital of his investigations and major articles would require several pages.

Born and educated in Germany, Dr. Boas took his Ph.D. degree at Kiel in 1881. His special training was in physics, mathematics, and geography. Thus he brought to his life-work the methodology of the exact sciences, combined with an interest in man in his relation to his environment. A trip to Baffin Land in 1883-84, followed by two years as assistant in the Royal Museum in Berlin, drew him into anthropology; but in the new discipline he never gave up the methods of the laboratory.

His museum work reflected his general attitude toward all elements of human culture. Synoptic collections were considered by him to give false impressions, since this type of exhibit implied that materials similar in appearance were similar in meaning. To understand an object, one must study it in its native setting, and its relationship to all other elements in that culture must be sought. The same was true, he held, for clan, totemism, and myth.

Intensive studies impressed him with the complexity of cultural phenomena, and he professed an interest in learning how they came into being. He sought evidence of relationship between mythologies, languages, and cultural elements but opposed "ill-substantiated guesses."

Despite his insistence on his interest in history, he seems to have been more concerned with historic relations than with the writing of history. The dynamics of culture and culture processes were his chief concern, but he had little faith in the discovery of laws, and he looked askance at statistics as a safe guide in ethnographic inquiry.

In his linguistic studies he collected extensive texts covering all phases of life and from all levels of society. These were analyzed and described and used both for historic research and for deeper insight into the mentality of the aboriginal group. In these studies he established genetic relationships between languages but again stopped short of historical reconstructions.

His contributions to physical anthropology were primarily concerned with laws of growth and stability of physical types rather than the description of peoples and races.

Always he brought his wide knowledge of the peoples of the world into the struggle for tolerance and better understanding. He denied racial purity and showed the falsity of the claims for racial superiority. He was a member of the National Academy and was given the highest honor obtainable in American science when he was elected president of the American Association for the Advancement of Science. In his passing, American anthropology loses a great leader, and those of us who had the privilege of studying with him have lost a great friend and teacher.

CHICAGO

LETTER TO THE EDITOR

A CRITIQUE OF A CRITIQUE: FURTHER COMMENT ON S. C. DODD'S *DIMENSIONS OF SOCIETY*¹

It is the privilege of a critic to express his personal reaction to the work under review. Another may disagree, but there is hardly a subject for argument unless one is striving to convert the reviewer. To the extent, however, that objective grounds are assigned as the basis of judgment, these grounds, as fact and logic, are subject to the same type of scrutiny as any other literary or scientific pronouncement. From this point of view I consider the recent "Critique of Dodd's *Dimensions of Society*," by Ethel Shanas.²

It is necessary first to point out an apparently fundamental misunderstanding on the part of the critic of the book reviewed. A common error of book-reviewing is to criticize the author for writing the book he did instead of some other book. Miss Shanas makes this error. It was to be expected that a work of such unconventional content as Dodd's *Dimensions* would run afoul of this academic malpractice, although Dodd is explicit (see especially pp. 8-11 of the *Dimensions*) that his purpose is to set forth a methodological and classificatory system, not to survey empirical findings. But that he has not done the latter is the chief count on which the critic belabors the volume. She says: "S-theory definitions would seem to be useless to the sociologist in studying human behavior" (p. 215), and "no amount of improvement, however, in the reliability of these nonsense syllables would increase the *amount of information* [italics mine] which such syllables give about any particular problem" (pp. 216-17).

It is impossible to meet this type of criticism, for Dodd has no intention of supplying the information sought by the critic on the "particu-

lar problems" in which she is personally interested. Dimensional sociology³ deals only with recorded data. Dodd works on the level of data, not phenomena, and he expressly disclaims major contribution to the technique of observation. He is concerned exclusively with the next level of abstraction—that of summarizing and manipulating recorded data for the purpose of establishing conceptual relations among them of the type regarded as scientific. This is the level of semiotics, the contributions of which to the generalization and unification of logical form have been so vast in the works of Boole, Peano, Whitehead, Russell, Schroeder, Frege, Peirce, and Carnap. The failure to keep in mind the basic nature of Dodd's task crops up repeatedly and vitiates much of the reviewer's specific criticism.⁴

Allied with this misunderstanding is Shanas' complaint that "it [S-theory] tells us neither how to select the salient characteristics of a situation nor how to analyze or understand them" (p. 227). This is a misconception of the function of theory in the process of inquiry. All specified recorded characteristics in the situation are selected *as recorded*. The analyst has no discretion here. Selection is made at the earlier stage when the researcher decides what to investigate and what indices of it to collect and record. That is, the investigator—not a theory—must decide what to investigate. That which is salient is relative to what the investigator desires (a value judgment) to predict and con-

³ Since the appearance of the *Dimensions*, Dodd generally has adopted the term "dimensional sociology" in place of the expression "S-theory." Here I retain in most instances the older term since the Shanas review uses it exclusively.

⁴ Note the following statement by Dodd of his own conception of his undertaking: "The S-theory, which is proposed in this volume, is an internally consistent organization of about a dozen symbols for expressing in generalized form many of the concepts of sociology, for expressing a rigorous classification of all quantitative sociological facts by means of operationally related statistical indices, and for increasing the precision of whatever quantitative generalizations can be made with our current all-too-inadequate data" (p. 8).

¹ Henry Ozanne has worked with Professor Dodd on the latter's forthcoming book, *Systematic Sociology*, and on a paper, "A Parsimonious Symbolism Adapted to the Social Sciences," available shortly. Mr. Ozanne and Dr. Dodd conferred personally on this rejoinder before Dr. Dodd sailed for Syria.

² This *Journal*, September, 1942.

trol. If this choice is stated explicitly, then the "salient" is all the indices in proportion to the correlation they afford, and the extent of these correlations specifies the "salient" under the conditions studied.

THE ROLE OF SYMBOLS

More important, perhaps, is Shanas' misunderstanding of the role of symbolic systems in science. She impugns Dodd's symbols with such epithets as "arbitrary." Here she ignores the immense inductive base, thousands of hours of testing, thousands of sets of data examined, fitted with tentative symbols and refitted dozens of times until the symbolic structure emerges as closely fitted to published data as the 325 *S*-situations in Dodd's volume give evidence. But arbitrariness is not a pertinent criticism of any symbolic system. All symbols and all classification may be considered arbitrary. The important question about any symbol is the verifiable one of its reliability, validity, and utility.

An especially revealing statement by Shanas in this connection is her remark that "the use of symbolism cannot clarify confusion." How except by symbols can any confusion be clarified? What she probably is expressing is her dislike of algebraic symbols replacing verbal ones. Better symbols are the only possible way of improving communication. Whether or not Dodd's symbols are better must be determined by the criteria of reliability, validity, and utility. Rather than paying direct attention to such criteria, however, she prefers to accuse Dodd of adding more layers of symbolism "through which the careful student must plough to get to the fundamental concepts" (p. 227). But that is precisely the difficulty with the shifting denotata of most current concepts; one must plough through author after author for a common denominator which she calls the "fundamental concept." To whom is it fundamental? How explicitly will sociologists agree on the term and its denotata? This is precisely the problem which has given rise to the Committee on Conceptual Integration of the American Sociological Society. One of Dodd's major contributions lies here in this field of definition construction. He does provide a largely standardized technique of definition which—claiming nothing in advance for its fruitfulness—can be tested by the accredited methods of science.⁵

⁵ See S. C. Dodd, "Operational Definitions Operationally Defined," this *Journal*, January, 1943.

Since the principal part of the critique in question is directed at an examination of Dodd's claims that his system of classification conforms to a high degree with the criteria of inclusiveness, reliability, precision, parsimony, and fruitfulness, I shall now consider Shanas' comments on these points.

INCLUSIVENESS

Although Shanas purports to disagree with Dodd as to his claim for the inclusiveness of *S*-theory, actually she admits this claim in full! She says: "The first presumed merit of the *S*-theory—that of inclusiveness—is purely a matter of logical definition" (p. 216). What other kind of inclusiveness is there except that of logical definition? Even a physical classification of potatoes into bins by size requires a screen mesh *defining* the size classes. All inclusive classifying requires defining the classes.

But the reviewer objects to the residual-class concept. Here, however, she merely shows that she is unfamiliar with a stock in trade of all logicians. Defining by the residual class, the logical complement as one of the subclasses insures logical inclusiveness. Whether the subclasses and the residual class are useful is another issue—that of utility, not inclusiveness. Dodd's *I*, the logical complement class for the class (*TULUP*), is logically inclusive, and, incidentally, this is more than is provided by any other classificatory system in the field of sociology. In Tarski's notation,⁶ *I* is definable as $I = (TULUP)$ or $I = \sim(TULUP)$.

Furthermore, it is incorrect to dub *I* a mere residual class. *I* in Dodd's system must have specificity; i.e., it must be subclassified where and to the extent needed.

RELIABILITY

Shanas contends that the evidence for the reliability of *S*-theory is "insignificant" (p. 216). This is mere assertion in the face of Dodd's facts from controlled-experiment measuring and finding high reliability. Let doubters perform the experiment themselves.

The reviewer implies that Dodd's experimenters did not work independently. I quote Dodd in direct rebuttal:

"This is simply untrue. Re-read the stated conditions of the reliability experiment in the *Dimensions*. The critic implies that in a legiti-

⁶ Alfred Tarski, *Introduction to Logic* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1941).

mate test of reliability those testing a classification are not first to be informed of the rules governing the classification. This is clearly preposterous. How can reliable use of any scientific technic be taught otherwise? One of my experimenters never studied under me, but merely read the *Dimensions of Society* manuscript."

Shanas' use here of such words as "indoctrination" and "cultish" are slander but not criticism. The rules and procedures of analysis must be specified and learned for the qualitative analysis of chemistry or for any other scientific operation. The only conclusion possible from this criticism is that the critic simply does not know the meaning of reliability in science. And she fails wholly to note that the reliability evidence Dodd does provide is much more than is provided by any other author of a systematic or any other text of sociology. And—contradicting Shanas directly—this measurement of the reliability of a set of concepts is new and is an advance in that respect over other social science writing to date. Can Shanas cite another example of it—not for a single test, such as Chapin's sociometric scale (which is one concept), but for a set or system of concepts?

In her final treatment of the issue of reliability Shanas says: "It is possible to invent a logical scheme of nonsense syllables with full instruction as to their use which could be demonstrated as reliable by Dodd's method" (p. 216). Here, as she did with the issue of inclusiveness, she admits the reliability point and shifts to the question of "informativeness." Twice so far has she confused the problem by allegedly attacking one issue but actually discussing a different one.

PRECISION

Shanas' attack here is on Dodd's I sector, and she contends that this concept ignores differences in characteristics. She fails to understand that S -theory requires the explicit recording of all specified elements in the situation. S -theory records the current degree of precision of any data as:

1. Purely qualitative = I^0
2. An all-or-none quantity (i.e., presence or absence of a quality) = ${}^{00}I$
3. An ordinal quantity = iI
4. A cardinal quantity = ${}_iI$

This notation actually prevents the all too common confusion caused by mixing together

data of varying degrees of precision. S -theory provides rules for the proper combining of data of varying precision in the same equation and so makes possible the solution for either qualitative or quantitative unknowns. S -notation contributes precision to sociological data in five ways:

1. S -formulas explicitly state the degree of precision of the symbolized data by scripts: $I^0, {}^{00}I, {}^iI, {}_iI$.

2. S -formulas explicitly state the limits within which the situation holds by means of the case script: ${}^{02}I$.

3. S -formulas provide for infinite discrimination of qualitative differences by means of the class script, $I^0_{j:k; \dots z}$, thus affording subclassification to any number of levels and to any desired fineness.

4. S -formulas state the qualitative conditions under which the situation holds (as fully recorded by the investigator) by means of qualitative factors which qualify the data recorded: I^0_i, I^0_j, \dots .

5. The interrelation matrices defining the sociological group, as well as other matrices, contribute the same sort of precision that correlation matrices (scatter diagrams) and their summarizing coefficients contribute to the study of the relations of characteristics. Just as correlation relates with precision two characteristics in one population (I^2P^2), so the interrelation matrix and indices relate with precision two sets of people (or one set of persons with each other) in respect to one interrelating characteristic at a time (I^1P^2).⁷

As to the criticism that Dodd's concept of I^0 does violence to qualitative discrimination because of its equal weighting of all qualitative elements, S -notation, rather, makes explicit the implicit weightings that are always present in merely asserting more than one quality or combination of them in a pattern. Equal weighting is an approximation, a temporary convenience, until more accurate weighting by some explicit criterion is developed. Even now this is much better than the hidden and variable weighting implicit in words, which are almost always somewhat ambiguous.

To the reviewer's complaint about the apparent dissimilarity of S -situations involving the same quantic number, it may be answered

⁷ Professor Read Bain in a forthcoming rejoinder to some critics of Dodd will deal with some of the objections that have been raised to the mathematical aspects of S -theory.

that operational similarity with variable content is often more useful for scientific prediction than similar content. The concept of physical energy includes all contents (electric, thermal, mechanical, etc.) under one operational formula: $E = \frac{1}{2}mv^2$. Similarly, Dodd's concept of sociological force groups all contents (economic, political, educational, etc.) under one operational formula, $F = P;I;T^{-2}$, generalizing "that which accelerates change in a given population in a given time a given amount." When it is so defined, investigators are more likely to agree on the nature and amount of the force in a given situation and can correlate it with other data more exactly and then can predict it within the regression equation limits.

It must be insisted, further, that the descripts provide a flexible classification scheme to as many sublevels of classes as desired, expanding the quantic classification. These subclasses, $I_{j:k:l:m:n:p;q:r:s;t;u:v:w;x;y;z}$, are the qualitative equivalent of the number of decimal places to which a quantitative finding may be determined. Hence S-notation adds precision by this device of "qualitative decimating," or qualitative fineness of discrimination.

But, says Shanas, "'Love' is no better understood by treating it as a peak on an inter-relation surface" (p. 221). This may be true for her personal aesthetic purpose, but the requirements of science are not satisfied by mere personal understanding; the "understanding" must be communicable. The matrix does this. It measures the intensity of "love" in a given instance, and its relative intensity compared with other pair-relations. The reviewer believes it is doubtful that the matrix dispenses with subjectivity, but here again Dodd has offered experiments proving low degree of subjectivity. Of course, the matrix is only one tool; the indices entered in its cells are another. The finished product, the measurement of the inter-relations of people, may suffer in proportion as either is inadequate. She argues that the matrix makes no contribution to precision because more adequate indices are needed. This is the all-or-none fallacy. Dodd also urged better indices (data); but meanwhile indices of varying excellence are available and to that extent S-notation is useful. This is true of all science—better data are desired but theory construction and methodological techniques develop together with better data and do not wait on perfect data.

PARSIMONY

Shanas does not refute Dodd on this issue, and indeed she hardly discusses the issue. She shifts to the question of inclusiveness and argues that S-theory is so broad that it can be used to study anything (p. 225). Right. This is almost exactly Dodd's view.

FRUITFULNESS

This is the main issue for dimensional sociology or for any other theory; will it improve prediction and control? Here the assertions of neither Dodd nor Shanas count unless evidence is presented. But Dodd does take the reasonable position that any system of concepts or any symbolism in science has a utility simply to the extent that it is inclusive, reliable, parsimonious, and precise. But this is only a partial criterion of utility. Fruitful use by many sociologists in many studies over a fair period of time is the fuller test of utility. Dimensional sociology cannot be so appraised as yet, as Dodd pointed out in the *Dimensions*.

In addition to the claims of fruitfulness as listed in Dodd's volume, Dodd has seen developing indications of increasing fruitfulness of his system since the publication of the *Dimensions*, especially in two important respects.

First is the discovery that S-notation is in part a symbolic logic. During the summer of 1942 Dodd translated Tarski's work—formulas, exercises, laws, definitions—into S-notation and proved virtual equivalence. This means that in S-notation one can prove theorems and derive new terms and relations for sociological material with the same rigor and within the same limits that symbolic logic can do when properly applied to other contents.⁸

Second is Dodd's discovery that S-notation and rules are in part a form of matrix algebra. This means that S-equations are no longer to be considered (as Dodd said in the *Dimensions*) simply descriptive. They promise to become calculative as well, enabling the solution for unknowns, subject to the rules of this branch of mathematics.

Along this line Dodd already has tested the

⁸ Dodd is working out the implications of S-notation for symbolic logic and for semiotics generally in a lengthy paper, "A Parsimonious Symbolism Adapted to the Social Sciences." The writer has this manuscript, and in final form it will be presented to the symbolic logicians before it is offered to the sociologists.

integration of *S*-theory with statistics by translating the 434 formulas in Dunlap and Kurtz's *Handbook of Statistical Monographs, Tables and Formulas* into *S*-notation. One result of this labor was the induction of a master-formula which subsumes as special cases 66 per cent of those 434 formulas and includes 30 per cent more as combinations of the master-formula. This striking unification and ordering of statistical formulas and theory are a significant fruit of *S*-theory. One subcase of the master-formula (which Dodd terms the "*Z*₃ type") is itself a master-formula for all kinds of correlation—rectilinear, curvilinear, fourfold and contingency, biserial and ranks, and includes all logical products and all inclusive implication in symbolic logic as special cases when exponents are zero instead of unity. A paper reporting this work is available in manuscript.

The kind of misconception which characterizes the whole Shanas review can be pointed up best, perhaps, by reference to her closing paragraphs. She objects that for Dodd operational definition involves physical operations and attempts to show that this is not really Bridgman's position. By her expression "physical operation" what can she mean? Is it the type involved in moving a stone, or in the multiplication of 6×10 ? No illumination is shed by dubbing an operation physical, mental, or spiritual. For Dodd, as for any operationalist, operational definition means simply a specified human procedure using specified materials (symbolic or molar), which procedure is reliable in that it can be demonstrated to give like results when repeated. Measuring the reliability of the opera-

tion determines its value for scientific methodology. Bridgman's statement of being able to form judgments of validity apart from "what my fellows say" is certainly acceptable for individual aesthetic judgments; but, as Bridgman would be the first to admit, if the judgment does not agree with those of other competent scientists, then it is not a scientific fact, but an opinion or hypothesis.

In summary, Shanas misconceives the aim and purpose of dimensional sociology in failing to distinguish the levels of semiotic and empirical findings. Apparently innocent not only of the extensive literature of the logic of science, but even of the methodological soundings in her own field, she criticizes Dodd's system for its failure to perform a service never intended. Thereupon she specifies her criticism in terms not even definitionally acceptable, conceding the claims of the inclusiveness and the reliability of *S*-theory while apparently challenging them. Out of such sustained confusion it is no wonder that she is unable to grant even the patent conveniences of Dodd's notation, let alone appreciate the possibilities of its conceptual resources. The reader may choose between Shanas' subjectivist position of personal preference and Dodd's tightly developed, logically perfected system as to which is the more promising means for the achievement of that task in which all sociologists are engaged—the methodical conversion of their discipline from an art to a science.

HENRY OZANNE

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REJOINDER

It is extremely unfortunate that academic training seems to be of no assistance in overcoming a common weakness of mankind—the tendency to notice only what one wants to notice of what one has seen or done or read. Mr. Ozanne's brilliantly written "Critique of a Critique" might serve as an example of this type of behavior. In replying to Mr. Ozanne the writer is at a disadvantage, because, unlike Mr. Ozanne, the writer does not know what was in Dodd's mind when he wrote *Dimensions of Society*—the writer can judge only by what Dodd said in that volume.

Ozanne's first and major point is that the

present writer as reviewer¹ unfairly criticized the presentation of the *S*-theory as made in *Dimensions of Society*. Ozanne states that Dodd was setting up a theory and not attempting to indicate its usages and that the reviewer, in dealing with *Dimensions of Society*, discussed not only the theory but also whether work organized around this theory could make any contribution to the understanding of human behavior. The reviewer's answer to this point can come only from *Dimensions of Society* itself. Dodd did set up a theory, but he devoted hun-

¹ This *Journal*, XLVII, September, 1942.

dreds of pages to showing how it might be used in the study of specific situations, and, indeed, he called "for generations of graduate students" to carry on work to secure data which would make it possible to extend further his theoretical framework.² The writer felt that, before "thousands of investigators" began devoting "scores of years"³ to securing the data which would make the formulas of the *S*-theory useful, an appraisal of this theory should be made. Such an appraisal would have to include a careful study of the hundreds of illustrative situations which Dodd claimed showed the usefulness of his theory.

It is to this type of appraisal that Mr. Ozanne objects. He calls it "academic malpractice." Yet it would seem that the reasons for this approach were made abundantly clear in the critique under discussion where the writer said:

At the present time the theory is solely a definitional scheme, lacking the data which will make it meaningful. . . . The possible merits of this theory, however, should be carefully considered before starting "thousands of able, well-trained and well-supported researchers," on "the decades of work" necessary to secure the precise data which will make application of the theory possible.⁴

The present writer is not responsible, Mr. Ozanne to the contrary, for the fact that in *Dimensions of Society* Dodd alternated between the roles of theorist, empirical investigator, and prophet and consequently forced his critics into what Mr. Ozanne would consider inconsistent levels of discussion.

The writer would agree with Mr. Ozanne that all symbols are arbitrary and that what is important is the reliability, validity, and utility of symbols. It is this point of view which made the writer state that "the *S*-theory is inclusive by definition, reliable by definition, precise by definition, and parsimonious by definition"⁵ and which then enabled her to proceed to criticize Dodd's scheme on the ground that it lacked utility.

With the exception of the two points discussed above, Mr. Ozanne's paper follows closely the divisions which the writer used in dis-

cussing *Dimensions of Society*, and, in this rejoinder, for convenience one may continue to use these same categories. Much of what will be said here must necessarily be brief, and the interested reader is referred to the original critique for a full statement of the writer's position.

INCLUSIVENESS

The section on inclusiveness is interesting in that Mr. Ozanne first sets up two "straw men" and then proceeds to knock them down. Nowhere in the critique under discussion does the writer, as Mr. Ozanne states, disagree with the inclusiveness of Dodd's scheme as is evidenced by the second sentence of the section on inclusiveness of the original critique—"The four sectors of the *S*-theory cannot be anything but inclusive. . . ."⁶ Similarly, Mr. Ozanne, in an obvious misreading of the reviewer's statement on inclusiveness, states that the reviewer objects to the use of the residual class. No such objection appears in the section on inclusiveness. Later in the critique some analysis is made of the *merits* of this particular residual class, and it is to this discussion that Mr. Ozanne should have directed his attention.

RELIABILITY

In the discussion of reliability Mr. Ozanne indicates that, in addition to knowing what Dodd meant aside from what Dodd wrote, he also has the ability to know what the reviewer meant apart from what appeared in print. This is an interesting skill but can add nothing to the discussion in question. To repeat, the writer felt that the evidence on reliability was trivial and the method for determining such reliability was akin to indoctrination. After some discussion the writer went on to say: "Whether such arbitrarily achieved reliability has any merit is, however, another question."⁷

This is the introduction to "the confusion of the problem," about which Mr. Ozanne speaks. If there is a clearer way of indicating that one is going to deal with another aspect of a general discussion than by describing that aspect as "another question," the logicians have not yet demonstrated it. And, of course, what is important in this whole scheme is not that it is reliable by any test or series of tests but whether it enables one more adequately to explain and understand some particular problem or series of problems. All the astronomers who thought the

² Stuart Carter Dodd, *Dimensions of Society* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1942), p. 919.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 215.

⁴ Shanias, *op. cit.*, p. 226. The two quoted phrases are from *Dimensions of Society*, p. 262.

⁵ Shanias, *op. cit.*, p. 227.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 216.

⁷ *Ibid.*

earth was flat verified one another's theories by the same methods Dodd suggests our using. Yet none of their agreement succeeded in making the earth flat.

PRECISION

The treatment of precision offered by Ozanne is in large part simply a repetition of Dodd's arguments which were answered by the writer in the critique under discussion. Repetition is not refutation, particularly when the argument includes several of Dodd's contradictions. Ozanne states that the "*S*-theory contributes precision to sociological data." This is, of course, an error, for, as Dodd himself says, "the symbols can be no better than the data they symbolize."⁸ If this is true, the vaunted precision of the *S*-theory formulas is dependent upon the data employed in the formulas; and, as Dodd himself has stated many times, as yet almost no precise data are available for application in the *S*-theory.

To say, as Mr. Ozanne does, that the *S*-theory with no data is preferable to other theoretical approaches because the *S*-theory is more precise is to ask us to accept the *S*-theory on faith. The symbols themselves may be precise by definition, but without data they are meaningless.

Sometimes, if one is to judge from *Dimensions of Society*, even with data the symbols are meaningless. For example, the following *S*-formula is used by Dodd to describe a chart showing various anthropoid skulls: $S = L_1^2 \cdot L_1$. Of his notation he says:

In analyzing a situation such as this some subjective interpretation seems unavoidable. Should the single indefinite person be written explicitly as "*P*," or would L_1^2 , specified as "area of anthropoid skulls" cover it? The rule is that if parties are attached to spatial areas that are merely named, their identifying characteristic (the name) is included in the class script on the *L*. (See Rule #44.) Should the four skulls be symbolized as four kinds of areas, L_1^2 , or as a series at 4 dates in time, $T^{-1} : L^2$? The evolutionary implication is strong, but the graph as presented merely states 4 types and the analyst must avoid reading into a graph more than is explicitly presented. The resulting quantic classifies the situation as a lineal areal density, a pattern of lines in areas. The density, which strictly is a ratio, is undeveloped, the ingredients for it only being stated. This is reflected in the descriptive formula by positive exponents on both the areal and the linear components, and by a colon, denoting aggrega-

tion instead of the juxtaposition denoting multiplication between them.⁹

In describing four anthropoid skulls the advantages of the formula $S = L_1^2 \cdot L_1$ over the original black and white chart showing four anthropoid skulls may be judged by the reader for himself.

PARSIMONY

The discussion of parsimony which Mr. Ozanne treats in such cavalier fashion was brief simply because the writer felt that Dodd criticized his own system better than she could. To repeat what Dodd said about the parsimoniousness of his system:

... *S*-theory provides in a single mathematical formula a system of which . . . time, space, people and their characteristics are all integrated parts. . . . Is there any sociological treatise or textbook that can show that its chapters and the topics treated are derivatives of one formula, or are such logically necessary parts of one system that by recombining their basic concepts systematically, or even in random ways, these new combinations yield the topics treated?¹⁰

The writer as a reviewer felt it to be on the side of kindness to desist from pointing out the peculiarity of a formula whose concepts when tossed about at *random* yielded new concepts in which one might be interested. To limit such a formula to sociology would be to deprive all the sciences—indeed, all thought—of a veritable Rosetta Stone.

FRUITFULNESS

In his discussion of fruitfulness, while Mr. Ozanne presents no refutation of the points raised in the critique in question, including the demonstration on Dodd's emphasis on physical operations, he again feels free to use his talents to interpret another's mind, as apart from another's writing. The person considered here is the eminent physicist, Bridgman. In contrast to Mr. Ozanne's interpretation, the writer will let Bridgman speak for himself. To quote from the critique in question:

Bridgman says:

"Science is defined to be that body of activity which is universally accepted as valid by all those competent to judge. This it seems to me is only a partial view in which misses something of greater importance than the point emphasized. . . . I have

⁸ *Op. cit.*, p. 894.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 467.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 839.

criteria and am able to form judgments of validity entirely apart from what my fellows say."¹¹

Bridgman says further:

As long as people are content to subject their verbalizations only to the control that other people shall respond to them in the way they demand, there is no automatic method that assures the "objective" validity of the concept that is assumed.¹²

¹¹ Shanas, *op. cit.*, p. 228, quoting P. W. Bridgman, *The Intelligent Individual and Society* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1938), p. 157.

¹² *Op. cit.*, p. 37; see also pp. 36-37 (quoted by Shanas, *op. cit.*, p. 229).

Turning from this point to Mr. Ozanne's claims that the "fruitfulness" of *S*-theory has been demonstrated in "discovering" it is a part of symbolic logic and a form of matrix algebra, this is of value only if one wishes to treat sociological materials as symbolic logic or mathematics. To those who are interested in predicting and controlling human behavior it should be apparent that the manipulation of symbols in and of themselves can predict and control nothing.

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RESEARCH NOTE: OCCUPATIONS OF FUNCTIONAL PSYCHOTICS

WILLIAM M. FUSON

The relevance of social factors in the etiology of some of the functional psychoses has received considerable attention in recent years among sociologists and psychiatrists.¹ One phase of this analysis concerns the occupations or socioeconomic status of persons admitted to hospitals for the mentally disordered and diagnosed as suffering from schizophrenia and from manic-depressive psychosis.² Information³ concerning the occupations of 1,496 male patients first admitted to three Kansas state hospitals for mental diseases between July 1, 1925, and June 30, 1935, is presented in Table 1.

These data support the tentative conclusion of Tietze *et al.* that "... there is relatively more schizophrenia in 'lower' socioeconomic groups, relatively more manic-depressive psychosis in the 'upper' groups,"⁴ as may be seen by inspection of the ratios in Table 1. The position of farmers is intermediate between the "upper" and "lower" urban groups, as far as the relative predominance of either psychosis is concerned; this position may be compared with those found by Stern and by Nelson as quoted by Tietze *et al.* (p. 171).

Certain comments concerning the data and their handling are in order.

¹ E.g., Carney Landis and J. D. Page, *Modern Society and Mental Disease* (New York: Farrar & Rinehart, 1938); R. E. L. Faris and H. W. Dunham, *Mental Disorders in Urban Areas* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1939).

² C. Tietze, P. Lemkau, and M. Cooper, "Schizophrenia, Manic-depressive Psychosis and Socioeconomic Status," *American Journal of Sociology*, XLVII (1941), 167-75.

³ Secured in the course of a W.P.A. study made for the Kansas Legislative Council under the direction of Dr. F. N. Guild, professor of political science of the University of Kansas, who kindly made the basic schedules available to the present writer.

⁴ *Op. cit.*, p. 173.

1. Of the 1,496 schedules available, 125 cannot be included in the occupational breakdown, as 20 gave no occupational information and the rest were too young or too old to work at the time of their first admission. Others who were unemployed at the time of admission were classified according to usual occupation, if known. A certain error, though small, is introduced as a result of this deficiency in the data.

TABLE 1
OCCUPATIONS OF 1,496 SCHIZOPHRENICS AND MANIC-DEPRESSIVE PSYCHOTICS FIRST ADMITTED TO KANSAS STATE HOSPITALS, JULY 1, 1925—JULY 1, 1935

OCCUPATIONAL CLASSES	NUMBER OF ADMISSIONS		RATE OF ADMISSION (PER 100,000)*		RATIO OF ADMISSION OF THE TWO TYPES (S/M)
	Schizophrenics	Manic-depressives	Schizophrenics	Manic-depressives	
Professional.....	13	21	6.4	10.3	0.62
Proprietary and managerial.....	17	33	3.3	6.5	0.52
Clerical.....	46	38	7.4	6.1	1.21
Skilled.....	79	78	10.7	10.6	1.01
Semiskilled and unskilled.....	274	160	18.9	11.0	1.71
Farm.....	337	275	15.1	12.3	1.23
All workers†....	766	605	13.3	10.5	1.27
All males†.....	862	634	12.6	9.3	1.35

* Rates of admission for occupational classes are based on data from the National Resources Committee, *Population Statistics*, Part II, Table 26.

† Not including patients reported as "retired," "at home," "student," "no information," or merely "unemployed."

‡ Rates based upon Kansas male population aged fifteen years and over, 1930.

2. The 1930 male population aged fifteen years and over for Kansas is 685,000, according to the United States Census. The National Resources Committee, whose statistics we use in our rate bases, lists a total of 575,000 males as gainfully employed. The 110,000 presumably without occupation form 16 per cent of the total; among the patients, about 5 per cent are without occupation. In part this smaller percentage may

be attributed to the small number of patients in the age class of fifteen to nineteen years, particularly among manic-depressives, where the proportion not employed is small.

3. The classification of occupations is that of the National Resources Committee, except that two of the eight N.R.C. classes are combined with other classes because of ambiguities in the recording of the data either by the hospitals or by the W.P.A. transcribers. The following six classes are used: (a) professional workers: doctors, lawyers, dentists, teachers, artists, engineers, etc.; (b) proprietors and managerial workers: mainly shopowners, realtors, restaurant keepers, etc.; (c) clerical workers: salesmen, bookkeepers, stenographers, etc.; (d) skilled workers and foremen: electricians, carpenters, painters, barbers, railroad-section foremen, and craftsmen, etc.; (e) semi-skilled and unskilled workers: truck-drivers, bellboys, section hands, day laborers, etc.; and (f) farmers and farm laborers, including stockmen and ranchers. A complete enumeration of the N.R.C. list or of the occupations actually found would give a spurious picture of accuracy, as the hospital records are not always reliable.

4. The distortion due to differing age distributions for the several occupations and psychoses cannot be eliminated, as there are no age data for the occupations upon which to base rates. For the comparison of disease incidences within an occupation class this distortion is immaterial; for the comparison of occupational rates within a diagnostic class the distortion may be serious.

5. The three state hospitals in Kansas may possess diagnostic vagaries which would distort the distribution, in so far as one hospital (Larned, with a penchant for manic-depressive psychosis) draws most of

its patients from the western and predominantly agricultural part of the state. The fact of this distortion cannot however be demonstrated.

6. Private hospitals handling mental cases are few in Kansas—and expensive. They draw only a few patients from the state itself. Conceivably the rates for the proprietary and professional groups might be somewhat raised by the inclusion of private patients. However, the first admissions tabulated above include a number of cases passed on by private hospitals to the state hospitals.

UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

APPENDIX

Data on the occupations of paretics is presented in Table 2. Paresis is not a functional disorder in the strict sense; but the most common source of syphilitic infection is generally conceded to lie in sexual behavior deviating from the cultural norm, hence there is a functional relevance to the rate of admission for paresis. The low rate for farmers is especially to be noted.

TABLE 2*
OCCUPATIONAL DISTRIBUTION OF 533 PARETICS
ADMITTED TO KANSAS STATE HOSPITALS
JULY 1, 1925—JUNE 30, 1935

Occupation	Number of Admissions	Rate of Admission
Professional.....	9	4.4
Proprietary and managerial	24	4.7
Clerical.....	57	9.2
Skilled.....	118	16.0
Semiskilled and unskilled..	233	16.0
Farmers and farm laborers.	79	3.5
All workers.....	520	9.0
All males.....	533	7.8

* Notes as in Table 1.

NEWS AND NOTES

RESEARCH NEWS

City College of New York.—An intensive eighteen-month experiment, conducted under the direction of Harry Manuel Shulman, on the use of the "controlled activity group" as a therapeutic device has resulted in a marked improvement in the school and family behavior of a selected group of problem children.

The method was developed by the Social Research Laboratory of City College for the treatment of maladjusted school children and the prevention of juvenile delinquency. Conducted under the joint sponsorship of the Department of Sociology and the Committee for School and Community Activities, headed by Justice Justine Wise Polier of the Domestic Relations Court, the experiment was made possible by a grant of approximately \$6,000 to the Committee by unnamed donors. Representatives of the Bureau of Attendance and of the Division of Community Activities of the Board of Education also co-operated.

Queens College.—Hortense Powdermaker and George Simpson are continuing their investigation of food habits for the National Research Council's study of nutrition. They have been making field studies under Dr. Margaret Mead to discover changes in food habits under wartime conditions and to uncover social attitudes toward rationing and other federal regulations. Their sample is drawn from the Borough of Queens, and the students in the sociological field course are doing the interviewing. One confidential document "Rationing and Morale" has been prepared by the Committee on Food Habits on the basis of their work last spring.

The Research Council on Problems of Alcohol announces a \$1,000 award for outstanding research on alcoholism during 1943. The research for which the award will be granted must contribute new knowledge in

some branch of medicine, biology, or sociology, important to the understanding or prevention or treatment of alcoholism. Any scientist in the United States, Canada, or Latin America is eligible for the award. The project may have been inaugurated at any time in the past or during the year 1943, provided (a) that a substantial part of the work be carried on during the year 1943, (b) that it be developed to a point at which significant conclusions are possible before the end of the year, and (c) that a report on the work has not been previously announced and described before a scientific body or previously published. It is desirable, but not necessary, that those planning to work for the award send to the Council before March 1, 1943, a statement of such intention. If the Council receives such information, it can be helpful in the prevention of undesirable duplication of effort. If a research project is conceived and inaugurated later in the year 1943, a statement of intention may be sent to the Council at a later date. A report on the work and resulting conclusions must be submitted to the Research Council on Problems of Alcohol on or before February 15, 1944. The Council will provide an outline for use in the preparation of reports.

The Council will send on request, to any scientist, an outline of basic policies governing its research program, lists of Council studies (completed, under way, and contemplated), and information regarding the studies of other agencies. Scientists planning to do research in connection with the award may send a statement of intention to the Director, the Research Council on Problems of Alcohol, Pondfield Road West, Bronxville, New York.

Urban Redevelopment Field Station Established at M.I.T.—The Massachusetts Institute of Technology announced recently the setting-up by its City Planning Division

of an Urban Redevelopment Field Station with funds granted for the purpose by the Albert Farwell Bemis Foundation. Associated in the direction of the Field Station's research program are Professor Frederick J. Adams, head of Technology's City Planning Division, Philip H. Cornick, of the Institute of Public Administration, New York City, and Edwin H. Spengler, associate professor of economics at Brooklyn College and consultant to the National Resources Planning Board. Co-operating agencies include the City Planning Board of Boston, Massachusetts, which has made available to the research group its excellent file of data on physical, economic, and social conditions in Boston, and the American Public Health Association's Committee on the Hygiene of Housing, of which Dr. C. E. A. Winslow, of Yale University, is chairman.

NOTES

Eastern Sociological Society.—The annual meeting will be held at the Hotel Martinique in New York City, on April 10 and 11. The general theme of this meeting is to be "Social Problems of the War." Mirra Komarovsky, Barnard College, will be chairman of the committee to arrange the program. She would like to urge members of the Society to submit papers or reports to her before March 1 for possible inclusion in the program. Graduate students or non-members may submit documents on recommendation of a member of the Society. The topic for the Saturday afternoon session will be "The War and the Status of the Negro." The annual dinner of the Society, with a program to be arranged by President Lundberg, will be held on Saturday evening, April 10. Sunday morning, Robert Merton, of Columbia University, will act as chairman of a panel discussion on the subject, "The War and Our Profession."

Inter-American Statistical Institute.—The first meeting of the Committee on Projects of the Inter-American Statistical Institute was held in Washington on November 6, 1942. This committee, composed of Manuel

Pérez Guerrero (Venezuela), as chairman, William F. Ogburn (United States), as technical adviser, and Carlos García Mata (Argentina), Roberto Vergara (Chile), and Ramiro Guerra (Cuba), members, has the function of reviewing and making recommendations to the Bureau of the Budget respecting all project proposals not falling under the jurisdiction of any one of the other four standing committees (on current publications, statistical yearbook, statistical education, and demography, respectively) of the Institute.

Office of Price Administration.—Marshall B. Clinard has transferred from the Census Bureau, where he was in charge of criminal statistics, to the Office of Price Administration as senior statistician in the Enforcement Division, Legal Department.

Pacific Sociological Society.—The following officers were elected by mail ballot: president, Glen A. Carlson, University of the Redlands; vice-presidents, northern division, Norman S. Hayner, University of Washington; central division, Dorothy Swaine Thomas, University of California; southern division, Melvin J. Vincent, University of Southern California; secretary-treasurer, Calvin F. Schmid, University of Washington; members of the advisory council, William Kirk, Pomona College, Samuel H. Jameson, University of Oregon.

Bowdoin College.—Jay Henry Korson, formerly at New York University, is instructor in economics and sociology.

Duke University.—Professor Charles A. Ellwood has recently contributed an article on "Sociology" to the 1943 *Annual of the Encyclopedia Americana*. Professor Ellwood has recently revised extensively his former text, *Sociology and Modern Social Problems*. It will be published by the American Book Company under the title *Sociology and Social Problems*. It is intended as a high-school text.

As the fourth volume in the "Duke University Sociological Series," Professor P. A.

Sorokin's *Social Causality, Time and Space* will soon be published.

Dr. John Gillin, associate professor of anthropology, has been granted a leave of absence by the university administration to enter the national service as a member of the staff of the Board of Economic Warfare. He will serve as a special representative of the Board in Latin America.

Fisk University.—Werner J. Cahnman is lecturer in sociology and research associate of the Julius Rosenwald Fund.

Indiana University.—Miss Helen A. Brown has been appointed instructor in the department of sociology to teach and supervise undergraduate courses in social work. Miss Brown will receive the M.S.W. degree at Washington University (St. Louis) in the spring.

State University of Iowa.—Professor Clyde W. Hart is on leave of absence to work in the Bureau of Intelligence of the Office of War Information; Mr. Carrol M. Mickey, instructor in sociology, has been inducted into the Army; Dr. Jitsuichi Masuoka has accepted a teaching and research position at Fisk University.

University of Michigan.—Associate Professor Richard C. Fuller, during the absence of Professor Robert C. Angell, is executive secretary of the department in charge of administrative details.

University of Minnesota.—Professor F. Stuart Chapin, chairman of the department of sociology, has been elected chairman of Section K of the social and economic sciences and vice-president of the American Association for the Advancement of Science.

Dr. Afif I. Tannous, instructor in rural sociology, has gone on leave from the university to fill a position in the Office of Foreign Agricultural Relations of the Department of Agriculture. His special area of service will be North Africa.

University of Pennsylvania.—Following the cancellation of the annual meeting of the

American Sociological Society, sociologists in the Philadelphia area met at the Franklin Inn Club in Philadelphia on Saturday, December 26.

At the afternoon session the following papers were presented: "The Measurement of Morale," by Robert Faris, of Bryn Mawr College; "Sex Education and Religion as Factors in Determining Moral Judgments Relative to the Family," by Arthur Jones, of the University of Pennsylvania; "Personality and Social Change," by W. Rex Crawford, University of Pennsylvania; "Conservatism in Later Maturity and Old Age," by Otto Pollak, University of Pennsylvania; and, "The Liberian Frontier—an American Attempt at Colonization," by Stanley H. Chapman, University of Pennsylvania.

The American Book Company has recently published *Sociology: A Study of Society and Culture* by Kimball Young. This book is an outgrowth of Young's earlier text, *An Introductory Sociology*.

University of South Dakota.—Reuben Hill has been appointed acting professor of sociology and head of the department of sociology and social work replacing Dr. John Useem, who has accepted a position as sociologist with the Social Security Board. Dr. Hill comes to South Dakota from the University of Wisconsin, where he has been a member of the departments of social education and sociology.

Mr. A. L. Lincoln has been appointed instructor in social work replacing H. Farrand Livingston, who is the newly appointed chief of public assistance for the state of South Dakota.

Temple University.—Dr. J. Stewart Burgess, chairman of the sociology department, has established a series of lecture topics and speakers for a course in marriage and family relationships. Among the lecturers will be Judge Nochem S. Winnet, of the local municipal court; Mrs. Sodomie M. Gruenberg, director of the National Child Study Association; Mrs. G. L. Elliott, national president

of the Young Women's Christian Association; Dr. Lovett Dewees, of Bryn Mawr; Miss Emily H. Mudd, director of the Marriage Council of Philadelphia, and Mrs. Elizabeth H. Ross.

Negley K. Teeters, assistant professor of sociology, has collaborated with Harry Elmer Barnes in the preparation of a new textbook entitled *New Horizons in Criminology*. Prentice-Hall announced the publication in February.

James W. Woodard has recently accepted nomination to the board of directors of the Armstrong Association of Philadelphia and to the advisory board of the *Journal of Legal and Political Sociology*.

State College of Washington.—Dr. Paul H. Landis, dean of the graduate school and head of the division of rural sociology, has been granted a six-month leave of absence to work with the Office for Agricultural War Relations in Washington, D.C.

Science and Society begins its seventh year as a quarterly periodical with the publication of the papers delivered at its Institute on Problems of the War held at Hotel Astor on November 28. The papers include

one on "Women in Industry," by Professor Mildred Fairchild, of Bryn Mawr College; on "Problems of Discrimination," by authors John Beecher, of the Fair Employment Practice Committee, War Manpower Commission; Lucille Buchanan, of the Committee on Discrimination of the New York State War Council; and Charles A. Collins, executive secretary, Negro Labor Victory Committee. "The Utilization of Scientists" is discussed by Dr. Harry Grundfest, of the Rockefeller Institute of Medical Research, and by Professor Joseph Needham, of Cambridge University, England. Among the other contributors are Professor J. Raymond Walsh, director of Economic Division of the C.I.O.; Julius Emspak, of the United Electrical, Radio, and Machine Workers of America, C.I.O.; Earl Browder, general secretary of the Communist party; and Professor Paul M. Sweezy, Harvard University. *Science and Society* is published from 30 East Twentieth Street, New York.

PERSONAL

Professor Heinrich Gomperz passed away on December 27, 1942, in Los Angeles, California.

BOOK REVIEWS

Language, Culture, and Personality: Essays in Memory of Edward Sapir. Edited by LESLIE SPIER, A. IRVING HALLOWELL, and STANLEY S. NEWMAN. Menasha, Wis.: Sapir Memorial Publication Fund, 1941. Pp. x+298.

Edward Sapir's keen sense of the integrity of the individual led him to put his remarkable skill as a linguist and as a student of linguistics at the service of a new and rich orientation in the study of man—an orientation concerned with the subjective reality of human experience and the unity of personality and culture. Sapir felt that no study of language was complete until linguistic structure and function were explicitly connected with the total culture of which they were a part and until the significance of language was related to the thoughts and feelings of typical and atypical representatives of those who made use of it. His sense of personal and cultural unity was by no means unique. Nor was Sapir unique in the supersubjectivity that found such active and brilliant expression in conversation, lecture, music, and poetry. His peculiar quality rose from the blending of these characteristics into a productive whole that was at once so stimulating and so surpassing to students.

Much of the Sapirian quality is detectable in many of the essays in this volume, heavy-footed and immature as some of them are when compared with the master. They do, however, justify the forecast that in ten or twenty years there will be several scholars of his own phenomenal level of understanding; and, no doubt, the future master will be more disciplined in the use of methods of personality investigation—methods to which Sapir gave friendly yet for the most part nonparticipating attention.

The general social scientist will not concern himself with the strictly linguistic articles; yet several essays will repay study. Morris Swadesh analyzes the impact of bilinguals on the growth of language and in this way exemplifies the soundness of Sapir's interest in the role of specific groups of persons in broad linguistic processes. George Herzog relates changes in vocabulary to culture change, remarking that "the cultural factors affecting borrowing are apt to show more clearly with languages in

which the purely linguistic factors are about evenly balanced for or against borrowing." B. L. Whorf has a boldly reasoned essay on "The Relation of Habitual Thought and Behavior to Language."

In many ways the most valuable indication of the future connection of linguistics with personality and culture is the case study reported by Stanley S. Newman. He studied the speech of an eighteen-year-old boy during the last year in high school and demonstrates that "Paul's speech shows psychological characteristics that are manifested in other areas of behavior as well, characteristics such as his vigorous motor and affective tendencies, his impulsive aggressiveness, his repression of emotionality through such compensatory outlets as repetitive activity and compliance with adult-imposed standards, and his blocking and confusion." Other accounts of personality and culture in specific situations are furnished by David G. Mandelbaum, Cora Du Bois, and others.

On methodological points, Morris E. Opler's paper is well calculated to contribute to an understanding of the culture-informant-scientist relationship. Opler has compared several versions obtained by field workers of the most important myth of the Chiricahua Apaches. He proposes a threefold classification of the variations (chance, culture, personality). From long observation of the Chiricahua, he supplies illustrative explanations and, in so doing, forecasts (implicitly) a method of reporting field results that explicitly notes the weight ascribed to these factors by the scientist who finally summarizes data. Clyde Kluckhohn proposes a series of terms to be used in talking about "patterning."

If there is a common strain of weakness in many of the papers found in this collection, it is the lack of explicit conceptions of social and personality change. The practice is not well established of distinguishing sharply enough between environmental and predispositional factors in accounting for response. And the task of distinguishing observational standpoints of varying degrees of intensity remains to be resolved.

HAROLD D. LASSWELL

Library of Congress

Sociology of Law. By GEORGES GURVITCH with a Preface by ROSCOE POUND. New York: Alliance Book Corp., 1942. Pp. xx+309. \$3.75.¹

To lawyers and political scientists law appears as the totality of rules, standards, and techniques which are applied, or are supposed to be applied, by courts. The subject matter of Gurvitch's *Sociology of Law* is different from this traditional concept. What it consists of is not easy to ascertain. Gurvitch's method of dealing with the world of the human spirit, of which law forms a part, is that of phenomenological reduction—i.e., "an immanent downward reduction through successive stages toward whatever is most directly experienced in social reality."

The concepts yielded by that method necessarily lack in precision what they gain in depth of intuitive vision. Gurvitch's own definition of law is as follows:

Law represents an attempt to realize in a given social environment the idea of justice (that is, a preliminary and essentially variable reconciliation of conflicting spiritual values embodied in a social structure), through multilateral imperative-attributive regulation based on a determined link between claims and duties; this regulation derives its validity from the normative facts which give a social guaranty of its effectiveness and can in certain cases execute its requirements by precise and external constraint, but does not necessarily presuppose it.²

In one respect this definition seems to be narrower than the lawyers' concept of law. The element of imperative-attributive regulation is defined as consisting "in an indissoluble link between the duties of some and the claims of others."³ In most current definitions of law it is held that it suffices for its regulations to have imperative character. Otherwise it might be difficult to regard as law the rules of criminal law which do not attribute rights to anyone, but solely impose duties on the subjects.⁴ In-

¹ [Mr. Rheinstein's review of Mr. Gurvitch's book, which was published in the *American Journal of Sociology*, January, 1943, was a preliminary draft not intended by the author for publication. We regret the error and herewith publish the review which represents Mr. Rheinstein's present estimate of Mr. Gurvitch's book.—THE EDITORS.]

² P. 59.

³ P. 57.

⁴ Attempts occasionally found in legal theory, especially that of Germany, to regard the state as entitled against all its subjects to rights which it enforces through its criminal courts, appear arti-

directly it might, perhaps, be possible to observe in the rules of criminal law a reflex of attributions achieved by other rules of law; but even then one would have to assume that those other rules "attribute" to the individual subjects not only those property interests which are protected by the criminal law, but also those very bases of existence, such as life and bodily integrity, which an individual naturally enjoys without any previous attribution.

In another and more important respect Professor Gurvitch's definition of law goes considerably beyond that of the lawyers, to whom enforcement through the state appears as an essential element of the norms of law. The "precise and external constraint" of Gurvitch's definition must not only not necessarily emanate from the state, but it is only one of the numerous possible forms of those "normative facts which give a social guaranty of" the law's effectiveness.

Traditional jurisprudence distinguishes law from such other social norm systems as morals, religion, social custom, and etiquette by the nature of its sanction. Gurvitch's definition includes a large part of what is commonly referred to as custom and etiquette, and, perhaps, also certain norms of religion and ethics. It excludes norms whose sanction is purely otherworldly or purely within a person's own conscience. It seems to cover, however, every rule of social behavior which is engendered by any social group or relation, with the exception of those "forms of sociality (for instance, unions of people speaking the same language, relations founded on sex-appeal, or worship)" and those "groups (groups of friends, escorts of chiefs, Humanity as distinguished from International Society, also partially the conjugal family . . .), in which the passive element is prevailing";⁵ i.e., groups which do not have a task to accomplish.

The wide scope of this definition determines the comprehensive scope of Professor Gurvitch's sociology of law. As a matter of fact, this scope is so broad that it is difficult to see what problems are left for a general sociology of human groupings and relations. Within the three main divisions of his present work Gurvitch establishes a conceptual framework of the basic forms of sociality and their corresponding kinds

cial. It seems improbable that they influenced Professor Gurvitch in framing his definition.

⁵ P. 201.

of law as well as a typology of groupings, both "all-inclusive societies" as well as "particular groupings" included in them. This comprehensiveness enables him not only to account for such phenomena as international law and ecclesiastical law, with respect to which traditional theory encounters difficulties, but he is also in a position to establish categories under which the immense variety of types of norms can be comprehensively surveyed and for the description of the subtle interrelations between these types of norms. It is also a distinct merit of Gurvitch's method that it furnishes a satisfactory framework for those types of society in which the modern state and its peculiar "law" did not yet, or may no more, exist.

For a sociology of law which is primarily interested in contemporary society, one of the most important problems is that of discovering the forces which have shaped our present rules of law and which are at work to transform them. For such purposes the traditional method with its narrower definition of law may still be more appropriate since, by emphasizing the difference between law and other systems of social value judgments, it appears to be more helpful in clarifying their interrelations than a method in which law (in the lawyers' sense) appears only as a part of a more comprehensive concept. It is also difficult to see what place could be found in Gurvitch's system for the sociological problems connected with the personnel of the law and its enforcement.

MAX RHEINSTEIN

University of Chicago

The Creative Unconscious: Studies in the Psychoanalysis of Art. By HANS SACHS. Cambridge, Mass.: Sci-Art Publishers, 1942. Pp. 240. \$2.75.

The trouble with most psychoanalytic discussions of the origin and nature of art is that their authors know much more about psychoanalysis than about art. Dr. Hans Sachs suffers from no such limitation. Whatever quarrel the literary critic may have with certain of the arguments, he will concede that Dr. Sachs shows not only a thorough familiarity with literature and art but a capacity for appreciation and enjoyment which those who are more concerned with explanation than with evaluation rarely seem to possess.

The trouble with psychoanalytic "explanation," as indeed with all discussions of causality

in scientific terms, is that it is explanation only for those to whom such discussions are in some sense final; for the intelligent layman it seems simply to push the necessity for explanation back one step further. Our own generation can almost be divided into those who accept the psychological explanation as more ultimate than the sociological, or economic, and those who accept the sociological or economic as more ultimate than the psychological. We can give a Marxist explanation of Freud, and a Freudian explanation of Marx; indeed, we can give a Freudian explanation of Freud (as Dr. Sachs attempts, to a limited extent, to do in one of these essays) and a Marxist explanation of Marx. Dr. Sachs, in an interesting discussion of the reasons why no machine age developed under the Roman Empire, postulates that the inhibition which prevented the peoples of antiquity from exploiting the machine sprang from a narcissistic conflict. The destruction of the "naïve" narcissism of the ancients by the otherworldly teaching of early Christianity began to have an effect on the inventive imagination, Dr. Sachs argues, only when changed economic conditions provided scope for this change to work its effect, and thus we have eventually the "era of invention." The revival of self-love which came with the end of the Middle Ages (the recapture of power which medieval man had surrendered to God and the church) produced a new striving for power which eventually resulted in the attempt to subordinate nature to man—the machine age. Modern man was impelled toward the machine by the desire for narcissistic satisfaction through the testing of his power. In this quite inadequate compression of Dr. Sachs's argument it is at least clear that there are three kinds of factors involved (psychological, economic, religious), and the place given to each shifts as the argument proceeds. Why, we might ask, did the teachings of early Christianity "catch on" when they did? Why did not economic conditions change sooner than they did? Why is the narcissism of ancient man different in its effects from that of modern man? Why did the north never accept "that feeling for the body which was held by the peoples of antiquity" and which revived in Italy in the Renaissance? The question is not simply the old one of whether the chicken or the egg came first, but the profounder one: What is a "cause"?

But illumination is not confined to causal explanation, and Dr. Sachs is clearheaded enough to see that. He writes modestly and tolerantly,

presenting for our consideration certain hitherto unnoticed factors which might help to illuminate a situation. And as a rule the situation is illuminated, though it may not be "explained." In other words, Dr. Sachs's researches really do more to explain what the situation *is* than to show *why* it arose. An excellent example of this is his really helpful essay on *Measure for Measure*, where he does not, as the reader might expect, begin by psychoanalyzing Shakespeare and then proceed to "account for" this play; nor does he work back from the play to a psychoanalysis of Shakespeare. By a careful psychological analysis of the play, he demonstrates its unity and its meaning; and by appropriate analogies—with *The Brothers Karamazov*, *Oedipus*, *Der zerbrochene Krug*, and other works—he links up this meaning with certain dominant themes throughout literature and folklore, as a result of which we understand the play much more clearly. The link-up to Shakespeare's state of mind is made briefly and for the most part implicitly—and much more tactfully than is done in many studies by professional Shakespearean critics. Under Dr. Sachs's analysis the play emerges as much more of a unity, and as a much more impressive and self-contained work of art, than most critics have ever seen it to be.

On particular works Dr. Sachs is often convincing and always illuminating. When he tries to account for the creative process in general, however, he suffers from the all too common desire to include a number of diverse activities under a single formula. The antithesis between the daydream and the work of art is suggestive; but, in proceeding to "explain" the processes of the artist by building a bridge between the two extremes of this antithesis, he forgets that the extremes exist within art itself and that from an ode of Catullus to an epigram from the Greek anthology, we proceed all the way from the daydream to an "objective" work of art and yet remain within the realm of art. Art has many causes and many varieties, and in particular the two extremes of lyric and dramatic demand more careful notice. We should like to ask Dr. Sachs how he would explain the interesting cases of "craft" becoming "art" (such as the craftsman-like lyrics of Ben Jonson turning out, after much *conscious* patching and borrowing, to be something as perfect as "Drink to me only with thine eyes"). Dr. Sachs underestimates the extent to which the literary artist (at least) is aware both of his purpose and of his methods.

These limitations do not prevent these es-

says from being both stimulating and informative. Intelligent, tolerant, and widely read, Dr. Sachs might well stand as a model for imitation by his lesser brethren.

DAVID DAICHES

University of Chicago

Unconsciousness. By JAMES G. MILLER. New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1942. Pp. vi+329. \$3.00.

This volume represents probably the first serious attempt to bring under one cover the findings of clinical and academic psychologies in regard to the much-discussed phenomenon designated by the depth psychologists as "the unconscious."

The first and useful contribution of this volume is a rather exhaustive but lucid statement of the various meanings of the word "unconscious" which often prove a verbal snare to the unwary worker and make an otherwise scientific report confusing. Sixteen such definitions of unconsciousness are given. Some samples of these are: being incapable of discriminating; absent-minded, daydreaming; indiscriminating in regard to stimuli; merely conditioned response; unsensing; unattending; insightless; unremembering; unable to communicate; acting instinctively; acting involuntarily, etc., including the strictly psychoanalytic meaning of the term, referring to the impulses that are repressed, that are ordinarily unavailable to consciousness, and that are not under voluntary control.

This discussion is followed by a presentation of some sample cases of unconsciousness as reported by various workers and an unbiased discussion of the principal approaches to the phenomenon under investigation. "Introspective" methods and case studies, intelligently used, are considered just as valid and fruitful as experimental procedures followed largely by the academic psychologists.

The main body of the text consists of brief summaries of experimental findings presented under such categories as subliminal unconsciousness, inattentive unconsciousness, insightless unconsciousness, forgetful unconsciousness, inherited unconsciousness, involuntary unconsciousness, and incommunicable unconsciousness. Of special interest to the sociologists are the chapters on inherited unconsciousness and incommunicable unconsciousness, in which the cultural factors entering into early conditioning

and the process of communication are duly emphasized. As such, the work should prove interesting as well as useful not only to the clinicians and the academic psychologists but to the social scientists as well.

Speaking of the manifold meanings of the word "unconscious," it may be of interest to point out that, to the psychoanalysts, there may be still another definition which seems to have escaped the attention of the author, and that is that a patient may be conscious in the sense of being able to discriminate, to remember, and to communicate, etc., and yet still be unconscious in so far as what is communicated is not charged with appropriate emotions or feelings. It is often alleged that improvement on the part of the patient comes only after such "insights" occur. Just what is behind this assertion is another one of those problems that will profit from experimental collaboration.

BINGHAM DAI

Fisk University

The Eclipse of a Mind. By ALONZO GRAVES.
New York: Medical Journal Press, 1942.
Pp. xiv+722. \$5.00.

This autobiography of what is medically known as a manic-depressive patient was written while the author was undergoing treatment in a mental hospital. It consists of the author's spontaneous reminiscences and reflections about his family, his childhood and adolescence, his activities and problems as a newspaper reporter, his reactions to current social and political issues, and his repeated setbacks and hospitalizations. A unique feature claimed for this document is the inclusion in it of hospital records of

the author's behavior side by side with his own explanations and elaborations of them upon recovery. The reader, thereby, is given an intimate view of the author's private version of the world about him during his repeated psychotic episodes and his own reasons for behavior that was strange to others. Another interesting feature of this work is that, except for the pseudo-scientific attempt on the part of the author to understand his own symptoms, it is singularly free from theoretical biases, in spite of the fact that the physician who suggested and supervised this writing is apparently a trained psychoanalyst and that his brief comments on the case are mainly concerned with the patient's libidinal frustrations. The materials presented, therefore, are considered as "unobscured by interpolations and interpretations, leaving the reader free to interpret the case in his own light."

Students of mental disorder will find this book interesting as a rare description of the psychological processes that are probably characteristic of manic-depressive psychosis. The sociologists and social psychologists, however, may find it to be a life-history that is lacking in adequate conceptualization, especially with regard to the relation between personality and culture. Others who are mainly interested in the psychoanalytical approach to mental disorders may even find it disappointing, since most of the materials are rationalizations. In spite of these shortcomings, however, the book should prove useful to many students as a fund of raw material for exercise in interpreting cases of personality disorder.

BINGHAM DAI

Fisk University

CURRENT BOOKS

- ABEL, THEODORA M., and KINDER, ELAINE F. *The Subnormal Adolescent Girl*. Morningside Heights, N.Y.: Columbia University Press, 1942. Pp. xii+215. \$2.50. The report of a study of the subnormal adolescent girl within her home, at school, in industry, and in an institution, with suggestions on social adjustment and control.
- ADAMS, GRACE, and HUTTER, EDWARD. *The Mad Forties*. New York: Harper & Bros., 1942. Pp. viii+294. \$2.50. An amusing yet revealing account of the 1840's in America—a decade marked by fantastic cults and extravagant isms.
- BAGLEY, WILLIAM CHANDLER, JR. *Soil Exhaustion and the Civil War*. Washington, D.C.: American Council on Public Affairs, 1942. Pp. xi+101. \$1.50. A monograph centering on the thesis that soil exhaustion led to the expansion of slave territory, thereby providing a chief cause of the Civil War.
- BARON, SALO W. *The Jewish Community: Its History and Structure to the American Revolution*. 3 vols. Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America, 1942. Pp. 374+366+572. \$7.50 per set (3 vols.).
- BATESON, GREGORY, and MEAD, MARGARET. *Balinese Character: A Photographic Analysis*. ("Special Publications of the New York Academy of Sciences," Vol. II, Wilbur G. Valentine [ed.]) New York: Published by the Academy, 1942. Pp. 277. A portrayal of Balinese culture by means of a photographic technique designed to relate the intangible relationships among different types of behavior through relevant photographs.
- BEE, LAWRENCE S. *The Effect of Status on Attitudes in a New York Rural Community*. New York: Cornell University Agricultural Experiment Station, 1942. Pp. 50.
- BIDDLE, ERIC H. *Manpower: A Summary of British Experience*. ("Public Administration Service," No. 84.) Chicago: Public Administration Service, 1942. Pp. 28. \$0.75.
- BOGARDUS, EMORY S. *Democracy by Discussion*. Washington, D.C.: American Council on Public Affairs, 1942. Pp. viii+59. \$1.00. Considers different kinds of discussion groups, analyzes the role of discussion, and gives helpful suggestions on how the process may be promoted.
- BOGARDUS, EMORY S., and LEWIS, ROBERT H. *Social Life and Personality*. New York, Chicago, San Francisco: Silver Burdett Co., 1942. Pp. ix+581. A new illustrated edition of a high-school text first published in 1938.
- BONE, HUGH A. *"Smear" Politics: An Analysis of 1940 Campaign Literature*. Washington, D.C.: American Council on Public Affairs, 1942. Pp. 49. \$1.00.
- BONNET, HENRI. *The United Nations on the Way*. Chicago: World Citizens Association, 1942. Pp. x+170. \$0.50. Presents the political, economic, and social policies outlined by the United Nations.
- BORNSTEIN, JOSEPH, and MILTON, PAUL. *Action against the Enemy's Mind: This Psychological War*. Cornwall, N.Y.: Cornwall Press, 1942. Pp. xxi+294. \$2.50. Part I analyzes Hitler's psychological warfare; Part II discusses the weak spots in American life vulnerable to such attacks. Concluding chapters discuss our modes of defense and the possibilities of psychological counterattack against the Axis. Designed for popular reading.
- BRODIE, FAWN M. *Peace Aims and Post-war Planning: A Bibliography Selected and Annotated*. Boston: World Peace Foundation, 1942. Pp. 53. \$0.25.
- BUNTING, DAVID EDISON. *Liberty and Learning: The Activities of the American Civil Liberties Union in Behalf of Freedom of Education*. Washington, D.C.: American Council on Public Affairs, 1942. Pp. viii+147. \$2.00 (\$2.50 for cloth-bound ed.).
- CARR-SAUNDERS, A.M.; MANNHEIM, HERMANN; and RHODES, E. C. *Young Offenders*. London: Cambridge University Press, 1942. Pp. 168.
- CAVAN, RUTH SHONLE. *The Family*. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Co., 1942. Pp. 593. \$3.50. A sociological textbook treating the nature of the family, the course of family life, crises in family life, and the family in relation to social organization.
- CHILDS, MARQUIS. *I Write from Washington*. New York: Harper & Bros., 1942. Pp. ix+331. \$3.00. A breezy and personal narrative of the New Deal and of the trend toward war by a Washington correspondent.
- CHITTENDEN, GERTRUDE E. *An Experimental Study in Measuring and Modifying Assertive Behavior in Young Children*. ("Monographs of the Society for Research in Child Development," Vol. VII, Ser. No. 31, No. 1.) Washington, D.C.: National Research Council, 1942. Pp. 87.
- Civilization*. ("University of California Publications in Philosophy," Vol. XXIII.) Berkeley: University of California Press, 1942. Pp. 190. Lectures

- delivered before the Philosophical Union of the University of California on the problems and conditions of control in historical and contemporary civilizations.
- COMMITTEE ON WARTIME SERVICES OF THE AMERICAN POLITICAL SCIENCE ASSOCIATION. *The Political Scientist and National Service in Wartime*. Washington, D.C.: American Council on Public Affairs, 1942. Pp. 16. \$0.25.
- DAHLBERG, GUNNAR. *Race, Reason and Rubbish*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1942. Pp. 240. \$2.75. An eminent authority in racial biology discusses race from the standpoint of genetics and explodes current racial mythology.
- DALE, EDGAR, and SPICER, VERNA. *Newspaper Discrimination: An Annotated Bibliography*. Columbus, Ohio: Bureau of Educational Research, Ohio State University, 1942. Pp. iv+27. \$0.25.
- DAVENANT, CHARLES. *Two Manuscripts*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1942. Pp. xi+108. \$1.75. Two edited manuscripts on money and credit which appeared in England in 1695-96.
- DOLLARD, JOHN. *Victory over Fear*. New York: Reynal & Hitchcock, Inc., 1942. Pp. 213. \$2.00. A simple, scientific study of your fears, how to face them, and how to conquer them.
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- EATON, JOSEPH W., and KATZ, SAUL M. *Research Guide on Cooperative Group Farming*. New York: H. W. Wilson Co., 1942. Pp. 86.
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- WHITE, LESLIE A. *The Pueblo of Santa Ana, New Mexico*. ("American Anthropologist," new ser.) Menasha, Wis.: George Banta Publishing Co., 1942. Pp. 360. A comprehensive ethnological monograph.
- WHITE, MORTON G. *The Origin of Dewey's Instrumentalism*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1943. Pp. 161. \$2.25. An account of John Dewey's ideas on the nature of inquiry, tracing the connection between his early thought and his later works.
- WHITNEY, DAVID D. *Family Treasures: A Popular Guide to Heredity*. Lancaster, Pa.: Jaques Cattell Press, 1943. Pp. 299. \$3.50. A factual account, documented with photographs, of hereditary traits.



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IN THIS ISSUE

Dr. Charles S. Johnson, who has written the introduction to our May symposium, has been director of the Institute of Social Sciences of Fisk University for fifteen years. Before that he did many years of work with the National Urban League. Dr. Johnson has written many well-known books, among which are *The Negro in Chicago*, *The Negro in American Civilization*, *Shadow of the Plantation*, and his recently published *Patterns of Negro Segregation*. Dr. Johnson is also co-director for race relations with Will W. Alexander of the Julius Rosenwald Fund.

Margaret Mead's article, "Our Educational Emphases in Primitive Perspective," points to the shift from learning to teaching and proselytizing in the development from folk to modern society. Miss Mead is connected with the American Museum of Natural History and the Council on Intercultural Relations. She is the author of many well-known anthropological works, among which are *Growing Up in New Guinea* and *Coming of Age in Samoa*.

Robert Redfield is professor of anthropology and dean of the Division of the Social Sciences at the University of Chicago. As research associate of the Carnegie Institute at Washington, he has been in charge of ethnic and sociological field work since 1930. His most recent book is *The Folk Culture of Yucatan*. In the present article, "Culture and Education in the Mid-western Highlands of Guatemala," Mr. Redfield describes the informal educational process in the small Guatemalan community in which he has lived and worked.

"The Pan-African Problem of Culture Contact" was the last paper prepared by Bronislaw Malinowski before his death last fall. His thesis centers around the necessity for reintegrating the two worlds in which the young African of today lives as a result of the European education which alienates him from native traditions and the European interests which exclude him from full participation in their culture. Among Mr. Malinowski's classic works are *Argonauts of the Western Pacific* and *Sex and Repression in Savage Society*.

Mr. Watkins contributes a detailed description of primitive education as manifested in "The West African 'Bush' School." Mr. Watkins is professor of anthropology and sociology at Fisk University. His chief publication is *A*

Grammar of Chichewa: A Bantu Language of British Central Africa.

"Education, Child Training, and Culture," by Scudder Mekeel, discusses the implications of viewing education as the totality of cultural conditioning. Mr. Mekeel is on leave from the University of Wisconsin, where he is assistant professor of anthropology. Previously he has acted as director of applied anthropology for the Bureau of Indian Affairs and as the director of a laboratory of anthropology at Santa Fe. He was one of the contributors to *Explorations in Personality* and has contributed articles on Indian affairs to many journals.

Louis Wirth, professor of sociology at the University of Chicago and authority in the field of minority groups, writes here a historical account of "Education for Collective Survival" among the Jews, clarifying its function in preserving their cohesion as a cultural group despite wide dispersion. Professor Wirth is the author of a well-known sociological study of the Jews, *The Ghetto*.

Donald Pierson makes a striking comparison of Negro race relations in Brazil with those in the United States in his article, "The Educational Process and the Brazilian Negro." Mr. Pierson is in charge of social research at the Escola Livre de Sociologia e Politica de São Paulo at São Paulo, Brazil. He has been studying race relations in Brazil for many years and last fall published a book on *Negroes in Brazil*.

Horace Mann Bond is the president of the Fort Valley State College at Fort Valley, Georgia. The college is engaged in a program of experimental education for prospective rural teachers. Mr. Bond has published *Negro Education in Alabama* and *Education of the Negro in the American Social Order*. The present article, "Education as a Social Process," is a study of the attitudes of the entire college personnel on the process of acculturation which they must undergo in their role as a "permanent minority."

The historical basis of education in the South rests on the institution of the plantation, according to Edgar T. Thompson's article, "Comparative Education in Colonial Areas with Special Reference to Plantation and Mission Frontiers." He uses the comparative method to throw light on the dynamics of the educational process as it arises in plantations and missions.

Winner of the 1943 John Anisfield Award of \$1,000 for the "best book of the year on race relations."

Negroes in Brazil

By DONALD PIERSON
University of São Paulo, Brazil

A revealing study of racial integration through color mixture, in a land where *class not race* determines social prestige.

AFRÂNIO COUTINHO, Assistant Editor, *Seleções do Reader's Digest*, has written us as follows: "Please allow me to congratulate you for the splendid book you published about my country—*Negroes in Brazil*, by Donald Pierson. This book deals with a very important issue and gives a very true picture of our way of life. The author has not handled his subject matter from the superficial viewpoint of the tourist."

ARNA BONTEMPS, in a review in the *New York Herald Tribune*, says: "*Negroes in Brazil* is the result of long study and a complete familiarity with the country and the people . . . he selected the seaport city of Bahia. Here in microcosm, he examined the whole scope of race contact in a city about the size of Seattle or Indianapolis, located in a state that has been called the 'Virginia' of Brazil."

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Miss Benedict, in "Transmitting Our Democratic Heritage in the Schools," emphasizes the thesis that no formal education in itself can either stabilize a changing society or revolutionize a stable one. Miss Benedict is assistant professor of anthropology at Columbia University. She has written two widely read books, *Patterns of Culture* and *Race: Science and Politics*.

Dr. Park deals with education as communication and more particularly with the problem of transmitting a cultural heritage in a situation of cultural conflict in his paper on "Education and the Cultural Crisis." Dr. Park is emeritus professor of sociology at the University of Chicago and has in recent years been conducting seminars at Fisk University and assisting in the direction of research.

The historical importance of African culture in the explanation of New World Negro social behavior is discussed by Melville J. Herskovits in "Education and Cultural Dynamics." Mr. Herskovits, formerly professor of anthropology at Northwestern, has been working on the comparative analysis of West African and New World Negro customs for many years. His most recent book, *The Myth of the Negro Past*, summarizes his findings to date. He recently returned from Brazil, where he spent a year in the field study of Brazilian Negro culture as a further step in his research program.

In "The Channeling of Negro Aggression by the Cultural Process" Miss Powdermaker employs psychoanalytic concepts to explain the conditions of submissive and aggressive behavior on the part of the Negro. Miss Powdermaker studied under Malinowski in London. Today she is assistant professor of anthropology at Queens College. She is well known for anthropological works such as *Life in Lesu* and for her research on Negro problems in this country published in *After Freedom*. She also acted as consultant and field worker in the section on Negro youth of the American Youth Study.

"The Educational Process as Applied in America," by Edwin Embree, summarizes some of the implications of our other articles for the American school system. Dr. Embree is a former vice-president of the Rockefeller Foundation and president of the Julius Rosenwald Fund. Mr. Embree's chief interests are in education and race and culture contacts. He is the author of *Brown America*, *Indians of the Americas*, *Prospecting for Heaven*, and *India Goes to School*.

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EDUCATION AND THE CULTURAL PROCESS: INTRODUCTION TO SYMPOSIUM

CHARLES S. JOHNSON

I

The importance of education, as we commonly recognize the term in our modern society, needs no emphasis. It is this very sense of urgency that has been responsible for the rapid multiplication of its methods and for the elaboration of its technology. Although sociologists and anthropologists have dealt occasionally with the subject, it has not been regarded as their province. As a matter of fact, the development of American formal education into such a highly involved system has made it seem appropriate to refer all problems of the field to a class of specialists known as "educators."

The assumption is, usually, that formal education is merely a rational procedure for further carrying on and completing in the schoolroom a task begun with the child in the home. But the problem of education in America is by no means so simple as this, for the reason that the process of cultural transmission and renewal, as John Dewey describes it, is complicated by the diverse cultural origins of the population and by the continued isolation of many groups in more or less closed communities. This is a contingency that does not adjust satisfactorily to the necessity for meeting educational needs by methods of mass production. Dewey's conception of education is that it is not only a process by which a cultural herit-

age is transmitted from one generation to another but a process by which, through the medium of communication, a society renews and perpetuates itself as a society. Communication, as Park, the sociologist, interprets it, is not merely a means of transmission but a means of participation in a common experience and a common culture.

The experience of the younger generation of immigrants in America emphasizes the vital role of cultural succession in educational development. As Park points out, to this second generation of immigrants, because the new world which is strange and foreign to their parents is the only world they know, strange things happen of which they are scarcely aware—things the significance of which only a psychiatrist would fully understand. Strange things happen to the older generation, too, for that matter. An interruption of the cultural process has profound consequences which involve the whole educational process, not only that which goes on normally in the home but also that which goes on in the schoolroom and on the street. These problems that arise, in the course of such cultural diffusion and acculturation, are usually thought of as problems of personality. Whether they arise in the home or in the school, they are pedagogical problems that grow out of the difficulties of transmitting a cultural tradition from one genera-

tion to another or from one unit to another. In the schoolroom it is the problem of "rote learning"; in the home it is that of the "problem child."

What has been described by reference to the immigrant is true of any other group that is culturally isolated in any degree in the American society. It is even possible for changes in our modern world to bring about breaks in the cultural succession so pronounced that one generation may lose touch with the one that preceded it.

II

One indication of the maturity of the modern world is the present disposition of philosophers and others who have time for such things to characterize the epoch in which we are living, and so put it in its place in history. One of the most obvious characteristics of this modern world is the remarkable advance in technology and in the application of science to all sorts of human affairs, from agriculture to education. Under the influence of this impulse, fashion, or trend, activities that in the past have been traditional and customary have been analyzed, rationalized, reformed, and revolutionized until education, if not agriculture, seems in many cases to have lost contact with the spontaneous interests and traditional forms in which it was carried on before its methods became rational and scientific.

The methods and technology of education have multiplied so extensively that the schools have almost ceased to exist in the original sense of that term and have instead become laboratories in which teachers, operating under the direction of experts, are engaged in trying out some new apparatus or experimenting with some new methods of teaching or speeding up and making more efficient the educational processes, as they are carried on under the artificial conditions that are imposed by the classroom and the necessities of mass education. This mass-production method has permitted the schools frequently to make fairly effective use of teachers of inferior mentality. At the same time, the rationalization and stand-

ardization of the process have discouraged initiative in the more competent ones. Originally education was carried on informally in the family or in the tribe as part of, and indistinguishable from, the whole matrix of living. Now one of the problems of formal education grows out of the fact that it has lost touch with the family and the education in the school is frequently in conflict with that imparted informally in the family. Under these circumstances it has become, paradoxically, the task of the school, through its education of children, to reform the families.

The vast accumulation of historical and technical knowledge in recent years and the rapid changes in the conditions of life during the same period have put the knowledge required to carry on the tasks of modern life beyond the reach of any but the experts, and the experts themselves have to struggle to keep up with events. It is a situation that has been aptly characterized by the statement that knowledge has become "more and more about less and less."

The interesting relationship of these educational problems to the fundamental process of acculturation itself suggested the possible profit of inviting sociologists and anthropologists to address themselves to the issue. Having no technical or professional interest in education but with a familiarity with methods of education as carried on traditionally among nonliterate and folk peoples, they might be presumed to be able to discuss education in its broader aspects, as a part of the cultural process by which tradition is transmitted and its continuity maintained.

The papers here presented were prepared for a seminar conducted by the Department of Social Sciences of Fisk University on the occasion of the celebration of the Seventy-fifth Anniversary of the institution. The seminar was concerned with the practical problem of examining the method for the transmission of and diffusion of an existing cultural tradition within a society like that in the United States, composed of divergent cultural and racial stocks.

There has been one outstanding precedent for this seminar in the New Education

Fellowship Conference held at Capetown and Pretoria, in South Africa, in 1934. This conference, the sessions of which occupied a month and were attended by more than four thousand persons, was enlivened by some three hundred formal addresses by such persons as John Dewey, of New York, the late Bronislaw Malinowski, then of London, and K. S. Cunningham, of Australia, chief executive officer of the Australian Council for Educational Research at Melbourne.

What made the proceedings of the South African conference in some respects comparable with the present seminar was less the technical aspects of education, which came up for consideration, than the fact that the educational problems of South Africa are so largely determined, as they are in the United States, by the complexity of the racial and cultural diversities of South African peoples.

South Africa, like the United States, is a country where there are peoples who are very poor, as are the sharecroppers and mountaineers of the Appalachian Mountains, in a country with vast natural resources. It possesses fabulous wealth in the gold mines and diamond fields but has, nevertheless, a "poor-white" problem and a diversity of racial stocks, including a mixed-blood population of Cape Colony, a native population and an Indian population, each living in a condition of more or less complete segregation from every other. This factor complicated the educational as well as the political problem of the conference. However, added to these ethnic problems was the persistence of a smoldering conflict between the British and the Boers, the aftermath of the Boer War, involving issues not unlike those existing between the northern and southern states of America.

The existence of this conflict imposed upon South African education not only the necessity of a dual school system, as in the southern states, but a problem of bilingual education in African and English. As might be expected, all these problems were reflected in the papers and even more in the discussions as indicated in the extensive report of the conference published under the

title of *Educational Adaptations in a Changing Society*.

In South Africa, as in the United States, the problem and process of education seemed to be more than the transmission of a cultural tradition from one generation to another. Quite as important among the problems, educational and otherwise, were the difficulties encountered in the processes by which different races and peoples were being slowly but inevitably welded into a workable cultural and political unity. As we are realizing in this war, there is no more important problem of education in the United States today than that which is traditionally assigned to the school.

III

The contributions to this symposium raise many serious questions for education and at the same time offer some significant suggestions. The papers dealing with the special cultures clearly describe the process of "education without schools." The papers dealing with the educational procedure under our highly rationalized system describe what might almost be called "schools without education."

Attention may be called illustratively to Professor Redfield's discussion of culture and education in the midwestern highlands of Guatemala. Here is a society composed of former Europeans, natives, and mixed-bloods. There is no apparent "race consciousness" and no caste; there are merely class distinctions dividing the three racial and cultural groups. Yet there are no "marginal men." The secularization of the culture in the case of the Ladinos is striking. Most of what is "religion" in the case of the native has become "art" in the case of the Ladinos. Professor Redfield's observations suggest how ideas are transmitted informally; how new ideas are held in suspense if they seem novel or dubious; how they are checked on by repetition or observation as opportunity is offered when any question is raised. This is what one may see anywhere if one is interested and observant enough.

In the American Indian culture described by Dr. Scudder Mekeel it is possible to ob-

serve the role of education as an attempt to solve the everyday problems which every society faces. When culture is conceived as an operational totality and a dynamic entity, the significance of its effect upon the individual, and particularly the individual of different background, is far reaching. He raises the question of the role of self-consciousness in education. Why do some peoples seek to maintain their independence and their cultural identity and individuality while others seek to submerge their identity in that of a dominant group?

Professor Malinowski's paper concerns itself with the complex problems of education of native African peoples under conditions that have been changing the meaning of life for the native African. He asks how the African is to learn to appreciate his native culture and preserve that which suits his present needs in a situation of conflicting group aims and imperatives. The evolution of Bantu nationalism seems to be "nature's remedy." Where there are, obviously, such divergent interests as between the Africans and the Europeans in Africa, the most important education must be gained through competition and co-operation, as individuals and as groups, with other persons and peoples with whom they are in more or less association. The problem is how to make this competition and co-operation fruitful so that individuals and races may profit from it. This merely emphasizes more strongly, through the experiences of widely divergent peoples, the basic problems of cultural transmission.

Professor Herskovits' contribution is no less significant for its insights into the role of the educative process in maintaining cultural stability.

On the other hand, there are the examples of formal schools without education, or much of it, in the discussion of the plantation economy by Dr. Thompson, in which rote learning becomes an almost inseparable incident, in some of the implications of the case study of the Negro colleges provided by Dr. Bond, and in Dr. Ruth Benedict's penetrating analysis of the methods of the Amer-

ican school system with reference to the transmission of our democratic heritage. Dr. Margaret Mead points out, further, the shift in education generally from its original point of view as an effort to gain, though not to discover, knowledge to the point of view where it becomes an effort to impose something that is not wanted except as a means of acquiring status or of maintaining an existing social order or imposing a new one.

The difficulties and possibilities of acculturation, which in the American society involve alike the immigrant, the Jew, the Oriental, the American Indian, the religious sect, and various other culturally isolated groups, appear in clearest outline in the case of the American Negro who is more overtly segregated.

The essence of this cultural process may be stated briefly as follows: When peoples of different cultures come together, there is acculturation, in which there is a constant struggle between disintegration and integration. Basically this is education. Education, thus, is more than the transmission of culture from one generation to another. It is this transmission and it is also transformation of peoples who are more or less in conflict. Under these circumstances the whole process may become painful, because it may lead to the disintegration of the culture of one or more of the groups in contact. Technical knowledge can be transmitted with relative ease. Ideas are more difficult to communicate. Implicit in the process of acculturation is solidarity of the society. In times of change, as in the present, the moral solidarity of the society itself may be undermined. One aspect of acculturation appears in the constant struggle to get a new society and a new solidarity.

In the papers that follow we are able to see our own system through the eyes of anthropologists and sociologists who have observed the process of education in a context in which it is not rationalized. A comprehension of the natural process may help the rationalized system by providing a fresh perspective and a new realism.

FISK UNIVERSITY

OUR EDUCATIONAL EMPHASES IN PRIMITIVE PERSPECTIVE¹

MARGARET MEAD

ABSTRACT

Modern conceptions of education are contrasted with the primitive emphasis upon the need to learn that which was fixed and traditional, based primarily on the child as the learner. Today, owing to the meeting and mingling of peoples among whom superiority was claimed by one as over against another, our concepts of education have been shaped by the will to teach, convert, colonize, or assimilate adults. From the observation of this process in the next generation we have come also to believe in the power of education to create something new, not merely perpetuate something old. But not until the dogma of superiority of race over race, nation over nation, class over class, is obliterated can we hope to combine the primitive idea of the need to learn something old and the modern idea of the possibility of making something new..

In its broadest sense, education is the cultural process, the way in which each newborn human infant, born with a potentiality for learning greater than that of any other mammal, is transformed into a full member of a specific human society, sharing with the other members a specific human culture. From this point of view we can place side by side the newborn child in a modern city and the savage infant born into some primitive South Sea tribe. Both have everything to learn. Both depend for that learning upon the help and example, the care and tutelage, of the elders of their societies. Neither child has any guaranty of growing up to be a full human being should some accident, such as theft by a wolf, interfere with its human education. Despite the tremendous difference in what the New York infant and the New Guinea infant will learn, there is a striking similarity in the whole complicated process by which the child takes on and into itself the culture of those around it. And much profit can be gained by concentrating on these similarities and by setting the procedure of the South Sea mother side by side with the procedure of the New York mother, attempting to understand the common elements in cultural transmission. In such comparisons we can identify the tremendous potentialities of human beings, who are able to learn not only to speak any one of a thousand languages but to adjust to as many different rhythms of maturation, ways of learning,

methods of organizing their emotions and of managing their relationships to other human beings.

In this paper, however, I propose to turn away from this order of comparison—which notes the differences between human cultures, primitive and civilized, only as means of exploring the processes which occur in both types of culture—and to stress instead the ways in which our present behavior, which we bracket under the abstraction “education,” differs from the procedures characteristic of primitive homogeneous communities. I propose to ask, not what there is in common between America in 1941 and South Sea culture which displays in 1941 a Stone Age level of culture, but to ask instead: What are some of the conspicuous differences, and what light do these differences throw upon our understanding of our own conception of education? And, because this is too large and wide a subject, I want to limit myself still further and to ask a question which is appropriate to this symposium: What effects has the mingling of peoples—of different races, different religions, and different levels of cultural complexity—had upon our concept of education? When we place our present-day concept against a backdrop of primitive educational procedures and see it as influenced by intermingling of peoples, what do we find?

I once lectured to a group of women—all of them college graduates—alert enough to be taking a fairly advanced adult-education course on “Primitive Education” delivered

¹ This paper is an expression of the approach of the Council on Intercultural Relations.

from the first point of view. I described in detail the lagoon village of the Manus tribe, the ways in which the parents taught the children to master their environment, to swim, to climb, to handle fire, to paddle a canoe, to judge distances and calculate the strength of materials. I described the tiny canoes which were given to the three-year-olds, the miniature fish spears with which they learned to spear minnows, the way in which small boys learned to calk their canoes with gum, and how small girls learned to thread shell money into aprons. Interwoven with a discussion of the more fundamental issues, such as the relationship between children and parents and the relationships between younger children and older children, I gave a fairly complete account of the type of adaptive craft behavior which was characteristic of the Manus and the way in which this was learned by each generation of children. At the end of the lecture one woman stood up and asked the first question: "Didn't they have any vocational training?" Many of the others laughed at the question, and I have often told it myself as a way of getting my audience into a mood which was less rigidly limited by our own phrasing of "education." But that woman's question, naïve and crude as it was, epitomized a long series of changes which stand between our idea of education and the processes by which members of a homogeneous and relatively static primitive society transmit their standardized habit patterns to their children.

There are several striking differences between our concept of education today and that of any contemporary primitive society;² but perhaps the most important one is the shift from the need for an individual to learn something which everyone agrees he would wish to know, to the will of some individual to teach something which it is not agreed that anyone has any desire to know. Such a shift in emphasis could come only with the breakdown of self-contained and self-respecting cultural homogeneity. The Manus or the Arapesh or the Iatmul adults taught

their children all that they knew themselves. Sometimes, it is true, there were rifts in the process. A man might die without having communicated some particular piece of ritual knowledge; a good hunter might find no suitable apprentice among his available near kin, so that his skill perished with him. A girl might be so clumsy and stupid that she never learned to weave a mosquito basket that was fit to sell. Miscarriages in the smooth working of the transmission of available skills and knowledge did occur, but they were not sufficient to focus the attention of the group upon the desirability of *teaching* as over against the desirability of *learning*. Even with considerable division of labor and with a custom by which young men learned a special skill not from a father or other specified relative but merely from a master of the art, the master did not go seeking pupils; the pupils and their parents went to seek the master and with proper gifts of fish or octopus or dogs' teeth persuaded him to teach the neophyte. And at this level of human culture even close contact with members of other cultures did not alter the emphasis. Women who spoke another language married into the tribe; it was, of course, very important that they should learn to speak the language of their husbands' people, and so they learned that language as best they could—or failed to learn it. People might compliment them on their facility or laugh at them for their lack of it, but the idea of *assimilating* them was absent.

Similarly, the spread of special cults or sects among South Sea people, the desire to *join* the sect rather than the need to make converts, was emphasized. New ceremonies did develop. It was necessary that those who had formerly been ignorant of them should learn new songs or new dance steps, but the onus was again upon the learner. The greater self-centeredness of primitive homogeneous groups (often so self-centered that they divided mankind into two groups—the human beings, i.e., themselves, and the nonhuman beings, other people) preserved them also from the emphasis upon the greater value of one truth over another.

² This discussion, unless otherwise indicated, is based upon South Sea people only.

which is the condition of proselytizing. "*We* (human beings) do it this way and *they* (other people) do it that way." A lack of a desire to teach *them* our ways guaranteed also that the *we* group had no fear of any proselytizing from the *they* groups. A custom might be imported, bought, obtained by killing the owner, or taken as part of a marriage payment. A custom might be exported for a price or a consideration. But the emphasis lay upon the desire of the importing group to obtain the new skill or song and upon the desire of the exporting group for profit in material terms by the transaction. The idea of conversion, or purposely attempting to alter the ideas and attitudes of other persons, did not occur. One might try to persuade one's brother-in-law to abandon his own group and come and hunt permanently with the tribe into which his sister had married; physical proselytizing there was, just as there was actual import and export of items of culture. But, once the brother-in-law had been persuaded to join a different cultural group, it was his job to learn how to live there; and you might, if you were still afraid he would go back or if you wanted his co-operation in working a two-man fish net, take considerable pains to teach him this or that skill as a bribe. But to bribe another by teaching him one's own skill is a long way from any practice of conversion, although it may be made subsidiary to it.

We have no way of knowing how often in the course of human history the idea of Truth, as a revelation to or possession of some one group (which thereby gained the right to consider itself superior to all those who lacked this revelation), may have appeared. But certain it is that, wherever this notion of hierarchical arrangements of cultural views of experience appears, it has profound effects upon education; and it has enormously influenced our own attitudes toward education. As soon as there is any attitude that one set of cultural beliefs is definitely superior to another, the framework is present for active proselytizing, unless the idea of cultural superiority is joined with some idea of hereditary membership,

as it is among the Hindus. (It would indeed be interesting to investigate whether any group which considered itself in possession of the most superior brand of religious or economic truth, and which did not regard its possession as limited by heredity, could preserve the belief in that superiority without proselytizing. It might be found that active proselytizing was the necessary condition for the preservation of the essential belief in one's own revelation.) Thus, with the appearance of religions which held this belief in their own infallible superiority, education becomes a concern of those who teach rather than of those who learn. Attention is directed toward finding neophytes rather than toward finding masters, and adults and children become bracketed together as recipients of conscious missionary effort. This bracketing-together is of great importance; it increases the self-consciousness of the whole educational procedure, and it is quite possible that the whole question of methods and techniques of education is brought most sharply to the fore when it is a completely socialized adult who must be influenced instead of a plastic and receptive child.

With social stratification the possibility of using education as a way of changing status is introduced, and another new component of the educational idea develops. Here the emphasis is still upon the need to learn—on the one hand, in order to alter status and, on the other, to prevent the loss of status by failure to learn. But wherever this possibility enters in there is also a possibility of a new concept of education developing from the relationship between fixed caste and class lines and education. In a static society members of different caste or class groups may have been teaching their children different standards of behavior for many generations without any essential difference between their attitudes toward education and those of less complex societies. To effect a change it is necessary to focus the attention of the members of the society upon the problem, as conditions of cultural contact do focus it. Thus, in present-day Bali, the high castes are sending their daughters to the

Dutch schools to be trained as schoolteachers because it is pre-eminently important that learning should be kept in the hands of the high castes and profoundly inappropriate that low-caste teachers should teach high-caste children. They feel this strongly enough to overcome their prejudices against the extent to which such a course takes high-caste women out into the market place.

As soon as the possibility of shift of class position by virtue of a different educational experience becomes articulately recognized, so that individuals seek not only to better their children or to guard them against educational defect but also to see the extension of restriction of educational opportunity as relevant to the whole class structure, another element enters in—the relationship of education to social change. Education becomes a mechanism of change. Public attention, once focused upon this possibility, is easily turned to the converse position of emphasizing education as a means toward preserving the status quo. I argue here for no historical priority in the two positions. But I am inclined to believe that we do not have catechumens taught to say “to do my duty in that state of life into which it has pleased God to call me” until we have the beginning of movements of individuals away from their birth positions in society. In fact, the whole use of education to defend vested interests and entrenched privilege goes with the recognition that education can be a way of encroaching upon them. Just as the presence of proselytizing religions focuses attention upon means of spreading the truth, upon pedagogy, so the educational implications of social stratification focus attention upon the content of education and lay the groundwork for an articulate interest in the curriculum.

Movements of peoples, colonization, and trade also bring education into a different focus. In New Guinea it is not uncommon to “hear” (i.e., understand without speaking) several languages besides one’s own, and many people not only “hear” but also speak neighboring languages. A head-hunting people like the Mundugumor, who had

the custom of giving child hostages to temporary allies among neighboring peoples, articulately recognized that it was an advantage to have members of the group be well acquainted with the roads, the customs, and the language of their neighbors, who would assuredly at some time in any given generation be enemies and objects of attack. Those who took the hostages regarded this increased facility of the Mundugumor as a disadvantage which had to be put up with. But the emphasis remained with the desirability of learning. Today, with the growth of pidgin English as a *lingua franca*, bush natives and young boys are most anxious to learn pidgin. Their neighbors, with whom they could trade and communicate more readily if they knew pidgin, are not interested in teaching them. But the European colonist is interested. He sees his position as an expanding, initiating, changing one; he wants to trade with the natives, to recruit and indenture them to work on plantations. He needs to have them speak a language that he can understand. Accordingly, we have the shift from the native who needs to learn another language in order to understand to the colonist who needs someone else to learn a language so that he, the colonist, may be understood. In the course of teaching natives to speak some *lingua franca*, to handle money, to work copra, etc., the whole focus is on teaching; not, however, on techniques of teaching, in the sense of pedagogy, but upon sanctions for making the native learn. Such usages develop rapidly into compulsory schooling in the language of the colonist or the conqueror, and they result in the school’s being seen as an adjunct of the group in power rather than as a privilege for those who learn.

Just as conquest or colonization of already inhabited countries brings up the problems of assimilation, so also mass migrations may accentuate the same problem. This has been true particularly in the United States, where education has been enormously influenced by the articulate need to assimilate the masses of European immigrants, with the resulting phrasing of the public schools as a means

for educating other peoples' children. The school ceased to be chiefly a device by which children were taught accumulated knowledge or skills and became a political device for arousing and maintaining national loyalty through inculcating a language and a system of ideas which the pupils did not share with their parents.

It is noteworthy that, in the whole series of educational emphases which I have discussed here as significant components of our present-day concept of "education," one common element which differentiates the ideas of conversion, assimilation, successful colonization, and the relationship between class-caste lines and education from the attitudes found in primitive homogeneous societies is the acceptance of discontinuity between parents and children. Primitive education was a process by which continuity was maintained between parents and children, even if the actual teacher was not a parent but a maternal uncle or a shaman. Modern education includes a heavy emphasis upon the function of education to create discontinuities—to turn the child of the peasant into a clerk, of the farmer into a lawyer, of the Italian immigrant into an American, of the illiterate into the literate. And parallel to this emphasis goes the attempt to use education as an extra, special prop for tottering continuities. Parents who are separated from their children by all the gaps in understanding which are a function of our rapidly changing world cling to the expedient of sending their children to the same schools and colleges they attended, counting upon the heavy traditionalism of slow-moving institutions to stem the tide of change. (Thus, while the father builds himself a new house and the mother furnishes it with modern furniture, they both rejoice that back at school, through the happy accident that the school is not well enough endowed, son will sit at the same desk at which his father sat.) The same attitude is reflected by the stock figure of the member of a rural school board who says, "What was good enough for me in school is good enough

for my children. The three R's, that's enough."

Another common factor in these modern trends of education is the increasing emphasis upon change rather than upon growth, upon what is done to people rather than upon what people do. This emphasis comes, I believe, from the inclusion of adults as objects of the educational effort—whether the effort comes from missionaries, colonizers, conquerors, Old Americans, or employers of labor. When a child is learning to talk, the miracle of learning is so pressing and conspicuous that the achievement of the teachers is put in the shade. But the displacement, in an adult's speech habits, of his native tongue by the phonetics of some language which he is being bullied or cajoled into learning is often more a matter of triumph for the teacher than of pride for the learner. Changing people's habits, people's ideas, people's language, people's beliefs, people's emotional allegiances, involves a sort of deliberate violence to other people's developed personalities—a violence not to be found in the whole teacher-child relationship, which finds its prototype in the cherishing parent helping the young child to learn those things which are essential to his humanity.

We have been shocked in recent years by the outspoken brutality of the totalitarian states, which set out to inculcate into children's minds a series of new ideas which it was considered politically useful for them to learn. Under the conflicting currents of modern ideologies the idea of *indoctrination* has developed as a way of characterizing the conscious educational aims of any group with whom the speaker is out of sympathy. Attempts to teach children any set of ideas in which one believes have become tainted with suspicion of power and self-interest, until almost all education can be branded and dismissed as one sort of indoctrination or another. The attempt to assimilate, convert, or keep in their places other human beings conceived of as inferior to those who are making the plans has been a boomerang which has distorted our whole educational philosophy; it has shifted the emphasis from

one of growth and seeking for knowledge to one of dictation and forced acceptance of clichés and points of view. Thus we see that the presence of one element within our culture—a spurious sense of superiority of one group of human beings over another, which gave the group in power the impetus to force their language, their beliefs, and their culture down the throats of the group which was numerically, or economically, or geographically handicapped—has corrupted and distorted the emphases of our free schools.

But there has been another emphasis developing side by side with those which I have been discussing, and that is a belief in the power of education to work miracles—a belief which springs from looking at the other side of the shield. As long as the transmission of culture is an orderly and continuous process, in a slowly changing society, the child speaks the language of his parents; and, although one may marvel that this small human being learns at all, one does not marvel that he learns French or English or Samoan, provided that this be the language of the parents. It took the discontinuity of educational systems, purposive shifts of language and beliefs between parents and children, to catch our imagination and to fashion the great American faith in education as creation rather than transmission, conversion, suppression, assimilation, or indoctrination. Perhaps one of the most basic human ways of saying "new" is "something that my parents have never experienced" or, when we speak of our children, "something I have never experienced." The drama of discontinuity which has been such a startling feature of modern life, and for which formal education has been regarded in great measure as responsible, suggested to men that perhaps education might be a device for creating a new kind of world by developing a new kind of human being.

Here it is necessary to distinguish sharply between the sort of idea which George Counts expressed in his speech, "Dare the Schools Build a New Social Order?" and the idea of education as creation of something new. Dr. Counts did not mean a new social

order in the sense of an order that no man had dreamed of, so much as he meant a very concrete and definite type of society for which he and many others believed they had a blueprint. He was asking whether the teachers would use the schools to produce a different type of socioeconomic system. His question was still a power question and partook of all the power ideas which have developed in the long period during which men in power, men with dominating ideas, men with missions, have sought to put their ideas over upon other men. His question would have been phrased more accurately as "Dare the schools build a different social order?" The schools of America have these hundred years been training children to give allegiance to a way of life that was new to them, not because they were children to whom all ways were new, not because the way of life was itself one that no man had yet dreamed of, but because they were the children of their parents. Whenever one group succeeds in getting power over the schools and teaches within those schools a doctrine foreign to many of those who enter those doors, they are building up, from the standpoint of those students, a different social order. From the standpoint of those in power, they are defending or extending the old; and, from the moment that the teachers had seriously started to put Dr. Counts's suggestion into practice, they would have been attempting by every method available to them to extend, in the minds of other people's children, their own picture, already an "old" idea, of the sort of world they wanted to live in.

It is not this sort of newness of which I speak. But from those who watched learning, those who humbly observed miracles instead of claiming them as the fruits of their strategy or of their superior teaching (propaganda) techniques, there grew up in America a touching belief that it was possible by education to build a new world—a world that no man had yet dreamed and that no man, bred as we had been bred, could dream. They argued that if we can bring up our children to be freer than we have been—freer from anxiety, freer from guilt and fear,

freer from economic constraint and the dictates of expediency—to be equipped as we never were equipped, trained to think and enjoy thinking, trained to feel and enjoy feeling, then we shall produce a new kind of human being, one not known upon the earth before. Instead of the single visionary, the depth of whose vision has kept men's souls alive for centuries, we shall develop a whole people bred to the task of seeing with clear imaginative eyes into a future which is hidden from us behind the smoke screen of our defective and irremediable educational handicaps. This belief has often been branded as naïve and simple-minded. The American faith in education, which Clark Wissler lists as one of the dominant American culture traits, has been held up to ridicule many times. In many of its forms it is not only unjustified optimism but arrant nonsense. When small children are sent out by overzealous schoolteachers to engage in active social reforms—believed necessary by their teachers—the whole point of view becomes not only ridiculous but dangerous to the children themselves.

Phrased, however, without any of our blueprints, with an insistence that it is the children themselves who will some day, when they are grown, make blueprints on the basis of their better upbringing, the idea is a bold and beautiful one, an essentially democratic and American idea. Instead of attempting to bind and limit the future and to compromise the inhabitants of the next century by a long process of indoctrination which will make them unable to follow any path but that which we have laid down, it suggests that we devise and practice a system of education which sets the future free. We must concentrate upon teaching our children to walk so steadily that we need not hew too straight and narrow paths for them but can trust them to make new paths

through difficulties we never encountered to a future of which we have no inkling today.

When we look for the contributions which contacts of peoples, of peoples of different races and different religions, different levels of culture and different degrees of technological development, have made to education, we find two. On the one hand, the emphasis has shifted from learning to teaching, from the doing to the one who causes it to be done, from spontaneity to coercion, from freedom to power. With this shift has come the development of techniques of power, dry pedagogy, regimentation, indoctrination, manipulation, and propaganda. These are but sorry additions to man's armory, and they come from the insult to human life which is perpetuated whenever one human being is regarded as differentially less or more human than another. But, on the other hand, out of the discontinuities and rapid changes which have accompanied these minglings of people has come another invention, one which perhaps would not have been born in any other setting than this one—the belief in education as an instrument for the creation of new human values.

We stand today in a crowded place, where millions of men mill about seeking to go in different directions. It is most uncertain whether the educational invention made by those who emphasized teaching or the educational invention made by those who emphasized learning will survive. But the more rapidly we can erase from our society those discrepancies in position and privilege which tend to perpetuate and strengthen the power and manipulative aspects of education, the more hope we may have that that other invention—the use of education for unknown ends which shall exalt man above his present stature—may survive.

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CULTURE AND EDUCATION IN THE MIDWESTERN HIGHLANDS OF GUATEMALA

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ABSTRACT

Education is here identified with "the process of cultural transmission and renewal." Rural Ladinos of midwestern Guatemala are, with respect to education, intermediate between tribal and urban society. Schools exist, but they have little importance. On the other hand, ceremony and myth do not play a large part in the transfer of tradition. The attention of the investigator is therefore drawn to the more elementary and universal aspects of education: the informal day-to-day situations in which tradition is communicated or modified. Such a situation is analyzed, and the educational importance of these occurrences remarked, in this Guatemalan society where schools represent regulation largely external to the culture and where important traditional ceremonials are lacking.

When education is considered as it occurs in a modern society, we think first of the school. In a primitive society there are neither schools nor pedagogues; yet we speak of the "education" of the primitive child. In so doing we are, of course, recognizing a conception of education much wider than the domain of the school; we are thinking of it as "the process of cultural transmission and renewal"—a process present in all societies and, indeed, indistinguishable from that process by which societies persist and change.

When we describe education in such school-less and bookless societies, we are likely to fix attention upon other institutions which obviously and formally express and communicate the local tradition. Such are ceremony, myth, tribal and familial symbols and stories, initiation ceremonies, and men's houses. In these we recognize a certain fixity and emphasis of major elements of culture, and we see that in their perpetuation and repetition these elements receive restatement and are communicated to the young. Indeed, we have come to think of primitive societies as providing a well-organized and self-consistent system of institutions by which children are brought up to think and act as did their fathers. In such societies we connect education with traditional forms expressive of a rich content. In comparison with the educational effect of a katchina dance upon a Hopi child,

a chapter in a civics textbook seems pretty thin, educationally speaking.

To the invitation to give an account of the educational process, I respond from a point of view of certain rural communities in the midwestern highlands of Guatemala which are neither modern nor primitive but in many respects intermediate between a simple tribe and a modern city. Educational institutions among these rural mountaineers do not quite conform to either the primitive or civilized type. These people have schools, but the schools are of small importance. They have ceremonies and legends, but these forms do not have so much content as one might suppose. In these Guatemalan societies schooling is far from accomplishing what our educational experts claim generally for schools. On the other hand, ceremony and myth do not come up to the standard set by many primitive societies. In this part of the world there are no central and powerful educational institutions around which an essay can conveniently be written.

The situation is not without value, however, for students of the cultural process. In recognizing in this part of Guatemala the limited educational influence of schools, on the one hand, and of traditional forms, on the other, one is brought to see aspects of education which underlie all formal institutions. People in Guatemala do get educated (in the sense that the heritage is transmit-

ted) with adjustments to meet changing circumstances, even though many of them never go to school and even though there are no great puberty ceremonies, with revelations of the sacred *alcheringa* and narrations of totemic myths, such as occur among Australian aborigines. In this paper I shall make some observations on certain features of these highlands societies in so far as the educational process is concerned; and I shall, in particular, call attention to aspects of that process which are probably to be encountered in every society. I call attention to them because education is ordinarily studied without much reference to them.

As I look at the school in the little village where I once was resident, it appears to me to play a greater part in changing the culture of the people than in handing it on from one generation to the next, although its influence in the direction of change is indirect. Nearly all the time in the school is given to learning to read and to write and to calculate. Some children acquire a fair command of these arts; others do not. The arts of literacy have many practical uses, and their possession carries some prestige. They improve the opportunities for gainful employment, and their possession disposes the individual to seek his fortune in the town or in the city. In some cases success in school leads to higher education in the city and so to participation in urban civilization.

The majority of people of this community are Indians; a minority are a Spanish-speaking people of mixed ancestry known as Ladinos. The cultures of the two groups are identical in many areas of experience; in others they are still notably different. Where both kinds of people live in the same settlement, both attend the same school. The school makes more change for the Indian than for the Ladino, because through association with the Ladinos in the school he learns Spanish and in not a few cases is disposed to put off Indian dress, to live in the manner of the Ladinos, and so to become a Ladino. There is here no obstacle of prejudice or law to prevent this not infrequent occurrence. The school is one important insti-

tution, therefore, through which the Indian societies tend to lose members to the Ladino society and so ultimately to disappear.

As such an instrument of acculturation and culture change, the school is only one among a number of effective institutions. The penitentiary deserves mention, for, although its liberalizing influence is less widely distributed than in the case of the school, not a few individuals profit by this form of widened experience and return to the village with a new song, a new trade, and a less parochial view of life. The common custom of bringing up other people's children is also effective, as when the child is an Indian brought up in a Ladino household. Of such individuals it may later be said that "that Ladino is really an Indian," but the ethnic origin of the individual carries little or no social disadvantage and is quickly forgotten.

Considered as an institution helping to preserve the local culture, the role of the school is small. I venture the assertion that the abolition of schools in these highlands would leave the culture much as it is. Except for the texts of prayers recited on many occasions, little of the rural Ladino heritage depends on literacy. And, furthermore, it is only necessary that a few individuals in each society be literate so as to preserve access to written or printed sources. Indeed, for generations the Indian cultures in the more isolated societies have got along with a semi-professionalization of literacy. A few individuals in each village or group of villages were trained to read the Mass; the central government sent from the city a literate person to deal with the written communications of formal government. The more pagan religious ritual was, and still is, stored, unwritten, in the memories of a small number of professionals. Their knowledge is highly specialized and is little understood by the layman.

The village school in this area devotes little time to instruction other than the purely technical; and the little "cultural" instruction which it gives has small support in other branches of the village life. Some instruction is given in Guatemalan history and

geography. What is taught is not reinforced by books in the homes, because there are almost no books in the homes. Nor is the instruction closely related to the content of oral tradition. The knowledge that Columbus discovered America is perpetuated in the school and is possessed by most Ladinos as an item of information, but few people whom I interrogated were able to tell me that that discovery was the event commemorated by the little celebration which the government orders to occur each year in the village municipal building on October 12. (Of course the more sophisticated townsman understands the meaning of the occasion.) At any rate, Columbus is no tribal or village legendary hero.

As not a great deal is accomplished by formal instruction in the school, one might suppose the lack to be made up by a great deal of deliberate inculcation and discipline in the home. At least with regard to the rural Ladino society, I am sure that this is not the case. Children are taught to do what they are expected to do chiefly as an aspect of coming to perform the tasks of adults. Moments of instruction are not segregated from moments of action. Boys are taught to farm and girls to cook as they help their elders do these things. Along with instruction in the practical arts, parents comment on conduct, saying what is "good" and what is "bad." The word *pecado* is applied to innumerable interdicted acts, from those which are regarded as mildly unlucky to those to which some real moral opprobrium attaches. Some parents will select a serious and special moment in which to convey sex instruction, and sometimes other subjects will be somewhat formally inculcated; but on the whole I should say that instruction in the home is casual and unsystematized.

Certainly it is not characteristic of this Ladino culture that the young gather around the knees of the old to listen reverently to a solemn exposition of the holy traditions and sacred memories of the people. Indeed, in this society, as in our own, it is hard to find the holy traditions, let alone to get anyone

to listen while they are expounded. Most instruction that occurs in the home or outside it is connected with the practical arts of life.

It seems to me interesting that, while few of these Ladinos are today teaching their children the prayers of their Catholic tradition, they do take pains to teach them the traditional forms of address and salutation, which in these cultures are complicated and elaborate. It is characteristic of this people that requests and other communications are not abruptly and directly presented but are wrapped in highly conventional preliminary and terminal utterances; also, in general, among them polite language is regarded as seemly conduct.

It also seems to me that this formal language is a way in which people preserve their personal lives from too easy invasion and that it is therefore a useful art. It is, moreover, one which every man must practice for himself. The case is different with the prayers. Apparently it is not thought sufficiently important that every child have formal language in which to talk with God. It is, however, thought important that the prayers be recited by someone on the occasions of novenas for the saints and following a death. But all that is necessary is that one or a few persons be available to recite the prayers. It would not greatly surprise me if in these villages the reciting of Catholic prayers became a paid profession, as are now the reciting of a Mass by priest or layman, the teaching of the spoken text of a dance-drama, or the playing of the little flageolet which accompanies processions bearing images of the saints.

This observation about the teaching of prayers and of mannerly speech may be generalized into two wider characterizations of these Guatemalan cultures. The point of view on life is practical and secular rather than religious or mystical; and formal activity is more than usually large, it seems to me, in proportion to the content of symbolic meaning which underlies it. This statement I am disposed to make about both the In-

dian and the Ladino cultures, although there are differences of degree or kind in these respects between the two.

For the rural Ladinos it may be safely asserted that religious pageantry and mythology do not play a large part in the education of the individual. The Christian epic is known very incompletely; it exists in the form of many unco-ordinated fragments of lore, and it is not vividly presented in any coherent or impressive way. These country people read very little sacred literature; they very rarely hear sermons; and there is no important traditional ceremony or drama in which it might be expressed. An exception in part must be made for the ninefold repetition at Christmas time of the journey of Mary and Joseph and for the little enactment of the birth of the child. The effigies of and stories about Christ, and in less degree and importance of and about the saints, do constitute a body of lore in which significant traditional conceptions are perpetuated. But these ceremonials occupy a very small part of the time and interests of the Ladinos, and the element of mere entertainment in them is very large.

For the Indian, more is to be said as to the contribution of ceremony and myth to the educational and cultural process. The cult of the saints is more elaborate, and ritual observances are more extensive. Justification for the statement that the culture of the Ladinos is more shallow or less integrated than that of the Indians is in part to be found, it seems to me, in the fact that most stories told among Ladinos—and they like to tell and to hear stories—deal chiefly with fairies, witches, talking animals, and the adventures of picaresque personages, and that these stories are not regarded as true and are not thought of as describing the world in which the individual lives. They are recognized as fanciful creations that serve to entertain. The Indian, on the other hand, is disposed to regard the stories which he tells as true. Taken as a whole, the Indian's stories deal with men and animals and supernatural beings that he believes to exist

about him, and their telling helps to define and redefine the conventional world in which the Indian lives.

A story well known in the Indian village of San Antonio tells how St. Anthony was once a man who dwelt in that village as other men, and how, counseled by his friend, Christ, whom he sought to rescue when our Lord's enemies were after him, he took the form of a saint so as to help the village where he lived and worked. The story offers an explanation for the origin of every significant element of costume and accouterment in the effigy of St. Anthony as customarily fashioned and as it exists in the village church; and it explains and justifies by reference to the saint's divine will many of the elements in the cult now customary: the marimba, the masked dancers, the fireworks, incense, and candles. Indeed, except that the content of the story is of Old World origin, the story in feeling and form is quite like many origin or hero myths that are told among non-Europeanized Indians.

A study of the educational process among these Indians would certainly have to take into account the existence of these stories and the circumstances under which they are told. It is plain that their telling helps to communicate and perpetuate the tradition of the group. It is significant that in the Indian villages every man passes through a series of public services; that in the course of many of these employments he spends long hours sitting in company with his age-mates and his elders, and that the elders at such times tell stories and relate episodes. The Ladino society is almost entirely without such an institution.

The existence of such a story as the one about St. Anthony is another evidence of the power within a culture to make itself, if such an expression may be employed. We may be sure that no priest set out to teach just this story to the Indians of the village. The story has grown in the course of generations of speculation upon an effigy and a ritual already sanctified and mysterious. Indeed, we catch glimpses of this process today

when we hear of Indians who have found new explanations for some element of decorative design in church, or when an ethnologist's informant begins to offer speculations of his own.

Yet I am struck with the fact that even in the case of the Indian cultures there is more form than content in their collective life. In this same village of San Antonio there is performed every year in Holy Week a series of ceremonies occupying several days. It is generally understood that these ceremonies are a representation of the Passion of our Lord, and a general air of gravity attends them. But in my notes is a list of elements of the ritual for which none of my informants has been able to offer any explanation at all. Structures are erected and taken down, and effigies are used to which no meaning is assigned other than mere custom. One could fill many hundreds of pages with a detailed account of the goings and comings, the processions, the handing-over of effigies, the ritual drinking and bowing and the like, which custom provides must be carried on each year in one of these Indian villages among the groups of men in whose custody rest the images of the saints. On the other hand, even making liberal allowance for the relative difficulty of getting trustworthy information on the meanings of these acts, I feel sure that little could be said about the symbolic connections these acts have with the content of tradition. Yet, even in so far as these rituals have no symbolic meaning, they do maintain traditional ways within which behavior is regulated, and, therefore, they have their place in a broad investigation of the educational process in these communities.

The relatively formal or external aspect of much of the Guatemalan cultures is conspicuously illustrated in the dance-dramas. These are performed by Indians at most Indian festivals and very infrequently are performed by Ladinos at Ladino festivals. The observer sees a score of men dressed in brilliant and fantastic costumes, carrying highly specialized objects in their hands, and dancing, gesturing, and reciting long lines of

set speech. The performance might be an enactment of some centrally important holy myth. It is, as a matter of fact, nothing of the sort. There are about a dozen dance-dramas known in Guatemala. Most of these have spoken text. Specialists possess these texts and at festival time are hired to teach groups of Indians to speak them and to perform the accompanying dances. The texts are in oratorical Spanish, and it is rare that an Indian understands well what he is saying. The general theme of the drama is known: if the dance called "The Conquest" is danced, the combat between Alvarado, the Spanish invader, and the pagan Indians is understood. But the tradition means little to the dancers; they will just as well enact Cortes' triumph over Montezuma, if that dance is cheaper to put on or provides a better show. The dance is performed, indeed, because a group of men is willing to put money and time into doing something lively for the festival. It may be compared to putting on a minstrel show in another culture, or hiring a merry-go-round. The comparison is not quite fair, but it suggests the truth.

In these societies of which I write, then, the educational process is not greatly dependent upon institutions organized for pedagogical purposes or upon organized and deliberate instruction within the family or other primary group. The ceremonial and other expressive customs which we find in every society are significant educationally here in Guatemala, too; but at least this one observer finds that, compared with some other societies, there is a great amount of formal machinery for the regulation of activities without corresponding symbolic content. To a marked extent the transmission of culture takes place within a complex of regulations: the traditional machinery of government and of ritual observances, the superimposed police control of the Guatemalan national government, the general traditional emphasis upon forms of utterance and conduct.

Nevertheless, an investigation of the educational process in these communities would

be far from complete if it were to consider only institutions, pedagogic or ceremonial, as elements in that process. Here, as elsewhere, the heritage of the group is communicated and modified in situations much less clearly defined than any of which mention has so far been made in this paper. I refer to that multitude of daily situations in which, by word and gesture, some part of the tradition is communicated from one individual to another without the presence of any formal institution and without any deliberate inculcation. This class of situations corresponds in a general way with what Spencer called the "primary forms of social control."

Let us imagine that we are standing unseen outside a house in the village where I am living. Within the house some Ladino women are praying a novena, and outside it six men and two boys stand around a little fire and talk. Someone compares the heaping-up of pine cones made ready for this fire to the heaping-up of twigs by Indians at certain places on hilltops where, by Indian custom, the traveler strokes away the fatigue from his legs with a twig and then adds the twig to a growing pile. As soon as the comparison has been made, one man of those beside the fire expresses derision at this Indian belief, which is well known to all present. Others briefly indicate similar disbelief in the custom. Another man then makes a remark to the effect that what does in fact serve to relieve tired legs is to rub rum on the ankle-bones. A younger man—apparently unfamiliar with this remedy—asks how this can be effective, and the older man explains that the rum heats the nerves that run near the ankle-bone and that the heat passes up the body along the nerves and so restores strength. The explanation is accepted; the apparent physiological mechanism provides a warrant for accepting the worth of rum as a remedy.

After a short period of silence, conversation begins about snakes, one man having recently killed a large snake. A young boy, apparently wishing to make an effective contribution to a conversation in which he has

as yet played no part, remarks that the coral snake joins itself together when cut apart. The man who laughed at the Indian belief about tired legs scornfully denies the truth of the statement about coral snakes. Another older man in the group comes to the support of the boy and in a tentative way supports the truth of the belief as to coral snakes. A younger man says that it is not true, because he cut apart such a snake without unusual result. The skeptical man appeals to the company; another witness offers testimony unfavorable to the belief. The boy has not spoken again; the other man who ventured to support him withdraws from the argument. But this man wishes, it seems, to restore his damaged prestige. With more confidence he offers the statement that some animals *can* do unusual things: the monkey, when shot by a gun, takes a leaf from the tree in which he is sitting and with it plugs the wound. The smaller of the two boys, who has not yet spoken, adds that the jaguar can do this also. Discussion breaks out, several persons speaking at once; the trend of the remarks is to the effect that, although undoubtedly the monkey can do as described, the jaguar is unable to do so. The quick statements of opinion break out almost simultaneously, and very quickly thereafter the matter is dropped. The bystander recognizes that there is substantial consensus on the points raised; the boy is apparently convinced.

We may safely assume that in such a situation as this the states of mind of the participants in the conversation with reference to the points at issue differ from one another less at the conclusion of the conversation than they did at the beginning. The matter is not ended for any one of them, of course; subsequent experiences and conversations about fatigue, snakes, and monkeys will again modify their conceptions, or at least redeclare them. We may suppose also that the outcome of this particular conversation—an apparent consensus in favor of rum and against twigs, supporting the belief about monkeys and unfavorable to the beliefs about coral snakes and jaguars—will not be

duplicated exactly in the next conversation that occurs among similar men on these subjects. We are not so simple as to suppose that by attending to this little talk we have discovered "the belief" of the Ladinos on these points. The personalities of the influential men, the accidents of recent experiences had with monkeys or snakes, and, indeed, probably also the general tone of the moment, which may or may not have been favorable to the serious reception of a marvelous story, are among the factors that have entered into the situation. They have brought about, not a conclusive conviction, but a sort of temporary resting-place of more or less common understanding. We may think of the outcome of such little exchanges of viewpoint as the component of many forces. Because each man's state of mind at the time of the conversation is itself the component of many such forces, most of which have been exerted within the same community of long-intercommunicating men and women, it is likely to be not greatly different from that of his neighbors. Still, there are always individual differences; and it is largely in such little happenings as that which took place around the pine-cone fire that these differences are made influential and that they come to be adjusted one to another.

The episode may be recognized as one of that multitude by which the heritage is transmitted. It was a tiny event in the education of the people. Some part of the heritage with reference to the treatment of fatigue and with reference to the behavior of certain animals passed from older people to younger people—and, indeed, it passed also from younger people to older people, for oral education is a stream that flows through all contemporaries, whatever their ages.

At the same time it was a small event in which the culture of the group underwent a change. Some old people in the community tell me that when they were young they heard about the ability of the coral snake to join itself together and did not doubt its truth.

Perhaps the boy who advanced the belief received his first knowledge of it from such a grandfather. After this evening around the pine-cone fire he will treat grandfather's remarks with a new grain of skepticism. Some of the men who took part in this conversation have traveled and have lived in the city among men whose tradition disposed them more readily to laugh at the story of the coral snake, and the effects of such experiences were also registered in the outcome of the evening's conversation. The result of these various influences was to shift, though ever so slightly, the center of gravity of the community beliefs on these points.

Furthermore, the trifling occurrence was also an event in the transmission of tradition from one group to another. No Indian took part in the conversation, but one man, who was born an Indian but had lived long among Ladinos, stood silent in the dark edges of the group. As an ethnologist who has talked with Indians, I know that the belief about getting rid of fatigue by brushing the legs with twigs is by them generally accepted, and great credence is given to beliefs as to the ability of injured animals to treat themselves. Now there has impinged upon that silent Indian a set of forces tending to shift the center of his belief; and now, when he takes part in a similar discussion among Indians, he is more likely to be on the skeptical side of the center of consensus than if he had not been here this evening. It is largely by the accumulating effect of innumerable such occurrences that the culture of the Indians and that of the Ladinos are becoming more and more alike.

We are not to suppose that it is always the Indian who is disposed to change his mind so that it becomes more like that of the Ladino. For certain reasons the predominant trend tends to substitute Ladino tradition for that of the Indians. But the Ladino has in four hundred years taken on a great deal from the Indians—the techniques of maize-farming and the use of the sweat bath, to mention just two elements—and he still

learns from the Indian. The episode around the pine-cone fire could be matched by an episode in which Indians, showing Ladinos the nicked ears of wild animals, by this evidence tended to persuade the Ladinos that these animals were indeed under the domestication of a supernatural protector inhabiting the woods.

It is a fair guess that in any society the process of education depends more on such events as represented in the conversation I have reported than it does upon all the formal pedagogical devices which exist in the society. In the speech and gestures which take place in the home, in the play and work groups, and wherever people talk naturally about matters that are interesting to them, the tradition is reasserted and redefined. In these situations the culture is not merely spoken about; it is acted out; it happens before the eyes and even through the persons of children, who by this means, in large degree, are educated. This basic part of the educational process takes place in every society and probably to such an extent that societies are greatly alike in this respect. Upon the flow of such experience are erected those more clearly defined institutions of the folk traditions, as well as the deliberate enterprises of pedagogy and propaganda. As to these, societies will be found greatly to differ.

Comparing these particular Guatemalan societies with—let us say, that of the French-Canadian villages—I should say that here education is more secular and more casual. These Guatemalan societies seem to me relatively meager with respect to organized moral convictions and sacred traditions. What the Indians tell me about the times of their grandfathers suggests strongly that the Indian societies have lost in ceremonial richness, as I suspect they have lost in the moral value and the integration of their local traditions. Because I have observed the influence of priests in other communities in maintaining a sacred tradition and in explaining symbolic significance of traditional rituals, I think it likely that, if, indeed, these societies

have been becoming more casual and more secular, the lessened influence of the Catholic priests has been one factor in this change. The Guatemala of today is well regulated by secular government in the interests of public order and hygiene. My guess—which is to be tested by historical investigation—is that secular external regulation (important probably even in pre-Columbian times) has grown in later years, while that control dependent upon moral conviction and instruction and upon local tradition has declined. The school, for these rural people, is another form of external regulation rather than an expression of local tradition.

Whatever study of the history of this part of rural Guatemala may in fact show, the present situation in these societies suggests the question of whether a rich culture is compatible with a society in which the mechanisms for education consist chiefly of formal regulations and of casual conversation. The comparison between Indian and Ladino societies—alike though they are in their generally secular character—indicates a correspondence between certain characteristics of culture and certain characteristics of education. The Indian beliefs and tales have relation to current life, and more of them have moral content or depth than is the case with Ladino beliefs and tales. And, second, in the Indian societies there is a social-political-religious organization—a system of progressive public services through which all males pass—that is largely native to the community, that is a force in social control, and that involves relatively sacred things. This organization is largely lacking in the Ladino societies. These differences may be stated in terms of differences in the educational institutions of the two peoples: To a greater degree than is the case with the Ladinos, the Indians hear and tell stories that express and justify traditional beliefs; and by passing through the hierarchy of services the individual learns the ritual that is the inner and relatively sacred side of the formal civic organization. Emphasizing characteristics of those Guatemalan societies which are more

THE PAN-AFRICAN PROBLEM OF CULTURE CONTACT

BRONISLAW MALINOWSKI¹

ABSTRACT

The young African of today lives in two worlds and belongs fully and completely to neither. European education has alienated him from native traditions and imbued him with the values and expectations of European culture. At the same time European interests exclude him from the white community and deny him the material basis for the style of life he has been taught to aspire to. Education must be transformed to close rather than perpetuate this vicious gap between expectation and reality. African schools should train their pupils for adaptation to the African environment. Respect for native values should be maintained along with the equipment for co-operation with the European community. European wealth should be used to provide the basis for fulfilling the claims and needs which Western education has developed.

THE PROCESSES OF SCHOOLING AND OF CULTURAL TRANSMISSION

I want to start from the axiom that education is something much wider and more comprehensive than schooling. By education I mean the integral process of transmission of culture. Schooling is that somewhat restricted part of it which is professionally given by teacher to pupil, by the professional educator to those who come under his tutelage in an organized institution of learning.

In every society, whether it be simple or complex, the infant is born naked, untutored, endowed only with his innate qualities of mind and body; and even those have still to be gradually developed in the process, not only to acquire the skills and the ideas of his culture, but also to develop those moral values, social attitudes, and beliefs which constitute citizenship and personality in the widest sense of the term. In primitive cultures this integral process of education is carried on by the family, by the play group, through initiation ceremonies, and by apprenticeship given by every professional group into which the individual is adopted.

In communities which boast of a more highly differentiated civilization the child is taken away from home, from playmates and occupations, and has to enter a specialized institution, the school, which concentrates, first, on giving him the elements of general knowledge and skills and then, gradually, on

developing (in a few cases at least) professional abilities, manual or mental. We know that around us, in all the branches of our hypertrophied Western civilization, there is a rift between school and home, between schematized teaching and the direct influence of life and its unregimented pursuits. This rift has probably assumed pathological forms under the new wave of totalitarian regimes. There the state, controlling school, or juvenile regiment is trying to mold the child into a very specific type of personality—into what, in fact, is nothing more or less than an interchangeable part or cog in a vast human mechanism subjected to the centralized control of the totalitarian party in rule. Even in democratic communities, however, there is a serious problem of harmonizing the influences of school and home, of book learning and the real, effective apprenticeship to life.

All these difficulties and dangers increase immensely when education is given from one culture to another, as is the case at present in Africa. Under such conditions the school is based on systems derived from a highly mechanized, capitalistic, and sophisticated European civilization, while the life of the people still runs largely on the tribal basis.

We must remember that most (practically all) education was started in Africa by the Christian missionaries and that even up to the present it still remains almost exclusively in missionary hands. For this the African and their friends and partisans must express a deep debt of gratitude. The fact, however,

¹ This was the last article written by Dr. Malinowski before his decease last fall.

has some important consequences. The missionary, even more than the professional educator, is endowed with strong faith. He not only believes in the value of education—which would be bad enough—but he also believes in the saving virtue of spiritual uplift. He is deeply convinced that, by implanting the seeds of the right faith in a man's heart, you not only transform him spiritually but also give him most (maybe all) the privileges of freedom, happiness, and, indeed, of wealth and welfare. Now, however sympathetically we might turn to the point of view of the faithful, enthusiastic and zealous, the hard facts of human life and human relationships contradict this easy solution of human problems.

The anthropologist has to state, at this point, that human culture is a hard and heavy reality. Man lives in his culture, for his culture, and by his culture. To transform this traditional heritage, to make a branch of humanity jump across centuries of development, is a process in which only a highly skilled and scientifically founded achievement of cultural engineering can reach positive results.

We shall, in a moment, have a closer look at the general principles of this cultural transformation—or transculturation, as we might call it—following the great Cuban scholar, Dr. Fernando Ortiz, whose name may well be mentioned here, for he is one of the most passionate friends of the Africans in the New World and a very effective spokesman of their cultural value and sponsor of their advancement.

Let us see how this process of transculturation was managed at the beginnings of European contact in Africa. The onslaught of white civilization on native cultures was carried out, we may say, by two columns. There was a column of "good will" toward the African, represented by the missionary and the educator and often also by some of the more sympathetic and enlightened administrative officials. There was also the column of "good gain." This was represented by the predatory elements—by the slave raiders in the bad old days when the Dark

Continent was subject to this shameful pursuit, and later on by those who wanted to exploit the native resources of Africa, as well as the native labor, which was indispensable to the exploitation. The column of good will was prepared to give the native unstintingly of our knowledge and our Christianity, of our sport and our predilections for cotton and linen, for soap and water. But the other part of the white community was not prepared to grant any of the privileges and consequences of education or of Christianity, still less any advantages in terms of political power, personal independence, and material gain.

Thus we had, on the one hand, the theory that by exorcisms and exhortations the level of African life could be raised up to that of a European gentleman—that is, an educated Christian. The exorcisms were directed against witchcraft and polygamy, against tribal warfare and cannibalism, against going around naked, and also against such innocent practices as dancing, beer-drinking, or unusual forms of courtship. The African had to be "freed from his fear of sorcery and supernatural terrors." He had to be "clothed in the garb of Christian cleanliness." He was promised "to live in perpetual peace and satisfaction." In this, administrative ruling, evangelization, and schooling went hand in hand. The anthropologist should immediately register here that a great deal of African culture was destroyed or undermined in the process. The exorcisms produced a negative effect.

What was given instead? First and foremost, the principles of Christianity. The native was taught to believe in the Trinity and in the Gospels instead of in his tribal ancestors, his nature divinities, or the beneficent powers of constructive magic and totemism. Christianity, however, means, in its essence, not merely the affirmation that God exists; it implies also the principle that all men are the children of God. And here at once there came the profound clash due to the two-column approach of the Europeans. The African might become a fervent believer in all the dogmas. He might pay all the

price to be paid, giving up his wives and concubines, his pleasant customs of courtship, his dances, and his beer drinks. Yet gradually he became aware that he could not worship his White God in the same churches with the pale-skinned children of Christ. He was made aware that, on path or pavement, in public assembly or in private converse, he was not the brother of his white fellow-Christian—not even the younger brother, but rather someone to be shoved aside at the white Christian's fraternal pleasure and convenience.

Thus the process of uplift and education, started with strong hopes and convictions, did not lead to the results desired by missionary and native alike. The African lost a great deal of his cultural heritage, with all the natural privileges which it carried of political independence, of personal freedom, of congenial pursuits in the wide, open spaces of his native land. He lost that partly through the predatory encroachments of white civilizations, but largely through the well-intentioned attempts of his real friends. At the same time he did not gain any foothold in white citizenship in the social and cultural world of European settlers, officials, and even missionaries and educators—a foothold the promise of which was implicit in the very fundamental principles of Christianity and education alike.

In order to understand more fully the reasons for all those thwarted and wrecked attempts at uplift, in order to appreciate the nature of the process and its consequence, let us turn to our little anthropological workshop and consider more fully the nature of human civilization and the place of the educational mechanisms within its context.

EDUCATION AS A CULTURAL PROCESS

We can define culture as the body of material appliances, the types of social organization, customs, beliefs, and moral values which man needs and wields as an instrumentality in the adjustment to his environment and the satisfaction of his needs. Every culture, simple or highly differentiated, must, first and foremost, provide man

with his nutritive maintenance, allow him to reproduce, provide him with bodily comforts and with safety against the forces of environment and against animal or human foes. Culture, however, raises man above his mere animal needs.

Culture thus satisfies first the organic standard of living and then adds an increased artificial standard of enjoyment, in which aesthetic pleasures, joys of companionship, and creative achievements can be developed. In all this, culture is an organic unit. The anthropologist recognizes more and more fully how dangerous it is to tamper with any part or aspect of culture, lest unforeseeable consequences occur. To educate one community out of its culture and to make it adopt integrally a much more highly differentiated civilization can be done only in a gradual, well-considered, and extremely well-informed way. Thus, for instance, the change from one type of sexual ethics to another may be desirable from the theological or moralistic point of view. But such a change invariably implies the reorganization not only of courtship and marriage but also of the family and the kinship system.

Again, to abolish the belief in sorcery seems a very simple and invariably desirable achievement. If we remember, however, that the belief in sorcery is not the cause but the consequence of the hard, inescapable facts of human misfortune, disease, and death, matters cease to be so simple. The Africans do not accuse one another of sorcery wantonly, out of malice or superstition. This belief has grown up through ages and in response to conditions in which the knowledge of medicine and pathology is rudimentary and of preventive medicine, nonexistent. Examined carefully, scientifically and sympathetically, the belief in sorcery appears as a very crude but sometimes very effective means of managing misfortune, disease, and the threat of death in terms of human machinations or the influence of manageable spiritual anger rather than in terms of inexorable decrees of destiny.

If you think of African witchcraft, spirit doctrine, or magic as an almost exact parallel

to certain modern religious or even scientific forms of treatment, you will see the point more clearly. The Christian Scientist, who affirms and apparently believes that misfortune and illness are effluvia of evil thoughts pouring out from within the soul or from the social environment, handles the threats to human welfare very much as does the African witch doctor. The famous Nancy school of mental therapy, which established both a preventive hygiene and a psychological increase of organic resistance by the simple formula of autosuggestion, proceeds on the same lines as does the Bantu *Iñanga*, who tells his patient that the evil influences have been removed and the bad substrata of sorcery counteracted.

The real cure for the belief in witchcraft and sorcery must go to the root of the evil and not to its innocuous psychological consequences. Give the Africans better nourishment, better housing, systems of preventive medicine, and adequate medical care, and then, but then only, will they stop bothering about sorcerers, flying witches, or ancestral spirits.

We can already see from these one or two examples that transculturation—the transformation of living conditions, of ideas, beliefs, and social forms—is something very much more comprehensive than the process of education. This, again, should not proceed by destroying first and then wondering what can be put in its place. It ought to be accomplished by the positive building-up, first and foremost, of sound living conditions and then of ideas and principles adequate to this cultural improvement.

We can see now the theoretical scheme which our brief analysis of culture and of education suggests to us. Education, under normal conditions, is the transmission of culture from one generation to another. Under conditions of culture change or transculturation it implies not merely the transmission of one system but the welding-together of two. And here, when in addition to cultural differences there enter two more complicating factors—that of race and of difference in level of development—the situation becomes

both complex and fraught with dangerous, (not to say tragic) possibilities.

THE THREE PHASES OF EDUCATION: BIRTHRIGHT, MOLDING, AND CHARTER OF CITIZENSHIP

In order to introduce some clarity into the confusion which interracial education always implies, let us first consider the process as one of supply and demand. In each community, simple or mixed, there is a demand for new members. Education in the form of schooling and apprenticeship to life is the process of supply which ought to meet the demand. When we have two strata or two groups divided by race, cultural level of development, and type of citizenship, the meeting-point between supply and demand becomes complicated. There is the need or the demand for new citizens. Immediately, however, there arises a question: Citizens of what type? Citizens prepared for which tasks? Citizens endowed with what kind of status?

It becomes clear at once that if we introduce a type of schooling which normally is organized and meant to produce European citizens, with a lifework, a status, and a set of privileges adapted to white European conditions, such schools may not meet the specific demand of the mixed community, which obviously is divided by such elements as the Color Bar, race prejudice, and the unwillingness to grant educated Africans the position and status which education implies.

We might formulate our scheme even more in detail. Like all processes of production, education implies the raw materials, the mechanisms of molding or fashioning, and the open market for the finished product. To translate these somewhat metaphorical terms into concrete concepts, we can say that all education, taken in its widest cultural context, presents three definite phases: birthright, molding of personality, and the charter of citizenship. On each of these points we shall have important differences to register when we approach interracial and intercultural education as opposed to the simple transmission of traditional skills,

ideas, and values within a homogeneous group.

As regards birthright, a human being is born with a biological endowment and also with his social and cultural destiny largely defined by the fact of his birth. Thus birthright is determined partly by biological heredity, partly by cultural inheritance. In our own civilization we have recognized this fully; and the second phase of education—that of schooling or molding—takes definite cognizance of the health, the I.Q., and also the original social and cultural endowment of the child. The type of schooling and teaching has to be definitely adapted to birthright. The better this adjustment is weighed, planned, and effected, the more certain will be the charter of citizenship received by the human product at the end of his education. Obviously this charter is the demand for a trained individual; for the place which society is ready to grant him in the body politic; for the duties and also the economic rewards and privileges implicit in his cultural performance.

As regards birthright, we obviously are faced in Africa, as elsewhere where two races coexist, with the vexed problem of race. I shall state here only epigrammatically my anthropological conviction that no grading of races into "inferior and superior," into "dominant and subordinate," has any scientific basis whatsoever. To this I should like to add immediately that in my opinion we need not assume a complete identity in all racial characters. It is, indeed, my conviction that certain differential abilities, certain specific contributions of one variety of the human species as against another, ought to be appreciated, developed, and regarded as an essential asset in interracial co-operation.

Pretentious but only pseudoscientific conclusions often have been drawn concerning the character of a race, its abilities, and its cultural possibilities from physical measurements. Even in Africa, and fairly recently, we had attempts made at a depreciation of African intelligence and capacity by reference to a smaller volume of the skull. Since,

however, there is no way whatsoever of inferring from the material substratum of intelligence to its pragmatic value in performance, such attempts are completely worthless.

The application of intelligence tests, especially when these are used with reference to two groups who live under different cultural conditions, seems also inconclusive. A yardstick to measure human intelligence or personal character is not easy to devise. Tests and examinations may be of some use when applied to very specific cultural situations and as a measure of concrete specific processes of learning. To assess the general character of one race as against another, they probably will never serve any useful purpose.

The only means of effective rating of races is the principle that race is as race does. And here I should like once more to quote from a lecture, one which was not delivered before an African audience but was addressed to a white community who have shown the greatest tendency to discriminate against their African fellow-citizens:

The African race . . . shows signs of developing strongly in the New World, as well as in its own home. The birthright, that is, the innate capacity of the Africans, and the limits of these, have not yet been explored. All evidence points to the conclusions that the African child responds as well to any type of schooling as does the European.²

So much for the innate birthright of the Africans. As regards the cultural birthright, the native in Africa has been profoundly affected by the encroachments of European colonists and colonial agencies. Today, in any part of Africa, the child is born no more

² I am quoting this from an address given in 1934 before a South African white audience at Johannesburg, with the present prime minister, Jan Smuts, in the chair. At that time, as on many other occasions, I have been able to expatiate upon the incredible strides made by Africans in the New World; to point out the leadership of New World Africans in art, in literature, and in scholarship; indeed, to mention among others, the achievements of this very university at which I have now the privilege of speaking [Fisk University].

to a world of freedom where the integral territory belongs to him and his people; where he can choose among the careers which, though limited, were well adapted to his cultural interests and personal inclinations. The modern African on his continent lives in a world which is politically subject, economically dependent, culturally spoon-fed, and molded by another race and another civilization.

The young African of today has to make a living, and in this he has two worlds, as it were, to depend upon. He belongs to neither of these fully and completely—that is, after he has undergone the process of European training. For he becomes, through this, partly alienated from pure tribal tradition but never completely adopted into the white community. His clear and unquestionable cultural birthright has been taken from him. What does he receive instead?

This brings us to the process of schooling, or molding. Education, in the sense of school training, is a key word used by all those whites who are sincerely in sympathy with the natives, who represent and lead the column of good will. Everywhere we find as the panacea for all the troubles "education and more education, better education and higher education." And as the second theme in this counterpoint of good will, we find the exhortation that the native should give up his tribal system and his superstitions, his heathen ways and his own cultural outlook.

Obviously, no one in his senses would nowadays try to belittle the value of schooling. The point which I am trying to make here is that education in the sense of schooling is but one phase of a process. It is a means to an end. You teach or train a man or a woman to better skills or greater efficiency, to moral or intellectual abilities. The end is to use these abilities and also to gain the advantages in terms of income, influence, and privilege. To put it crudely, I would suggest that for every pound or dollar spent in training there ought to be ten budgeted for the improvement of native conditions of life, for the purchase of more soil for the native,

and for the creation of opportunities in manual and intellectual work, of which the Africans now are almost completely deprived.

THE PRINCIPLES OF TECHNICAL SCHOOLING IN AFRICA

The technique of conducting elementary and higher schooling in Africa is not a subject which can be discussed in detail in a few pages. Indeed, it would not be easy to undertake a treatise on it, since we have but a limited documentary evidence on the subject. This in itself is not very reliable. Part of the work consists of programs, ideals, and expressions of good will but little related to what actually happens. There is also some literature containing more or less pertinent criticism.

The anthropology of culture contact and change—that is, of transculturation—is in its infancy. During my association with the International Institute of African Languages and Culture, I have attempted to train a number of young workers in the methods and problems of anthropological field work directed frontally toward the study of what actually happens in native schools, on mission stations and labor compounds, and in so-called detribalized African communities. Some of this work has already been published, mostly in the journal *Africa*. Some still awaits the light of day.

We have also to remember that under the various colonial systems the education of Africans has divergent aims, techniques, and implications. The French colonial school, largely political and antireligious, aims at the production of African Frenchmen. Portuguese schooling, as far as it exists, is largely carried out by foreign missions, partly under government control devoid of any definite constructive program. In the Belgian Congo, schooling is largely dominated by industrial and commercial interests. In the British colonies most teaching is still done by missions and is only supervised by educational departments.

Through all this, however, there run two or three general problems or principles; and we shall have to confine ourselves to these,

having primarily the British colonial areas, as well as the Union of South Africa, in view. Here we find perhaps the greatest problem raised by the coexistence of two principles or slogans: "The Africans must be given the best European education," and "The Africans must be developed on African lines."

It is clear that each principle represents one side of the problem and that each remains an empty slogan unless analyzed more fully and formulated more clearly. To give an African child the best type of European education would mean to prepare him for the best type of European life. But if you give a young African all the best European interests and values and raise in him the expectations, hopes, and claims which you can satisfy in your own children, and then send him back to his tribe or compel him to work on the other side of the Color Bar, you obviously not merely waste your time and his but also inflict on him a grievous injury. He has been educated to a life-task which he will never be allowed to exercise. Instead, he is compelled to accept a remuneration in terms of money, standard of living, and status, which profoundly clashes with the expectations raised.

As regards the principle of educating the African on African lines, this is hardly less fallacious. First of all, such an education can obviously best be given the African in his home, among his playmates, and by his elders. A school conducted by Europeans is perhaps the worst agency for imparting genuine African education. The slogan can only mean, as it often does, to educate Africans to an inadequate and inferior position within the lower caste of a mixed community. Again, the African today needs something more than merely to be brought up to the ways and traditions of his own community, tribal or detribalized. His education must prepare him to face the realities of European encroachment. He is necessary within the compounded community, for the European depends upon him. He must know something about European ways of behavior, about the manner in which law and justice

will be administered to him, about the way in which he will be treated or ill-treated.

We must, therefore, draw the simple conclusion that African education has to proceed on two fronts. The child has to receive a type of schooling which will prepare him—and prepare him advantageously—for his contacts, his contests, and his co-operation with Europeans. He has to be taught subjects and skills which give him the maximum chance as regards European employment. And he has to be forewarned and forearmed against all the dangers and discriminations which he will suffer. Tragic and depressing as this sounds, it obviously means that realism is safer than wishful thinking and that the school might as well face squarely the end of the road on which it is leading the child and not impart hopes and illusions which are bound to be shattered.

The second front of African education must be based on the principle that schooling should not in any way increase the disintegration and the rift which is very often created between the educated African and his fellow-tribesmen.

All this means, obviously, that the education which we organize and give to the African child in the special schools cannot proceed alone. It has to be somehow welded and harmonized with such apprenticeship to life as the child receives at home and in the village and which makes him a member of his own community, tribe, race, and culture. The two important principles here implied are that whatever the child learns in school should not estrange him or her from membership in his own society. He should not merely be prevented from developing a contempt for his own traditional heritage and his own race; he ought also to be taught the meaning, the value, and the importance of such African customs, ideas, and institutions which still survive. This would teach him to respect his own culture and to be proud of being a member of the African race. That this is not an empty phraseology will be shown briefly; it is common knowledge to those acquainted with present conditions in Africa.

On the other hand, pure African education is not a task to be undertaken by the European school. It is a reality to be respected by the teachers but not a subject to be directly imparted by them. The preparation for work under the modern African conditions—a preparation which may consist merely of literacy, appreciation of what European culture means, and an acquaintance with the best ways of gaining employment within the new framework of change—is also indispensable. As regards this part of education, however, it should be given not in order to satisfy European aims or ideas of uplift but rather so as to prepare the African for his own tasks, in his own interests, and from a genuine and realistic point of view.

Through all this the three principles mentioned above run clearly: respect for African birthright; the clear vision of the charter of citizenship implied—that is, the opportunities and advantages to be gained from education; and the adjustment of the specialized phase, that of teaching and molding of character to both birthright and charter. Indeed, the fuller and better founded the charter of citizenship, the more we shall find that the birthright of the African, which in its native, natural form we have taken away from him, will be at least partly replaced by something new, yet of substantial value.

EDUCATION ON AFRICAN LINES

We have dismissed this principle when it functions merely as a vague slogan. We have now to reformulate it as a reality. As such, it refers rather to what happens outside the school, which should affect the school only in so far as actual teaching should neither interfere with nor destroy native training but, on the contrary, respect it and become adjusted to it.

The question might be raised, especially when we consider the so-called detribalized parts and sections of modern Africa, as to whether African education is not impossible and unnecessary. Facts prove that, on the contrary, African education is still urgently necessary and that it is in existence—hence, certainly possible. The African, because of

the European attitudes toward him, has to live among people of his own color. After his term of service in a European-managed mine or plantation, he returns to his tribe and continues to live a largely tribal life. The detribalized sections on farms or in native townships are efficiently “segregated” and must rely on their own companionship and on a new type of culture—a culture which certainly is not typically European. If we were to study the conditions among the civilized and even highly educated Bantu classes of South Africa, we should find that the custom of *lobola*, or bride-price, is still practiced. The language spoken is often the vernacular. The kinship code in matters of obligations, attitudes, and taboos still rules supreme. A new African nationalism or conservatism on the rebound is rapidly forming.

Not only are many old customs and traditions retained, but a new African culture is being developed. We have, for instance, the increasing growth of independent African Christian churches. In these churches, dogma, ritual, and ethics are in an interesting way a new creative development of African genius. Sometimes such independent churches even incorporate certain old customs, such as polygamy, and the Bantu marriage law; elements of initiation rites and of ancestor-worship. They are always a reformulation of Christianity in terms of the new needs of the detribalized or partly detribalized African community.

As regards economics, we have a new independent type of Bantu trade-unionism and socialism. The Africans in the Union and in other parts of East Africa are also developing their own mutual aid associations, their own clubs and own forms of entertainment. New dances, new games, and new types of licit or illicit liquor-brewing satisfy the needs for entertainment, amusement, and nonreligious uplift.

The reasons for this formation of a new African culture (which is not so much a mixture of African traditionalism with European elements as it is a creative re-interpretation in which many entirely new ideas, principles, rules, and even devices are

improvised) are not difficult to find. The African has to create his own ways of life because he is not allowed to participate fully; indeed, he is not admitted to any participation in white citizenship and in white life.

Culture can be effectively transmitted only by the full admission of those who have to adopt it into the community which practices it. The Africans are constantly exhorted by teachers and missionaries alike to become "civilized"; that means, to assimilate as far as possible to the white community. They are effectively prevented from doing it by the system of segregation, by the Color Bar legislation, by being excluded from most of the benefits and privileges which must accompany the status of an educated, civilized man or woman. They have, obviously, to fall back on their own resources. In many regions and in many respects they go back to their own system of kinship, to their laws of marriage, to their initiation practices, and to some of their own entertainments. When this is not possible because they have been too strongly transformed (as in religion, for instance), they have to devise new forms of it adapted to their political, economic, and social position. They have to cling either to the old kinship system or to new forms of kinship solidarity; since, when out of work or in financial trouble or in illness, they are not provided by the European with systems of insurance, they cannot become members of friendly societies run by whites, and they often do not even have adequate hospital facilities. They would probably adapt readily to the European Christian family if they were given the means of adequate housing and if they were received by their European neighbors as guests in friendly intercourse. Since, however, the economic, technical, and social means of establishing a European household are not there, something new has to be created.

I have attempted to show that even the detribalized portion of the African community does not and cannot live within the framework of European civilization. Large portions of Africa, however, are still under

tribal conditions. The Africans are fed by their own primary production, and it can be proved that even the detribalized natives receive a large portion of their wealth from the tribal areas. In many areas the political organization is still a going concern, whether recognized by the Europeans or not. African religion is still alive, and it works, even when driven underground.

In both regions—that is, in the tribal portions and in those areas where a new African culture is gradually developing—part of the educational process has to be given to the African child by his African setting. The concept of education developed by modern functional anthropology implies that training must exist in every culture. The tradition and the organization within every community has to be preserved by being handed down from one generation to another. If we were to take the African culture as it stands now, we should have, obviously, to consider what the child learns in his domestic setting; how he is affected by initiation ceremonies and the apprenticeship to technical skills, by a knowledge of custom and principle which is given to him as he enters the various institutions of which he is a part.

I cannot here enter more fully into the details of the African educational agencies. Here, again, it must be remembered that we have a field of ethnographic research which has been somewhat neglected by official anthropology. I have elsewhere summed up the salient points of African education as it happens at home, within the group of playmates, at initiation ceremonies, through age-grade organizations, and the institution of Bantu regiments.³

These processes ought to be known and appreciated by the missions and teachers and the educational departments of colonial administrations. The school ought to take cognizance of these processes in giving the scholars at least a full understanding of what the function, the importance, and the value of African traditional customs and institu-

³ "Native Education and Culture Contact," *International Review of Missions*, October, 1936, pp. 480-515.

tions are. The details as regards skill, knowledge, and instructions cannot be given in the school. In this the European or the European-trained native teacher is not competent. But he could, and he ought to, explicitly show and state his appreciation of African family life and marriage law. He ought to teach the children to respect their tribal elders and parents and even to be aware of the value of ancestor-worship. The teacher might show that initiation ceremonies are not an evil heathen custom but that they are an important agency in imparting respect for tradition. The young African must be made aware of the significance and value of his tradition instead of being taught to despise it, as it happens mostly at present.

Another practical point which can be made here is that a definite co-operation between tribal elders or the important members of a detribalized community and the scholastic authorities should be established. When working in tribal areas or in the native townships of South Africa and the Rhodesias, I constantly come across complaints from both sides. The school has a permanent grievance that no co-operation is given by domestic or local authorities of the African race and that, instead, the children are constantly compelled to take part in some economic pursuits or tribal festivities or domestic events. The Africans, on the other hand, resent the time which the children have to give to schooling, which in one way they appreciate yet in many ways they have not been made to understand. A co-operation between parents and schools, a system which we are now trying to introduce in our own educational institutions, is even more necessary under interracial conditions.

These practical suggestions are not just armchair dreams of an enthusiastic anthropologist. I could adduce evidence of such tendencies and movements from the writings of enlightened missionaries, from educational reports, and even from actual occurrences in various parts of Africa.⁴

⁴ I should like to refer here to the important volume, *Essays Catholic and Missionary*, ed. E. R. Morgan (1926), especially to the article, "The Christian

TRAINING IN EUROPEAN SCHOLARSHIP

Even if we were to confine ourselves here to the British colonies and the Union of South Africa, the technicalities of the problem would escape any brief summary. We should have to discuss the missionary point of view under government supervision; the elementary schools in the Bush and co-ordinating educational attempts, such as the Joanes movement, and technical schools and native colleges giving an equivalent of university training.

Instead of a detailed analysis of such facts (which would take up a volume and for which we have only scanty and scattered data), I shall quote an experienced teacher and organizer of education—a convinced Christian, and one who is in sympathy both with our religion and culture and with the interests of the Africans.

It is a common criticism of our educational policy in Africa that education, from the African point of view, has come to mean unrelated information, the acquiring of literary skill and languages, but that it has had singularly little influence in the life of the masses of the people. It has not resulted, as we hoped, in the adoption of improved habits in elementary matters of food and clothing, the care of babies and the practice of agriculture by the communities around the school. Schools have been isolated centres of "learning" rather than centres of training for a life of action. Their influence has been strangely confined to the individuals who have there learned to read, write or do sums in arithmetic. To them the tools of learning have been primarily decorative or profitable to themselves rather than practical and useful in their familiar social background.⁵

Approach to Non-Christian Customs" by the Rt. Rev. W. V. Lucas, Bishop of Masasi. A notable experiment in a co-operative school, which has been started by W. B. Mumford at Malangali, is described by the originator in "Malangali School," *Africa*, III (July, 1930). In Swaziland, the paramount chief, Sobhuza II, has successfully transformed the national school of his Protectorate into a co-operative institution, very much on the lines advocated here.

⁵ J. W. C. Dugall, "School Education and Native Life," *Africa*, III, 51.

In commenting on this, I would say only that some elements of ordinary European knowledge are necessary for the African and that these, on the whole, are given to him. For many—though by no means all—of the natives, reading and writing, the elements of arithmetic, of bookkeeping, and of the skills necessary in running European tools or even machines, are very useful. But here one or two important principles might be laid down. The differentiation of European schools for Africans is at present based on the interests of Europeans and not on those of the African community. It is a differentiation according to whether the teaching is given by the Roman Catholics or the Dutch Lutherans, by groups who believe in Indirect Rule or those who are convinced that the African must be assimilated as rapidly as possible.

The fundamental principle here advocated is that some comprehensive planning of African schools, if possible for the continent as a whole, should be made—and made in the interests of the population and not of those who are guiding the system, very often to satisfy their own ideals, predilections, tastes, or even vested interests. Thus, for instance, in completely tribal regions, especially such as Nigeria or Tanganyika Territory or Northern Rhodesia, where Indirect Rule has been granted, the schools ought to be very much more adjusted to tribal life. Indirect Rule, as is well known, is the preservation of African institutions—political, social, and even religious—with a considerable latitude in autonomy and self-determination. In such regions schools which primarily aim at estranging the child from his own tradition and cultural setting become an absurdity. In many parts of Africa even the acquisition of the European language is a mere waste of time.

An entirely different type of school might be advocated for regions where a great deal of autonomy is combined with a progressive political administration and African response. We have tribes such as the Chagga on the Kilimanjaro; the Kikuyu living round Mount Kenya; and many other communi-

ties in Uganda and round the Lakes where cotton, coffee, sisal hemp, and other cash produce are being developed by native enterprise, very often with native capital. There, obviously, a different type of training is necessary. To compete with European planters, the native must know how to organize into co-operatives; how to carry on accountancy or control white accountants; how to appreciate economic factors at home and abroad. In such regions not only must the three R's be taught, as well as a good knowledge of English, but also schools for well-trained technical and business management ought to be developed. This is, again, not a mere fantasy. Such movements have been set into motion by the inevitable pressure of facts. Yet there is no comprehensive planning, no full map of Africa, with its cultural necessities and its educational instrumentalities plotted out systematically.

There are other regions where the native depends economically upon European enterprises. This, obviously, refers primarily to the Union, to the Protectorates, and to large parts of Portuguese Africa as well as the Rhodesias. In such regions I would suggest that the schools ought to prepare the young boy or girl for the very tasks and conditions under which he or she will have to work. There is no doubt for me that the vexed question of the linguistic medium of teaching ought to be solved in such regions by adopting definitely the dominant European language of the area. In the earliest grades there ought to be teachers conversant in the vernacular who can impart the knowledge of English or French, maybe also Portuguese and Afrikaans. Later on, however, teaching ought to be given in the dominant European language of the region. I would like to see the cultivation of the several substitute, semi-African languages, such as Swahili, Hausa, or Arabic, gradually eliminated.

As regards higher types of teaching, the most important point here refers to the final phase of the process—that is, to the character of citizenship. It is hard on a community if opportunities for professional development

are granted but opportunities for the exercise of a profession are withheld.

It is hardly necessary for me to frame an indictment of many features of the present system. Associated as education has usually been either with missionary uplift or with a direct attempt at refashioning the African into the guise of a civilized Frenchman or Belgian, the religious and the lay education alike has produced the effect of estranging the scholar from his own community, of making him dislike and despise his parental home, his village, and his tribe. The church elders or the members of the "civilized élite" in French or Belgian Africa have been made into the stronghold of anti-African feeling and opinion.

Were it possible to extend the élite to all the tribesmen, or the privileges enjoyed by the few wealthier and better-established African teachers or elders to the whole community, there would be no serious objection to a transition from things African to things European. But it has been stated here, again and again, that a complete transition of the whole of Africa to European standards would involve, first, the complete withdrawal of Europeans from Africa so as to restore the land, the political power, and opportunities which are now usurped at the African's expense. Not only that. It would be necessary to pour capital from Europe and the whole Western world into the Dark Continent, and the fruits of this should not be garnered, as now, by European capitalists but presented to the Africans. As long as we are not prepared to do this, the worst we can do to the Africans is to make them despise their own conditions of life and, at the same time, prevent them from adopting the new conditions which we teach them to appreciate and value.

The disparagement of ancestor-worship and beer drinks, of African interests and pursuits, is, therefore, a most undesirable by-product of the one-sided European-controlled and European-aimed education on European lines. The only thing which we ought to give them from this point of view is the maximum preparation for contact with

the white community. The African ought to be taught what are his rights and his claims, and also his duties and liabilities. He ought to obtain a clear idea from the outset of how much he will be allowed to claim politically, economically, and socially. He ought to be shown also where the artificially imposed disabilities, which differ from one area to another but are never absent, will cut across his career and those hopes and expectations which education always induces. The schooling we give him should never be subversive of his respect for his own tribal dignity or racial characteristics.

THE CHARTER OF CITIZENSHIP

This concept has been the leitmotiv of all our argument. Ideally and normally, the higher the education obtained by an individual, the better his position in a community ought to become. This is, obviously, not fully at work even among ourselves. A movie star, a successful bootlegger, a fraudulent stockbroker, a political boss—whether his name be Adolf Hitler or Mayor Plague or anything else—receives a finer and fuller reward in income, respect, and social position than the most learned rabbi, professor, of pundit. But, by and large, education—especially in the wider sense of development or abilities, personality, and foresight—does raise the standard of living, of personal influence, and of social importance.

Under conditions of interracial teaching, however, almost the reverse is true. At times even elementary education received by a child becomes a mere waste of time, a handicap in the learning of really useful skills through tribal apprenticeship, and an injury through partial estrangement from tribal ways. Cases could be quoted, from some parts of Africa, where a technical school had been opened for the training of skilled labor and African engineers while soon after its establishment discriminating legislation forbade, in the same area, skilled African labor to be used. Colleges and universities train people for professions in which there are but few openings, with definitely inadequate rewards. Again, the highly edu-

cated African is put at a disadvantage in that his hopes and expectations have been raised, his sensitivity increased, and then his person submitted to all the discriminations, pass-laws, and indignities which are lavished on any and every African.

The charter of citizenship, which is perhaps the most sacred and inalienable right of an educated man, is set at naught in Africa for an African because of the policy of segregation, the laws of Color Bar, and the facts of political disabilities, the absence of rights to organize, and the absence of full, impartial justice. I add to this the artificial restrictions on the freedom of movement, the exclusion from equal comradeship in places of entertainment, parks, and other means of public amenity; and you will see what agencies cut at the charter.

Let us have a look at the economic opportunities given by education. In so far as we still have tribal areas run by old African tradition, European education has added but little to the native charter of citizenship. In fact, as we have seen, it detracts from it. In detribalized parts of the Union and other colonies we have to distinguish. In some areas where African skilled labor is admitted and where natives are encouraged to develop their own natural resources by their own capital, labor, and enterprise, education has a value and gives a charter with its advantages and privileges. As soon, however, as the Color Bar enters, in the form of either enacted laws or customary restrictions or unfair competition, the battle for education once more has to be fought with reference to its last phase—that is, the opportunities given.

Let us have a look at what is usually defined as the policy of segregation. This is very often erroneously and hypocritically described as means of "independent development for the Africans." Segregation could be equitable. It could be so if it allowed the African a sufficiency in territorial expansion; that is, if we granted him enough land to build comfortable villages and townships, to develop his farms, and even to produce lucrative cash crops and raise cattle on a com-

mercial basis. Certain remedies have been instituted in the Union of South Africa by the passage of the Herzog laws. Had these laws not demanded such a high price in other native prerogatives, they could have been regarded as a great benefit. Even here, however, we have to wait until the laws are effectively implemented. Equitable segregation would also demand a full range of economic opportunities. For the time being, the native can engage in a labor contract in mines and factories in which his income is artificially restricted and in which he is neither encouraged nor helped to economize and accumulate capital. Segregation would mean an equal share in services, amenities, and institutions. We should have to demand independent African banks, means of transport, parks, and business organizations. Obviously, nothing of the sort exists. Political autonomy is a goal of which, in many parts of Africa, it is now fantastic to speak. This, obviously, refers to precisely those areas where education is necessary and where it ought to give also this political charter. Political autonomy exists only within restricted tribal areas which enjoy Indirect Rule.

What "segregation" as we find it amounts to is a complete political and legal control of Africans by whites. It means economic dependence, the complete absence of suffrage or any other mechanism for political influence, and a treatment under law and court systems which is neither segregated nor equitable.

The result of all this is that as soon as we approach the detribalized phases of African society—and these are the only ones in which the problem of education is really relevant—we find the complete absence of that even, well-balanced structure necessary to a healthy development of a community and of a culture. A sound society must be based on the even distribution of occupational groups—manual, skilled, and professional. It must have an independent, self-sufficient economy of food production and the production of primary necessities. This is absent as regards the detribalized sections of Africa. A sound society must also produce an artisan

class, people in small business, small employees, and professional men. And here we have the most unfortunate fact—that the great bulk of African wage-earners do not and cannot give employment either to small business, such as shopkeepers, nor yet to African professionals. Most of the wage-earners, such as mine labor and factory employees, are supervised and spoon-fed by organized European institutions. There is no room for an African doctor, for an African lawyer, for an African nurse, for an African retailer, as regards custom drawn from the three-hundred-thousand-odd colored workers who live on Witwatersrand. All the profits which these professional Africans might gain are gathered by European employees and officials on the mines.

There is no progress or development possible in such a society, hampered and handicapped at every point. What is actually occurring now in those parts of Africa where large sections of previously self-contained communities have been thrown into the melting-pot or temporarily weaned from tribal life, is the formation of a rigid caste system. This new caste division is determined by the congenital social status, in which every member is born to a predestined course of existence. The rigid laws against intermarriage and interbreeding have also a definite caste character. The strict definition—or, more correctly, limitation—of power, privilege, and wealth places members of the caste within a system of economic bondage.

This concept of caste system with which I have approached the problem of detribalized Africa some twelve years ago supplies in many ways the *tertium comparationis* between the problems of Africa and a number of problems on our own continent.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

I have already mentioned that in my opinion all the studies on transculturation and interracial relationships between Europeans and Africans ought to be placed within a framework of Pan-African theory. The reason for this is that here, as in every com-

parative research, we ought to consider the widest range of evidence available. The process of contact and change is essentially the same, whether it happens round the Kalahari, in the jungles of the Congo, in Brazil, the West Indies, or the southern states of the American Union. It is the same as long as the main determinant factors are similar or comparable. There are, obviously, profound differences as between the Latin and the Anglo-Saxon attitude, the principle of Indirect Rule and the Grondwet (which stipulates racial inequality as a lasting norm). But both similarities and differences can be brought into relief only when we have a genuine Pan-African framework of reference.

All the theoretical considerations, as well as all planning, organizing of evidence, and practical efforts, should be referred to such a framework. This has a great value also in that it allows us to discover and establish historical trends by the evidence of comparative analysis within contemporary conditions. There are regions in Africa where the process of transculturation has but recently started. There are areas such as the Union of South Africa, some islands in the West Indies, and the southern states of this federation where we can observe, study, and define the *terminus ad quem*, the ultimate goal toward which the process seems to be moving. This ultimate goal is in some cases, as in the British West Indies or the island of Cuba, one of relative freedom, equality, and identical or at least similar opportunities for all. In the Union of South Africa and in some parts of the United States we have, on the other hand, the beginnings of a rigid caste system.

I should like once more to quote from a previous publication of mine, at some length, especially since it is found in an inaccessible and nonspecialist periodical.

.... the most dramatic, not to say tragic, configuration of racial relationships occurs where neither race displaces the other, where whatever mixture takes place is socially degraded, and where, in consequence, a rigid caste system comes into being. In such cases, the result

is a stratified society, such as we find in its classical formation in pre-European India, and as we see now rapidly being formed in South Africa and in the United States of America. There we have groups of different racial stock living in the same territory, yet socially segregated, subject to legal and political discrimination, forced into different occupations, and prevented, more or less effectively, from mixing with each other in marriage.

Wherever caste has been stabilized, wherever the network of rules, prohibitions and restrictions has been accepted by lower and higher alike and has led to permanent adjustment, the system shows no glaring evils—on the surface at least.

In reality, however:

It is inevitably a source of weakness, it prevents the community as a whole presenting a united front, it leads to brutality and abuses from above, to servility and deceitfulness from below. The social disabilities weigh heavily on the lower and demoralize the higher stratum. Practical and legal discrimination is a perpetual source of abuse, dishonesty, and graft. Sexual relations between the two strata are essentially unsound, leading to bastardization of the lower caste and to preventive taboos with lynching and draconic laws meant to protect the women of the higher caste; while on the economic side, as we have abundantly proved, the caste system in its modern setting leads to forced labor with all its inherent evils. The point need not be labored, however, because everything which has been said in this article about the maladjustments and difficulties in the relations between black and white is an indictment of the caste system.⁶

That I was correct in my anticipatory historical diagnosis in suggesting the caste concept as the principal framework of reference has been proved since by the independent discovery of this principle by such American sociologists and anthropologists as Professor Lloyd Warner, Dr. H. Powdermaker, Dr. John Dollard, and Dr. Allison Davis.⁷

⁶ *Listener*, Suppl. No. 8 (July 16, 1930), published by the British Broadcasting Company, London.

⁷ See H. Powdermaker, *After Freedom* (1939); J. Dollard, *Caste and Class in a Southern Town* (1937); A. Davis and J. Dollard, *Children of Bondage* (1940).

In the present argument the recognition of the two-caste constitution of the society in the southern states is of some consequence. It gives us, as mentioned, a legitimate basis for comparison and the drawing of parallels. As soon as a community becomes split into two genuine castes, we are faced not merely with an interracial but also with an intercultural situation. Two castes really mean two cultures. For culture is an instrumentality in which man has to find the full range not merely for the satisfaction of his organic needs but also for the expression of his personality. Where the caste system deprives one of the component cultures of such fundamental necessities of a civilized human being as political rights, full legal protection, a full range of economic opportunities, and also the indispensable social and aesthetic amenities of life, the underprivileged culture differs fundamentally from its counterpart on the other side of the Color Bar line. Read the books quoted, which are among the most recent contributions to the problem; read the many volumes and periodicals published by the American Negro in scientific terms or in a political mood or as direct statements of his grievances; and you will find every word of what has been said here confirmed and fully documented.

Since we are, however, here discussing facts in a dispassionate scientific spirit, it will be better if I return to the problem of interracial education. I should like to restate the conclusions drawn directly with reference to the education in Africa and briefly to comment upon their validity as regards the problem on this continent.

1. Education is bigger than schooling.
2. We are supplying the schooling somewhat artificially; for full education the African child has still to rely on his social and cultural milieu.
3. European schooling, if divorced from the African background, contributes toward the breakdown of tribal life and cultural continuity.
4. African education is not dead, even in detribalized areas; it lives in family life, in the structure of kinship and community, in

the special setting of native economic pursuits, old and new.

5. European schooling and African education have to be harmonized and carried on simultaneously, with conscious direction and adjustment. The alternative is conflict within the individual and chaos in the community.

6. The focusing of this adjustment lies in respect for African values and an equipment to meet the impact of European civilization, as well as to co-operate with the European community. Education must proceed on these two fronts simultaneously.

7. The addition of European schooling, as part of our culture impact, raises the African above his own standard of living; it develops his ambitions and needs, economic, political, and cultural. To pour all the money, energy, and zeal into schooling and "developing" without any wherewithal to satisfy the resulting claims is the royal road to a social catastrophe.

We have started a process which cannot now be checked. The Africans are on the move. They will not return to the old groove of tribal life, though they will not abandon all their heritage rapidly and completely for some time to come. Their capacities and desires have been awakened. They need more land than we have left them, more economic opportunities than we have opened up for them, and greater political autonomy. There must take place a revision of the Color Bar policy; sooner or later better conditions in towns and more breathing space in the reserves will have to be given. These are the cornerstones of a sound educational policy.⁸

How far do these conclusions apply to conditions in the southern states? Points 1 and 2 obviously are general points of view

⁸ The last paragraph obviously refers to the conditions in Africa, more especially in the Union of South Africa. The statements just made appeared not only in a missionary periodical but also in the daily papers of Johannesburg and Cape Town and provoked hostile protests (cf. *International Review of Missions*, October, 1936, and the daily press of Capetown, July 10, and of Johannesburg, July 26, 1934). Since they were uttered, some improvement has already taken place in the Union of South Africa.

which hold good with reference to the situation here and now.

3. Since we are agreed that the Negro lives within a different cultural setting and has to rely on his own community here in America, even as in the detribalized parts of Africa, there is no doubt that the school should not be divorced from the home and the community background in our area exactly as in Africa. Indeed, here as in Africa, we might speak of education on two fronts, in that a type of schooling which would undermine the respect and the appreciation of one's own race is dangerous under any caste system.

4. In discussing the new civilization which the Africans have to reconstruct or, more correctly, to create under conditions where tribal control has ceased, we pointed out the reasons for this fact. The same reasons hold good with reference to the southern states, even though we might not agree with some enthusiastic anthropologists who still find a good deal of genuine African background in the culture of the American Negro. In so far, however, as they are right, our conclusions are even better validated.

5. We would rephrase the above by saying that schooling and the education at home and through community life ought to be carried out harmoniously without adding to the inevitable conflicts and rifts which exist in every caste system.

6. Here, once more, education on two fronts is necessary in our communities here, in so far as it must prepare the young man of African descent for collaboration with the white community while he remains a good citizen of his own group.

7. This point implies the principle that improvement of education ought to be supplemented by an economic, social, and even political action for the raising of status. Indeed, to put it even more explicitly, the informed and wise statesmanship of white and African alike must face (the sooner the better) the problem of how the caste system can be broken down.

Some of the suggestions contained in the

present article might be briefly stated. There is a possibility of developing an equitable system of segregation, of independent, autonomous development, which yet would have nothing whatsoever in common with the caste division. Speaking as a European, and a Pole at that, I should like to place here as a parallel and paradigm the aspirations of European nationality, though not of nationalism. In Europe we members of oppressed or subject nationalities—and Poland was in that category for one hundred and fifty years, since its first partition, and has again been put there through Hitler's invasion—do not desire anything like fusion with our conquerors or masters. Our strongest claim is for segregation in terms of full cultural autonomy which does not even need to imply political independence. We claim only to

have the same scale of possibilities, the same right of decision as regards our destiny, our civilization, our careers, and our mode of enjoying life.

This is, I think, a perfectly feasible charter for interracial co-operation or intercultural relations alike. It leaves untouched some of the ineradicable prejudices on either side of the dividing-line. We do not need to be all alike in order to be happy. Differentiation—cultural, racial, religious, intellectual, and aesthetic—is fully compatible with the democratic structure of civilization. The main evils which every sane, decent and wise man or woman physically, as well as intellectually, must oppose are discrimination in terms of slavery, caste, subjection, injustice, and the limitation of the inalienable rights of every man and woman.

THE WEST AFRICAN "BUSH" SCHOOL

MARK HANNA WATKINS

ABSTRACT

Education, in its widest significance, is identical with the cultural process. In the least elaborated societies the cultural heritage may be learned adequately by direct participation in daily life, while more complex social orders require specialized educational institutions. The "bush" school in West Africa is considered here as having the function of inculcation in a society which, in degree of complexity, is of intermediate type. Studied in its own cultural milieu, the "bush" school appears to be genuinely educative.

The social anthropologist and the sociologist consider education in its broadest aspects to be coterminous with the cultural process in which, over successive generations, the young and unassimilated members of a group are incorporated by their sharing of the social heritage. Education from this point of view thus is directed by the group in the daily interaction of its members as well as by specialized functionaries or subgroups, and in the process the cultural patterns are transmitted and the socially accepted values realized.

The social values of a group are those phenomena which it recognizes as constituting the active or potential factors in the promotion of its welfare or which, when not properly controlled, create dysphoric conditions. Thus there are, on the one hand, positive social values, as food, shelter, health, and the fundamental necessities of life, as well as other socially desirable ends defined by the culture, and, on the other hand, negative social values, as crime, disease, death, witchcraft. These constitute in a large measure the social environment and determine the characteristic activities of a society. It is in relation to them that we may therefore speak of the function of education. This function is not to be confused with purpose, although in social life the two are often closely related; for the function of anything is simply what it does, and we speak of the function of objects which have no purposes, as, for example, that of the sunlight. Moreover, in attempting to achieve the goals which are proposed, a people often attain quite different ends, as in the case of the

teacher who, desirous of creating friendship, makes two boys embrace after a fight, but only intensifies their enmity; or of the Volstead Act, which created a wave of vice and crime instead of a nation of temperate citizens.

Hence, while the function of social life, in general, is that of passing on the cultural heritage, it may be recognized that not every social example is worthy to be copied and preserved. Every group struggles to maintain only its ideals, along with the technology and skills needed for providing subsistence. Thus, while education is identical with life in a particular society, it is obligatory that in every group there should be imposed upon certain institutions the duty of making deliberate efforts toward fostering the best in the cultural heritage, in regard both to the objective world of materials and techniques and to their subjective counterpart of sentiments, interests, and attitudes. In short, the incidental educative function of social life is supplemented by a more or less self-conscious purpose, superimposed upon one or more fundamental institutions or carried out by a special educational organization. This purpose involves the conservation, extension, and transmission of all the culturally accepted values and ideals to the succeeding generations so as to insure their continuity as they are defined in the local group and thus to perpetuate its life. There generally is required a more or less special emphasis determined by national or local aims. There also are the problems of adjusting the group to the larger world in which it lives and of accommodating the individual so that

his efforts to realize his wishes may not conflict too seriously with the needs of his society.

The formulation of an educational program for any group therefore is dependent upon two general factors: the nature and needs of the child, which determine the methods of procedure, and the nature and needs of the society, which determine the goals.

In the very simplest societies, as that of the Andaman Islanders, the Sakai of the Malay Peninsula, an Eskimo village, or other similar groups, informal education, in which the individual learns incidentally by direct participation and imitation, is relatively adequate for social continuity. The learning that goes on under such conditions is genuine; for the patterns of life are presented to the individual in their immediate setting, and what he learns is close to his interests and put into direct use; in fact, he learns by doing. In such a society where there is only a meager differentiation of vocations, with no complex technology, and in which the system of beliefs and practices is comparatively simple, the gap between the growing child and the adult world is relatively narrow and may be spanned without a long period of special preparation. Here the inculcation of the social values is achieved with a minimum of self-conscious purpose; that is to say, it is not abstracted from the daily life. In more complex social orders, where only the general designs of life are accessible to the young, the educative process must take on some degree of specific and separate organization; the social heritage must be broken up into assimilable portions and simplified, so that education as a purposive endeavor becomes differentiated from the educative function of daily life. Some form of specialized educational institution develops, and the passing-on of selected social ideals takes place in a relatively distinctive and artificial environment. But this differentiation entails certain problems, for the social values tend to become somewhat impersonal to the learner, are not immediate and vital in character; and are likely

to be hidden in symbols. In such a situation learning may degenerate to mere acceptance of formulated matter, to rote memory without understanding or responsibility. It becomes more and more difficult to relate the experiences acquired under such formal circumstances to those obtained in direct association, to distinguish between intrinsic and mediate values, and for the learner to understand the mediate values associated with his contemporary activity.

From the foregoing remarks it would appear that the adequacy of any deliberate and formalized educational system may be tested by considering the extent to which it is representative of the cultural heritage and its achievement in so relating the activities of the more or less specialized environment to those of the practical social world of which it is a part that the two may be contiguous.

It seems permissible and profitable to describe and study the "bush" school of West Africa on the basis of this framework, although that educational system may not be regarded as formal on a par with the schools among westernized peoples. The "bush" school, as will be seen, has the characteristics of a deliberate and purposive procedure in a specialized environment.

The training of youth in West Africa is accomplished through one of the types of secret societies common in the area. In these societies, as in many other affairs, the sexes are segregated. The name which is now in general usage for the boys' society is *poro*—in the Vai language, *póló* or *póró* (with open *o*).¹ This form, or some dialectic variant of it, is found over a relatively wide area in Li-

¹ For sake of economy, the few native (Vai) words included have not been transcribed in phonetic script, with the exception that the tones are shown by the grave accent (for low) and the acute accent (for the high register). There are at least three significant tonal distinctions (tonemes) in this language, but the middle tone does not appear in any of the words employed here. The vowel qualities have been described briefly in parentheses following the first occurrence of each word. The Vai *a* is invariably a low back vowel, while *i*, *e*, and *o* may be open or closed. A colon following a vowel indicates that the vowel is long. The consonants have practically the same qualities as in English.

beria, Sierra Leone, and other areas over which the Mandingo languages are spoken. The name for the corresponding girls' society is *bondo*, Vai *bòndò* (*o* closed), or, more correctly, *sàndì* (with open *i*). There is little variation in the organization and activities of these societies as they occur among the Mende, Vai, Kpelle, Krima, Gola, and other related groups. The description given here refers to them as they are established among the Mende and Vai, the data being obtained primarily from Miss Fatima Massaquoi, a native Vai student at Fisk University, including notes in correspondence with her brother, Mr. S. Ciaka Massaquoi, of Pendembu, Sierra Leone. *Poro* seems to be a generic term which once was and still may be applied to the societies without regard to the sex of the participants and which includes similar associations among men and women, the adult groups being political and civic rather than distinctively educational in aim.

The most widely distributed and probably also the oldest name of the society is *poro*, strictly speaking, *pòlo*, thus with open *o* in both instances. Dapper, in the seventeenth century, called it *paaro*, so that perhaps the stem originally contained an *a*.²

The adult groups are not strictly germane to the subject presented here and therefore may be omitted.

The original meaning of the word *poro* is not known clearly. Westermann, quoting two other authors, makes the following statement:

Wallis (p. 183) says *poro* means literally "law" or "one word"; also Alldridge, *A Transformed Colony* (p. 194), speaks of "the order of the Poro or law." If this translation is not etymologically correct, it is nevertheless expressive of the power of the *poro* for legal discipline.³

These societies are of fundamental importance in the local culture, and every

² Diedrich Westermann, *Die Kpelle* (Göttingen, 1921), p. 236.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 236 n. The writers quoted are Braithwaite Wallis, "The Poro of the Mendi," *Journal of the African Society*, IV (1904-5), 181-89, and T. J. Alldridge, *A Transformed Colony: Sierra Leone as It Was and Is* (London, 1910).

youth, male or female, must receive such training before being considered worthy to assume the responsibilities of an adult. With the growing influence of Mohammedanism, Christianity, and European culture, the significance of the *poro* in native life is waning, along with detribalization and the general modification of aboriginal culture.

The boys' society or school may be described first. In the Vai language, the specific name for this institution is *bèlì*, and a person who has been inducted into it is known as a *bèlì kàì*, "initiated man." (The *e* of *bèlì* is open, the *i* closed; in *kàì* the *a* is a low back vowel and the *i* is closed.)

The sessions of this school are not held in the towns or villages proper, but a permanent place is selected in the forest not far distant from the principal or capital town of a chiefdom or district. This special section of forest is called *bèlì filà* (*filà* pronounced with closed *i*, low back *a*), "*bèlì* forest," and is never used for other purposes, although all the structures are burned at the close of each term. Every district or subchiefdom has its own school and special reserved forest for the purpose.

Once boys have entered the forest, they are at no time allowed to return to the towns until their training is complete; nor under any circumstances are female visitors tolerated. No one except members of the society is permitted entrance to the area. If uninitiated persons approach it, they must make their presence known so that none of its secrets will be exposed. If a man trespasses, he will be initiated, while a woman under such circumstances will be killed. During the period in which the school is in session the forest is said to be the special possession of the principal official of the institution, and not even the chief is permitted to enter without the permission of this man. Thus, in a physical and spatial sense, the "bush" school is a special or distinctive environment.

The principal official of the school is the *dá zò*: (*a* low back, *o* closed and long), "the leader who stands at the mouth or head," who is endowed with wisdom and mystic

power in a superlative degree. He has a majestic status in the society, is respected by the chief and elders of the tribe, and is honored with intense devotion by the youth of the land. In personal characteristics he must be chivalrous, courteous, public-spirited, law-abiding, and fearless. He must have a full knowledge of all the native lore, arts, and crafts, must be well versed in the history and traditions of his people and an authentic judge of all matters affecting their welfare. Other men of good repute who are specialists in various fields of activity serve as his assistants and as teachers of the novices.

For the institution among the Kpelle the characteristics and role of the leader have been described in the following words:

The grandmaster, *namū*, is, of course, a human being and is known as such by the members. At the same time, he possesses attributes which raise him above the merely human. He himself is immortal; that is, his death is kept a secret, and the choice of the successor takes place in the strictest secrecy and in the narrow circle of the outstanding members; and he has the power to kill people and restore them to life. This refers, of course, actually to the secret sojourn of the *poro* youths in the *poro* bush and their later re-entrance into the community of village companions. They are thought of as having been dead and restored to life, actually swallowed by the grandmaster and reborn, which, however, the usual popular opinion quite generally conceives of as the ability of the *namū* to revive the dead.

It is only natural that the imagination of the folk is vigorously occupied with the *namū* and attributes to him the supernatural. He is seen surrounded by the beings [people] in the village, since he moves about just as other people, but he also flies through the air. Thus near Densu [place name] there is pointed out a large, slender tree with fantastically projecting boughs, on which the *namū* takes rest when on his journeys through the air or on which he meets the grandmistress of the *sande* society.

On his visits to the towns the grandmaster always makes his appearance surrounded by a group of initiated, who protect him from strange glances [glances of the uninitiated]. He generally goes unclothed. Only to the initiated is he visible: upon his appearance in the village all the

uninitiated—women, children, and strangers—must retire to the huts and close the doors.

On festive occasions the *namū* wears a gala costume which consists of wide trousers extending over the knees; a short-sleeved, close-fitting waistcoat; and a headdress which is a type of cylindrical hat made of small metal plate, ornamented on the upper portion of the front with the head of a plumed raven [*Hornraben*], and trimmed with cowrie shells and white otter or ape fur; over the brow a white band; around the neck a large ruffle made of projecting leather pieces (leopard and antelope skin), three to five centimeters wide and ten centimeters long, trimmed with white fur and cowrie shell; a medicine bag and other magic hung around the neck; in one hand a large fan decked with many pieces of skin underneath and little bells above and in the other hand a horsetail or cowtail.

A *namū* can conduct several schools at the same time—as many as three—which often are located some distance apart. In this case he spends alternately some time in each one and intrusts the remaining part of the development to his assistants, one of whom always carries out the inspection of a school. The journeys of the *namū* from one school to another are kept secret, and the students learn hardly anything of his absence; therefrom originates the belief that he may be in several places simultaneously and is bound to no locality. Often agreements are made between various headmasters for the purpose of conducting a course interchangeably. The headmasters then hold a conference in the capital of the oldest, and the latter presides.⁴

The period during which a session is to be held is determined by a council consisting of the leader, his assistants, and the elders of the tribe. The term in length varies from group to group. Among the Gola, in the old days, the session is said to have had a duration of from four to eight years; among the Kríma, or Krim, it was three to five years; while among the Mende and the Vai the time was from two to three years. Westermann gives the length of the term as recorded by himself and others for a number of tribes. His figures vary from two months among the Kru to ten years for the Temne, although he adds the statement that "many

⁴ Westermann, *op. cit.*, pp. 238-40.

of the figures given above may be more ideal than actual."⁵

At present, under the influence of new ideas and the gradual Europeanization of the region, there is a general desire for opportunity to acquire knowledge which the "bush" school alone cannot provide, so that the periods have been progressively reduced. Thus the term among the Vai and the Mendi is now approximately eighteen months only, while it is about two years among the Krima and from two to three years among the Gola.

When the time arrives for the school to convene, parents who wish their boys to be initiated make known their desires to the tribal elders, who in turn inform the paramount chief. The latter passes the information on to the leader and other officials of the school. Then the news circulates rapidly throughout the land, and the boys begin to gather, coming in from all parts of the chiefdom. There is no established regulation covering the age limits for membership. However, it is generally believed that human beings are more tractable and teachable when young than when fully mature, so that boys are expected to enter usually between the ages of approximately seven to nineteen years. In exceptional cases, however, the authorities do not generally object.

At the beginning of the session all the boys who have not been circumcised already are given this treatment. The number of boys who are circumcised at this time is dependent upon the age distribution, as the older ones will have received the operation prior to entrance. It appears that in years before the influence of the West was so great, most of the novices were quite young and consequently were uncircumcised at the opening of the term.

Circumcision constitutes a sanitary measure, although there were no social diseases before the coming of the Europeans. It is thought, however, that less dirt will be accumulated when the skin of the male organ has been excised. An uncircumcised man, moreover, is considered to be a weakling and is despised as an inferior being.

After the circumcision rites a period of time is allowed for the healing of the wounds. Then a feast is celebrated so that the boys may be given opportunity to know one another as well as to become acquainted with the teachers. The women prepare food for this festival, but they are not permitted to bring it into the school.

Now begin the specific forms of training. The boys are divided into groups according to their ages and aptitudes and receive instruction in all the arts, crafts, and lore of native life, including a variety of games and sports, such as swimming, canoeing, hunting, trapping, acrobatic stunts, dancing, singing, drumming and the playing of other musical instruments, wrestling, climbing, etc. These are for the purpose of physical development, the acquisition of fundamental skills, the sharpening of the wits, and appreciation for native art. It is by this means that the character is molded and a youth is prepared to take his place among the generation of adults. Moreover, the continuation of all these traits is insured. The first instruction involves a series of tests in order to determine individual differences, interests, and ambitions (to see what the boys can do) and an acquisition of the fundamental knowledge which every adult is supposed to know. Later, opportunity for demonstration of special ingenuity, skills, and originality is afforded. A youth who shows special aptitude for weaving, for example, is trained to become a master of the craft; while those who show distinctive skill and interest in carving, leatherwork, dancing, "medicine," folklore, etc., likewise are developed along these specialized lines. This early training also includes work in the erection of the structures which are used while the session lasts. The buildings constructed for the school are sufficiently numerous to constitute one or more towns. All the laws and traditions of the tribe are taught, as well as duty to the tribal chief, tribe, and elders, and the proper relations to women. Training is given in the recognition and use of various medicinal herbs, their curative powers, and various antidotes. Also, the secrets of wild

⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 234-35.

animals are taught—how they live, how to recognize their spoor, and how to attack them.

All this training is tested out in the laboratory of "bush"-school life. For example, instruction in warfare is accompanied by actual mock battles and skirmishes. The boys are separated into various "towns" similar in location and arrangement to those in which the general population is or has been distributed. These towns must be barricaded, defended, and attacked. Previous wars in which the tribe has been engaged are re-enacted, the boys of one group playing the role of the people under attack at a certain time, while those of another act the parts of the enemies. The ruses which the enemy employed are gone over carefully, and the attackers must carry them out with precision and dexterity. Some of the attacks are made on rainy nights, when the inhabitants are asleep; others are made when there are festivals, when the "men" are in the fields, the actual situation, with all the preoccupations, distractions, and surprises of some known war, being re-created. All this is possible because the forest is sufficiently large, covering several square miles. All the buildings, fields, and activities are the responsibility of the boys after they have received their instructions. They must live in these towns, work the fields, and carry on all the activities of normal tribal life, at the same time preparing to defend their possessions or to make attacks according to the assignment which they have received and the account which the instructors have given of the previous war. Sometimes a lapse of two or three months may occur before the plans can be executed. This makes the situation all the more genuine. The defenders are informed of the errors in judgment and tactics which were formerly committed in actual combat, and the battle is conducted upon the basis of the previous life-situation. Then the entire war game is replayed, the defenders having learned what the shortcomings were and how to correct them, and the "enemy" making special effort to succeed in the face of the new improvements in defense. In these bat-

tles all the obstacles with which the people were once confronted in such crises are re-created. Some of the boys play the roles of women and children who must be guarded and defended, who constitute the impediment of a human cargo. The "enemy" attempts to capture and enslave these "women" and "children" just as is done in normal warfare, for it is not the custom to kill women and children in military combat.

Thus, although the "bush" school is conducted in a special environment—i.e., in one which is differentiated from the general social milieu—the degree of artificiality is not so great as it often is under the conditions of formal education among peoples of European and American cultures. The greatest amount of dissimilarity between the school situation and that of native life in the towns and villages would seem to be the absence of certain distractions in the school—the removal from normal family ties, from the direct influence of mothers and kinsmen, who tend to condone the frailties of the youths. This does not seem to constitute a disadvantage or to seclude the activities in an ivory tower. In fact, there is a general notion among these people that there should be some form of counterbalance to the intimate association between children and their immediate parents (those of the simple or biological family), for under such conditions they will be cajoled, indulged, and petted too much and in this way not prepared for the sacrifices incidental to normal social life beyond this narrow circle. For this reason, children are distributed often among the more distant relatives for various periods of time. The requirement that life in the "bush" school must involve withdrawal from such contacts appears to be an application of this fundamental principle. Indeed, a child is not expected to enter a "bush" school in which his close relative has a position of authority.

Life in the secret society is a complete *rite de passage* from the helplessness and irresponsibilities of childhood to citizenship in a world of adults. Thus a youth acquires a new name in the *bélli*, according to his rank

in the group and his achievements. He retains this name for life, and it is always applied to him by those who have been initiated in the school. Uninitiated persons may not use it. This latter form of life, it may be seen, is developed gradually within the confines of the institution. Entrance to the society is a symbolic death for the young, who must be reborn before returning to family and kin. Those who die from the strenuous life are considered simply not to have been reborn, and their mothers are expected not to weep or grieve for them.

It may be seen that life in the "bush" school is not a tranquil experience but rather a thorough physical, mental, and moral test in which unsuitable traits are eliminated, the individual either undergoing profound modification or meeting his death. It is said that abnormal characters experience no rebirth; weaklings, freaks, and homosexuals do not return. This has elicited some disturbance among the missionaries and humanitarians, but it should cause no lack of elation for the Hootons,⁶ for the natives feel that those who cannot endure the test are no loss to society.

Yet a boy is proud of his "bush"-school days, and he reflects over them with fond remembrances. At the completion of the session the chief is informed privately, and he then (as during the whole period) visits the society only in the role of a private citizen. A day or two after his return he sends his representatives to meet the leader and the authorities in a highly ceremonious manner. The boys make a number of demonstrations, covering a day or more. Then there are various examinations administered by the representatives, after which they return to the chief and elders, who are informed of the impressions received. At this time preparations are made for the ceremonial return of the boys to the town. This is usually considered to be of great tribal, and in some instances intertribal, importance.

A type of pavilion is erected within the chief's compound for the reception of the

boys; or, if the chief's court is sufficiently large, it may be decorated elaborately for the purpose. After all these preparations have been completed, the chief and his retinue meet with the leader and the officials of the society, when the formal presentation or return of the forest to the ruler and elders is made. This does not usually occur in the forest itself, and only responsible male citizens are present. Great speeches are made, and sentiments of appreciation are expressed to the leader. After these ceremonies the leader rises, thanks his chief and elders in a brief speech, and finally kneels before the chief (the boys of the school following his example) and, with the palm of his right hand resting on the ruler's knee, makes a statement somewhat as follows: "I pledge loyalty to you and to my tribe. Now I give back your forest. Here am I, and here are your boys." This is followed by great shouting, rejoicing, and the sounding of drums. The chief, sitting in his official chair of state (formerly a stool), lays hands on the leader and replies, "Thank you. I bid you rise." Following this, the chief is escorted to his compound with all the pomp and circumstance befitting a great ruler.

By this time the parents and relatives of the boys, the general public, friends and acquaintances from far and near, have assembled in the town in order to witness the arrival of the boys. The latter, having been ceremoniously washed and having rubbed chalk or clay on their bodies, splendidly clad in their "bush" uniforms, each bearing a long staff, are lined up near the town awaiting the signal to enter. Suddenly the report of a musket or sound of the tribal drum is heard, and amid great shouting and rejoicing the boys begin rushing immediately into all parts of the town, gazing furiously in all directions as if they were warriors anxiously in search of booty.

According to tradition, the boys have the right at this time to beat to death any animal which may be encountered as they rush about the town. Some parents deliberately leave such animals as sheep, goats, and fowl at their doors so that the boys may kill them

⁶ See Earnest A. Hooton, *Apes, Men, and Morons* (New York, 1937), e.g., as well as his studies of criminal behavior.

in this manner. Wealthier people may leave even cattle for this purpose. There are at least two native explanations for the custom. One is the idea that the boys, as warriors and adventurers being permitted to enter the town, have the freedom to plunder therein, while the other notion is that they must be given the privilege to demonstrate publicly their manly and courageous spirits. It is said that at present animals other than fowl are rarely left exposed to such destruction.

After this period of license the youths are lined up again and led to a stream, where they take baths and dress in their best clothing. Then they are taken back to the "bush" quietly and secretly by way of a different route. Next they march in orderly and peaceful manner, to the accompaniment of the native guitar, drum, and singing, applauded by the jubilant and anxious spectators, to the pavilion erected for them. In this place they are met once more by their relatives and friends and enjoy the companionship of the distinguished men of the tribe. Gifts are bestowed upon them by relatives and friends. While quartered in this pavilion, they are not permitted to raise their hands to their mouths, but each is fed from a dish by a special servant, for they are considered to be babies, newly reborn. They are retained in the building for four or five days, during which time there are great feasts and much rejoicing. They have many great privileges and may call for and receive the best that can be afforded. This may constitute a burden on their proud parents, who, if they are poor, even incur debts in order to please their boys. In some instances years of preparation are required before a boy can be initiated, so heavy is the cost. This may delay the time until the boy almost reaches full manhood, or even later. However, this expense is connected entirely with the aggregation rites, as there are no fees for attendance in the school.

After these rites have been concluded and sentiments of appreciation have been expressed to the leader, chief, and elders, the boys are returned without ceremony to their parents and are finally taken to their respec-

tive homes. They are now full citizens of the society, with legal rights and responsibilities equal to those of all adults. Before being worthy of great leadership, however, a youth must have further experience in the civic and political societies, of which there are five grades.

The elaborate ritual of aggregation fulfils the function of giving effective public expression to the social sentiments associated with the cultural values which the school preserves, enlarges, and passes on to the young people. These rites are therefore educative, for it is through public expression that the sentiments are kept alive and made contagious. The behavior has inherent motivation, as it is bound up intimately with certain basic elements of human nature, such as pride, display, and heroism. Thus the activities of this group are contiguous with those of the general social order, and the *béli* may be regarded as an effective educational institution—judged of course, in the light of its cultural setting.

Attention may be directed now to the sister-organization. No great detailed consideration of it seems necessary here, for in organization and operation the *sàndi*, or "society for girls," is parallel to the *béli*. However, it is not conducted so far from the town or in so great a space as is the latter. The inclosure for the *sàndi* consists of a large fence constructed of giant forest wood, neatly plastered on both sides with clay and surrounding a spacious campus. It is usually built near one end of the town and, if possible, near a river, so that the girls may wash and bathe without having to go very far and expose themselves to public gaze. Within are constructed several temporary buildings, according to the number of inmates; and, as in the case of the school for boys, the entire structure is burned at the close of the session. The buildings and campus are the *bòndò* proper, indicating privacy, while the society itself is the *sàndi*.

The heavy construction work is done by men, after which everything is given over to the women and the men may have no further concern with the institution. It is

considered to be a capital crime if a man should gain knowledge of the activities or interfere with the deliberations.

At the head of the society is the *zò: bà*, "the big *zò:*," whose position, as that of the chief official of the boys' group, is hereditary. She represents the spirits of the female ancestors, who have left the institution and all the cultural values to their descendants and who are with the latter in the school. She is usually a woman of more than middle age, established in the society, and in position to break her ties with the home and domestic responsibilities during the term of the school. As a representative of the ancestral spirits she may undergo a metamorphosis and become what has been called by Europeans "the dancing devil," due to the fact that she, or a younger substitute, dances on certain occasions completely concealed by a large mask and special dress. There may thus be two persons with this title—the one who rules the school and the other who dances in the form of the spirit. The division may be necessary because the leader may be too old for the strenuous exercise required by the dance. In any case the identity of the masked dancer can never be revealed, as she is symbolically a spirit. There is a special attendant who follows the dancer, continuously praising and giving thanks to the spirit for the benefits which have accrued to the group. This attendant carries a mat, as the dead are wrapped in mats for burial. The active leader is merely the spirit having taken corporeal shape. In all these respects she is similar to the leader of the boys' society.

Next in rank to the leader is an official called the *lèi gbà* (with open *e*), who holds the position of vice-leader or assistant leader. Then comes the *lèi gbà kpó kpó* (with open *o*). These constitute the leadership of the group and are called "mothers" by the girls. In addition, there is another woman, the *mámábà* (with closed *i*), who supervises and is responsible for the cooking, washing, and general domestic affairs. Among the girls the oldest or first initiated also holds an official position. She is a type of student

leader, who calls the girls together for various activities; decides, in consultation with the adult women, the program of work and recreation; and assigns the girls to various groups for these activities. She must be highly respected by her fellow-members, and she takes the lead in every important affair.

There is some uncertainty as to the time during which this society holds its session. It may very well be that the period is practically the same as that of the society for boys (which is the notion of our female informant, who herself was initiated but did not remain for a complete term). She estimates the term as varying from three to seven years, but her figures for both groups are higher than those of her younger brother, who says: "In no case do girls remain in the *sàndi* or *bòndò* for more than one year; this term has from ancient times never changed." By way of comparison, Westermann's figures for the Kpelle groups may be cited. He states that the *póró* in this tribe has a term of six years, while the *sàndi* term is only three years.⁷ The differences between the social responsibilities and status of males and females may constitute an argument in favor of a briefer session for the latter.

There is not much ceremony at the beginning of the *sàndi*, although the girls must undergo clitoridectomy. It appears that the age for entrance is about the same as that for boys and that the actual time of joining likewise may vary according to circumstances.

This institution is very clearly maintained for the purpose of preparing a girl to assume her place as a wife and mother attached primarily to the domestic unit in the social order. The girls are said to be spirits, as all unborn children are, and they smear their faces with a preparation of white clay so as to simulate spirits. This clay must be replenished and replaced when washed off until the session is concluded. It is symbolic of membership in the *sàndi*, along with a necklace consisting of a small horn-shaped fruit shell in which a red berry is placed and a

⁷ *Op. cit.*, pp. 234 and 256.

string of beads made of cylindrical pieces of wood and worn around the waist. These are removed at the ceremonial washing of the novices at the end of the term.

The girls are instructed in all domestic affairs, such as cooking, the various ways of preserving food, the collection of nonpoisonous mushrooms, medicinal herbs and lore, the preparation of cosmetics, spinning, embroidering, the care of children, and the elements of being good mothers and capable wives, as well as in dancing, singing, storytelling—all that which a native woman is expected to know. Like the boys, they receive new names according to their position and accomplishments in the society; and, like the boys, the weaklings may not experience rebirth.

The aggregation rites are very much the same as those at the close of the society for boys, including the special reception hall, the feasting and rejoicing (except, of course, that the girls do not rush about the town and "plunder" it as the youths do, nor do they bear staffs or wear "bush" uniforms). Upon graduation, in most instances, they are ready for marriage, although in the case of very young girls the marriages may not be consummated physically for some time. Also the girl, unlike the boy, until she has reached middle age or thereabout does not venture to offer her hand in greeting the leader of the school in which she was initiated, even for years after the session has closed. She usually bows in deep respect, resting the palm of her right hand on her knee. The leader responds by placing her hands lightly on the subordinate's shoulder.

The *sàndi*, which so closely parallels the *béù*, seems to possess the same educational characteristics and suitability as the latter, and both may be rated on equal terms.

It may appear that much of what has been described more closely approaches the

ideal native cultural pattern than what is carried out in actual practice. This is no doubt true; but it would not seem to invalidate the conclusion that these institutions, considered in relation to the cultures of which they are a part, are more genuinely educative and efficient than many of the formal schools of occidental culture. There are no cultural lags and "useless knowledge" stored in symbols remote from the contemporary social order. Some of the activities and subject matter of the "bush" school may be rejected on the basis of the standards of modern civilization, but the system should be considered with sympathetic appreciation before missionary or other efforts are made to modify it fundamentally; for no criticism so severe as that which has been made of the French educational system of the recent past (and which seems largely applicable to many of our present-day schools) can readily be made of the native youth trained in the *pòrò* or of this institution in relation to its cultural milieu. It has been said of the French system that

the primary danger of this system of education—very properly qualified as Latin—consists in the fact that it is based on the fundamental psychological error that the intelligence is developed by the learning by heart of text-books. Adopting this view, the endeavour has been made to enforce a knowledge of as many hand-books as possible. From the primary school till he leaves the university a young man does nothing but acquire books by heart without his judgment or personal initiative being ever called into play. Education consists for him in reciting by heart and obeying.⁸

The experience which is gained in the "bush" school would seem to be far less spurious.

⁸ Gustave Le Bon, *The Crowd* (London, 1908), pp. 103-4.

EDUCATION, CHILD-TRAINING, AND CULTURE

SCUDDER MEKEEL

ABSTRACT

This paper discusses the implications of a total cultural approach for what is termed "education," especially for peoples of an alien cultural background. It treats the effects on the individual of the education imposed by his own culture and of one foreign to his culture, discussing the pertinence of these findings for action programs in the education of culturally alien peoples.

Within recent years we have begun to appreciate culture as a totality. The implications of this approach have already started to affect not only those who are studying the individual as a person but also those who are workers in such fields as public administration, social work, and education.¹ Here we shall discuss the implications of the broader psychocultural approach for the field of education, particularly as it affects the education of culturally submerged peoples.

First, let us try to gain some perspective on education in relation to our own society. For us "education" has come to mean that formalized process of knowledge-and-technique transmission which is the special burden of a particular set of institutions we label "educational." In other words, we have isolated from the totality of our culture certain knowledge, techniques, arts, and ideals and have put the primary responsibility for their transmission upon a group of institutions known collectively as our educational system. Not all societies have precipitated out of solution the same parts of their culture, nor have they turned them over to the same type of institutions. Some societies, for instance, have chosen the time of puberty and only the male sex for an intensive period of training in certain aspects of their culture. Stratified societies have often limited formal education to a particular class, as a class of nobles or of priests. As we compare one society with another we find great variation in the material that is

selected from a culture to be formally taught, in the age at which the individuals are taught, in the reasons why they have to be taught, in the method of selecting them for learning, and in the type of institutions which are given the educational responsibility.

From this viewpoint, then, we see that formal education does not necessarily influence directly and overwhelmingly the whole culture of a people, nor can it be used to maintain or change every aspect of culture effectively. Quite often, when we become acutely conscious of social and economic problems, we begin to think about the possibility of education as a cure-all; or we agitate for a law to put an end to the difficulties by fiat. We forget that education is only a segment of our entire culture, as is law. Both law and education, to be effective, must first be geared to the actual cultural behavior of individuals and to the particular social structure before either can turn the wheels of change to advantage.

The true place of education as a formalized process in our culture can most readily be grasped by examining the history of the application of our educational system to culturally alien peoples, such as the American Indians. With them the first concerted attempt was made during the latter half of the nineteenth century. At this time boarding-schools were built away from the Indian reservations. In order to fill these schools the children were almost kidnapped. The idea behind the boarding-school program was that if the Indian children were separated from their parents and their Indian environment for a few years and exposed instead to

¹ Scudder Mekeel, "A Social Science Approach to Case Work with the American Indian," *Family*, October, 1937; "Social Science and Reservation Programs," *Indians at Work*, November 15, 1936.

American white education, they would become American whites in their behavior and could then be safely sent back to their reservations. Strangely enough, it was found that by far the majority returned to Indian ways, or went "back to the blanket," as it was called.

The reasoning of the administrators of this policy had evidently been that, since American white children were educated in school, Indian children would become like American whites if subjected to the same influences. Two extremely important factors had been overlooked—factors which we are only beginning to consider in our educational programs. The first was that the Indian children had already been subjected to training during the most formative period in their lives—that is, the first six years.² Furthermore, this training had been in their native language and by their native techniques and ideals. The second neglected factor was that, regardless of how much or how little of American white culture had penetrated while they were in boarding-school, the Indian children with extremely few exceptions returned to their own communities, which, aside from language, upheld institutions, standards of behavior, and ideals different from those supported by the boarding-school education. Even if white standards had made a deep impression, it never occurred to anyone to ask what an Indian youth would have gained by acting like an American white among his own native people. He certainly would have been cut off from all human contact within his natal community. It was not "savagery" that sent him back to the blanket, but rather the yearning, which we all share, for contact with our own kind. The boarding-school experience merely cut into, and interrupted for a time, the main stream of an Indian child's education.

Therefore, without questioning the potent force of education, it can be stated that, in so far as producing or maintaining a cul-

ture is concerned, it is only one such force. Education cannot be expected to carry the whole burden of cultural transmission or change. We have come to an appreciation of this fact within the past decade.

Next, from the standpoint of culture as an operational totality, we shall have to re-examine other assumptions in the educational field. For example, in those instances where we apply the educational system of our society to peoples of a differing culture, we sometimes attempt to select choice bits of that culture for preservation as it begins to change. In fact, we often think rather sentimentally of the "cultural heritage" of immigrant groups or of preliterate peoples. By "cultural heritage" we may mean anything from art forms to a folk or tribal costume. We think that there must be some way of preserving the "best" of the "old" and of adding it to the "best" of the dominant cultural environment. This view would be justified if each culture were made up of separate pieces which carried intrinsic and absolute values and which could be interchanged indiscriminately with pieces from other societies. Unfortunately, every culture has a matrix, a configuration, into which the pieces fit. Actually, the "pieces" are not pieces at all but are mainly our own abstractions.³

For education, as well as for other action agencies, a better approach to this particular question of change in submerged cultures is to look on culture as an attempt to solve the problems which every society faces—problems of getting a living, problems of easing human relationships, and problems of orientation to life.⁴ An immigrant group or a preliterate people swamped by Euro-American influences must revise its customary solutions in the face of a changed environment. For such groups the problems go

³ Scudder Mekeel, "Beaded Necklaces [and Culture]," *Indians at Work*.

² Scudder Mekeel, "An Anthropologist's Observations on Indian Education," *Progressive Education*, XIII, No. 3 (1936), 151-59.

⁴ See Robert Redfield and Lloyd Warner, "Cultural Anthropology and Modern Agriculture," *Farmers in a Changing World: Yearbook of Agriculture*, 1940 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1941), pp. 983-93.

far beyond a moral or an aesthetic "best" in choice of cultural material for their solution.

Even the problem of preserving its identity may become acute to a submerged people. Such a group may seize on one or more of its older cultural forms as a symbol of its distinctiveness from the surrounding peoples. This may be a varying bit of dress taken over from the older costume, a special way of preparing food, or a particular economic pattern. Thus, a rural nationality group within the United States may insist on certain agricultural techniques even though they are inefficient. The county agricultural extension agent, who knows of more practical methods, tackles the problem with confidence of success. But in spite of his urgent advice the people are obdurate. They tell him that they farmed that way in the old country, or that their way is all right. The county agent ends by feeling that he has to deal with an obstinate, stupid group. However, the situation is far from being purely economic. The very identity of the group appears to be at stake, because these farming methods are its symbol of distinctness. Their former country has quite likely advanced in its farming techniques, but the immigrants think of what those techniques were at the time they left. Hence, in such instances, new farming methods cannot be taught merely in terms of their efficiency. The total situation must be understood.

Of course, some peoples attempt complete and rapid submergence of themselves as a group in the dominant society, rather than preservation of identity. Here, also, certain aspects of culture are seized on; but in this case it is those of the dominant society, and especially those aspects that symbolize that society for the submerged group. Or these two tendencies—to preserve group identity and to lose it—frequently occur in a single community. Then there occurs a polarization of the old way and the new way for the same segment of culture. For instance, on the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation, South Dakota, the Teton-Dakota Indians feel the necessity of following a re-

spectable wedding with a feast. The host, however, has the alternative of a Christian or an Indian feast. One symbolizes the American way and the other the Dakota. The main criterion seems to be chicken for one and dog meat for the other, whereas Indian pemmican and American pie could both be served at either. The two latter, pie and pemmican, have not been singled out as symbolically Indian or American. In other words, only certain cultural items were selected to carry the burden of meaning.

Thus culture is not an index of easily movable items. It must be viewed as a meaningful whole, just as the particular situation in which a group of people carrying a culture find themselves must be looked at in its totality. Broad educational plans must be adjusted to the situation and the culture as they are and then be carried on from that point. We cannot yet predict just what aspects of culture will be retained in a particular acculturation situation. We know only that there are processes involved, both psychological and cultural, which preclude our calling them haphazard or accidental in nature.

So far I have tried to relate education and its problems with alien or folk peoples to culture as a dynamic entity. Now I should like to shift the emphasis to the impact of culture on the individual. How does society impose its culture on the new individuals born into it, and what part does education play in this process? For our society it is becoming increasingly apparent that cultural conditioning of the individual begins at an early age and involves a rather severe and deep-set modification of the impulse-life. This was first brought to light in systematic fashion by Sigmund Freud, although the cultural implications have only recently become clear.⁵ We have next to examine what happens to the growing individual in other cultures. This phase of the work is only in

⁵ Scudder Mekeel, "Clinic and Culture," *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, XXX, No. 3 (1935), 292-300; "A Psychoanalytic Approach to Culture," *Journal of Social Philosophy*, II, No. 3 (1937), 232-36.

its beginning. In so far as our society is concerned, formal education is but one process for conditioning individuals to the culture within which they will operate as adults. The most fundamental conditioning has already occurred during the early period before a child enters school for the first time. The molding of the child's personality is done primarily by the parents, who are an infant's first representatives of the culture into which he has been born. This parent-child transmission of culture for our society is no new fact, but the specific processes by which such transmission takes place are still not completely appreciated. The significance for education—especially for education of culturally alien peoples—is far reaching. For there appears to be a definite relationship between child-training and the culture which a child must eventually assume as an adult. If this is so, then our educational system, which is part of our culture, may not work on the child who has already been trained in a differing cultural situation and by different methods and standards. For, even in changing cultures, older child-training methods may persist long after the adult culture to which they were originally related has radically changed. This also has its implications for educational procedure with such groups.

It may be well at this point to examine a specific people. Let us take the Western Sioux, or Teton-Dakota tribe. These Indians, in the old days, were characterized by feather war-bonnets, skin tipis, sign language, buffalo-hunting, and the Sun Dance. To us and to Europeans the Plains Indians, of which the Dakota were a part, have come to represent *the* American Indian. At the present time the Sioux Indians, aside from the physical characteristics of race, present to outward appearance, in terms of clothes, houses, utensils, and tools, a picture not very divergent from that of the surrounding whites on a low economic level. In spite of the superficial likeness, however, one is struck by the different attitudes, thought patterns, and behavior. After over a hundred and fifty years of fairly constant white

contact the socially "full-blooded" Teton-Dakota still retain behavior patterns which are at variance with those of American whites. For example, the old prestige value in the *release* of wealth, instead of its accumulation as with us, still persists. A man who saves for a rainy day is looked down on by his own people, and even his children⁶ may be ostracized by the others in school. This attitude toward wealth is so antithetical to ours that it has caused much trouble to educators who have been trying to inculcate our ways of life in terms of frugality and thrift. However, in spite of the persistence of many behavior patterns and attitudes, the Dakota culture as such is gone, just as has the buffalo, which was its economic base. Why is it that the supporting attitudes and values have not disappeared as well?

The answer lies primarily in the methods of child-training. Several years ago the writer had the opportunity to arrange a field trip with a child analyst among the Sioux. In the very cursory study of child-training which we made, it became apparent that a relationship existed between present-day methods and the old adult culture, in so far as it could be reconstructed.⁷ In fact, the particular type of child-training current seemed to have changed far less than had the culture. Not having realized its full significance, neither the government nor the missionary educators had paid much attention to the particular methods used in bringing up the children.

Several features of Teton-Dakota child-training stand out in contrast to our own patterns. For instance, parents rarely, if ever, threatened their children directly with punishment. If they did not behave, they

⁶ Scudder Mekeel, *The Economy of a Modern Teton-Dakota Community* ("Yale University Publication in Anthropology," No. 6 [1936]); "Teton-Dakota Acculturation," unpublished paper read before the American Anthropological Association, December, 1931.

⁷ Erick H. Erickson, "Observations on Sioux Education," *Journal of Psychology*, VII (1939), 101-66.

were threatened by being told that someone would get after them or take them away. This might be either a mythical character or an old man in the community who had assumed the role of frightening children. Nowadays the "white man" is also used as a bogey. The Dakota parent also rarely strikes a child. Thus the Dakota child is not estranged from his parent by fear of punishment, as is often the case in our own society.⁸

It was further observed that the Sioux child was not systematically estranged from the functions and desires of his own body, as is the case with our children. Sphincter and anal control were not made an issue. The child really worked the problem out by himself at an age when he was capable of doing so. In addition, the Dakota parents attempted to make their children feel self-reliant and secure. Psychoanalytic psychology has shown that the particular attitudes of parents toward the child, the child's body, and its functions appear to have a direct relationship to the retentive and eliminative modalities in the child's developing character. Not only are such factors in child-training connected with adult character, but also they seem to be related to the general tenor of adult culture as well. Certainly the eliminative-retentive modes that would be engendered by the particular type of Dakota child-training fit, as a character pattern, the Dakota emphasis on generosity and the prestige-value placed on wealth-release. This is further reinforced by the great respect of Dakota parents for a child's property.

Material in Abraham Kardiner's *The Individual and His Society* lends support to this conclusion.⁹ For instance, certain factors of Tanalan culture in Madagascar appear to be bound up with aspects of Tanalan child-training. Unlike the situation among the

Dakota, excretory control is imposed severely and at an early age. Adult Tanala character definitely presents features which we not only have come to associate with such early and severe training but which also are recognized as important for proper adaptation to Tanala culture. Such features include, particularly for the younger sons, a premature development of responsibility, a sense of obligation, conscientiousness, and unswerving loyalty.

It is becoming increasingly apparent that in every culture individuals are psychologically modified for participation in their culture. The primary milieu for such training during the individual's early years is the family and its extensions. However, there is great variation from culture to culture as to what methods are used for conditioning the individual, as to who does the conditioning, as to how deeply controls on the impulse life are imposed, and as to what aspects of the developing personality are seized upon either for stimulation or for repression. Psychologically, the problem needs to be studied among varying cultures from the viewpoint of specific character formation in, and individual adjustment to, specific cultural environments. For education it would be very helpful to know the genius of personality configuration in an alien culture so that objectives and classroom methods could be adjusted accordingly. In its relation to education this is as important as the totality of the culture itself.

Therefore, if we are to employ our educational system intelligently and successfully among peoples who differ culturally from ourselves, we shall have to keep several problems in mind. The first and most important is for us to be absolutely clear in our own minds as to what we as the majority group are trying to accomplish, and why we have certain special objectives. For example, up to fifteen years ago we tried to make all immigrants and Indians into "Americans" in thought, action, and language. We have recently become uncertain of this attempt and have started to talk about the enrichment of American life through cultural

⁸ This may serve to explain the peculiar behavior of Indian children in the Dakota country when they first enter school and are confronted with a white schoolteacher. It might also block the relationship of the teacher to the child as parent-surrogate.

⁹ New York, 1939.

contributions of immigrants and Indians. Now we talk less about the complete blotting-out of all alien cultural characteristics. Yet, as our ideals and objectives change, so must our action programs. And it is always the better part of wisdom to know not only what our values actually are but also what are the underlying causes of those attitudes which motivate our action programs for the "aliens" in our midst.

The second problem, after we are certain of our objectives, is to plan a realistic action program. Part of such a program is to relate education directly to the actual lives of the immigrant or folk group. Education should help to strengthen and guide the transplanted culture. Therefore, we should understand such factors as the prevalent methods of child-training how these methods are related to both the contemporary submerged cul-

ture and the adult personality configuration, and how these factors differ from those in our culture. Again, we should understand the alien culture in terms of its "wholeness" and be conversant with the ways in which its institutions are adapted or not adapted to carry on in the American scene. We should know not only what the economic resources are, but what the habit patterns for exploiting them are; and, finally, what are the capabilities and interests of the people, especially those which can be developed for their well-being and support. It is only at this point of understanding that we can really begin to plan and put into effect an intelligent and successful educational program, in terms of objectives, values, curriculum, budget, and personnel.

UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN

EDUCATION FOR SURVIVAL: THE JEWS

LOUIS WIRTH

ABSTRACT

The strong emphasis and high valuation which the Jews have historically placed on learning created a common consciousness and coherence which assured their survival as a separate group despite their wide dispersion. Jewish education until the Enlightenment consisted mainly of rote learning and casuistic interpretation of sacred texts. It remained medieval in spirit longest where the opportunities for participation in capitalist secular culture were most restricted. In more recent times the increasing migration of Jews to the urban areas of advanced capitalistic nations has tended to weaken the influence of religious education with all but the nationalist groups. For the most part, Jewish learning now serves only as a supplement to the secular public education. The contrast between the highly urbanized, sophisticated Jews and the Negroes is great. Nonetheless, as minority peoples they have many common problems of adjustment and orientation.

It is one of the occupational psychoses of schoolmen to be afflicted by a school-centered conception of the world and of education. There is perhaps more reason for imputing a great significance to the school in the case of the Jews than with most other peoples, for to speak of the Jews as "the people of the book" is more than a mere euphemism. Similarly, to ascribe a high value to education as a social function in the Jewish community is not just a historical exaggeration, for there is ample evidence to show that, from biblical days on, education, whatever variable content may have been given to the term, has been extraordinarily highly esteemed in the Jewish community.

EDUCATION AND SOCIAL CONTINUITY

If we think of education as part of a process by which societies keep themselves alive and renew themselves in the face of changing membership, changing locality, and changing circumstance, it is pertinent to ask what education has contributed to the survival of the Jews; for, despite the fact that even before the Nazis' massacres there were fewer than twenty millions of Jews out of a total of about two billions of human beings, they are still very much alive. It is futile to ask why a social group seeks to survive in the face of threats to its existence from without and disintegration from within. We do know that everywhere societies do manifest this tendency, which they seem to have in

common with living organisms. We must leave it to the theologians to determine whether men are immortal, but there can be no doubt that societies are immortal. They cannot die even if they try, for, though the entire membership of a group be exterminated, some remnant, at least, of the culture that made them a group will make its influence felt, if on no one else but their would-be exterminators.

There are, indeed, human aggregations that are not societies, or that were societies but have ceased to be peoples distinguished by a body of heritages, values, and attitudes which bind them together into a social entity. The Jews, despite their changing fortunes throughout their long history, have never ceased being such an entity. Whether they would have it so or not, certain individuals were treated as Jews and hence regarded themselves as Jews. On the other hand, the few millions of Jews who have survived the travail of history represent only a remnant of the stock that must have descended from their ancient forebears. As the saying goes, if we go back far enough, we will find that we are all kin to one another. Even Hitler, anthropologically speaking, might, upon genealogical analysis, turn out to be a non-Aryan, reluctant though the Jews are to press the claim. In determining who is a Jew, even he went no further in his genealogical test than the non-Aryan grandmother; and it is said that Goering, when

reproached by his fellow-Nazis for employing a general of undoubted partly Jewish ancestry for a leading position in the German air force, said: "In this country I determine who is a Jew."

There are varying theories as to the role education has played in the life of the Jews. As we examine the historical record, we find that many different kinds of activity have been called education, and still more widely different activities not called education have been truly educative. Looked at from one point of view, all there is to a society is its self-perpetuation, the most important part of which, even more important than physical procreation, is the communication among its members in time and in space. If by education we mean not only that communication by which we transmit an experience from one individual or generation to another but the process by which we arrive at common experiences and values, then we must conclude that all life is educative to the extent that it is social. It is this, I take it, that Dewey has in mind when he says:

Society not only continues to exist *by* transmission, *by* communication, but it may fairly be said to exist *in* transmission, *in* communication. There is more than a verbal tie between the words common, community, and communication.¹

Since the Jews, from the days of the dispersion on, have been scattered throughout the world, the criterion for determining the scope of their society is the extent of their intercommunication. Indeed, in the absence of a concentrated settlement, of political unity, or of racial identity, it was only through communication that the widely dispersed remnants of Israel ever held together. We must add, however, that the frequent interchange of communication among the distant Jewish settlements in the East, in Africa, in the New World, and in the various parts of Europe did more than merely preserve the cohesion of a religious and ethnic community; it furnished the bases of the peculiar

economic and intellectual advantage which the Jews enjoyed in comparison with their indigenous neighbors. This constant traffic of men, of goods, and of ideas provided the source of the continuous renewal of the culture and prevented it from lapsing into the parochialism and stagnation so characteristic of the Dark Ages in Europe.

EDUCATION AND SOCIAL CHANGE

Every system of education must be seen against the background of the social order of which it is a part. The social milieu in which Jewish education has operated has been highly diverse. And yet the educational objectives, institutions, and methods which may be called Jewish have persisted and have been cherished as sacrosanct virtually as they were molded in a milieu as alien to the world in which the Jews now live as Scholasticism is incongruent with the spirit of modern science and secular, free, empirical inquiry. Every system of education inevitably molds the individuals who come under its influence according to a pattern. It seeks to create a definite human type. The Jewish educational system of the Middle Ages did this as effectively as any system, even that of the Jesuits, ever seems to have done.

The type that it produced was the hair-splitting dialectician equipped to quibble about the meaning of texts culled from the Bible and overlaid with the pronouncements of the rabbis as compiled in the Talmud. The *Yeshiva Bachur*, who was the end-product of this educational formula, even prided himself on his impracticality. The world of actual human social life was extraneous to him. The community conspired to shelter him from its storms and its mundane problems. The wife to whom he was married at a very early age labored to support him while he browsed over the books, his body, by the time he reached adulthood, being so unfit for the physical rigors of life that he was little more than an invalid. But, in the measure that he immersed himself in the sacred books and mastered their contents by sheer rote learning, he shed luster upon his

¹ John Dewey, *Democracy and Education* (New York, 1916), p. 5.

family, his community, and, indeed, upon Jewry everywhere.

The saving grace of this type of education was that it only indirectly touched the majority of the able-bodied males and even more remotely the women. It deliberately set out to educate men for an order which was long past if it ever truly existed—an order which was the product of a romantic leap into an imaginary past and a utopian future. It was indeed education for futility. And yet this ceremonial form of education served a very important function for the community even though it made sacrificial victims of the individuals who were subjected to it. For the masses of Jews it made an otherwise miserable existence more endurable. It kept alive and insured the continuity of a tradition and thereby welded a scattered, haunted people into an enduring unity capable of holding intact its cultural identity in the face of overwhelming odds.

HISTORICAL PERIODS IN JEWISH EDUCATION

The principal imprint of education upon the Jewish people was made by the educational system which developed in their European communities during the Middle Ages. The education which was dominant during the Middle Ages, however, rested in part upon the foundations that were laid during the biblical period, extending approximately to the second century B.C. The core of education during this period consisted of the Torah. The emphasis laid upon education in the biblical period is too well known to warrant exposition.² The duty that evolved upon the parents to instruct the young in the Commandments is indi-

cated by the injunction, "And thou shalt teach them diligently unto thy children" (Deut. 6:7), and the corresponding duty of the young to seek this instruction may be indicated by, "Hear, my son, the instruction of thy father and forsake not the teaching of thy mother" (Prov. 1:8). Isaiah assumed reading and writing to be common in Jerusalem in 680 B.C. Education in the biblical period was so intimately involved with religion that a distinction between these two spheres of life can scarcely be made. It may be said that, without the inculcation and transmission of the religious heritage which was so central a part of Jewish social life in biblical times, the fate of the Jews after the dispersion would certainly have been different, for, as Saadya ben Josef (born in Egypt in 892) said, "Our people is a people only because of the Torah."

The second period in the history of Jewish education, overlapping in part with the biblical period, was the talmudic era, extending from approximately the fourth century B.C. to the end of the fifth century A.D. To a large extent the content of education in this period was colored by the nostalgic longing for a return to a homeland. The development of the Talmud itself, consisting as it did of commentaries on and interpretations and codifications of the Law, illustrates the extent to which the life of the Jews in the Diaspora was woven into a unity by an appeal to sanctions and loyalties which found their way into documents. The unity thus achieved was fortified by a belief in common descent. The Torah became a "portable fatherland" in exile, and the Talmud served as a fence around the Torah. The creed of the Jews in the period of dispersion was not so much connected with a city or a land as with a book. The emphasis upon the sharing of the content of that book, therefore, became an understandably powerful device in molding a common consciousness among people living under widely varying circumstances in widely scattered territories.

It was expected of the father during this period that he would teach his son the Law

² Israel Abrahams, *Jewish Life in the Middle Ages* (2d ed.; London, 1932); Salo W. Baron, *A Social and Religious History of the Jews* (3 vols.; New York, 1937); Georg Caro, *Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte der Juden im Mittelalter und in der Neuzeit* (2 vols.; Frankfurt, 1908, 1920); Simon M. Dubnow, *History of the Jews in Russia and Poland* (3 vols.; Philadelphia, 1916); Moritz Güdemann, *Geschichte des Erziehungswesen und der Kultur der abendländischen Juden während des Mittelalters und der neueren Zeit* (3 vols.; Vienna, 1880-88).

and the Commandments as well as a trade, and it is even reported that where circumstances allowed he was to teach him to swim.

Study combined with a secular occupation is a fine thing, for the double labor makes sin to be forgotten. All study of the Law with which no work goes, will in the end come to naught and bring sin in its train.³

The actual practice of teaching, however, did not always conform to this talmudic injunction. Often it overemphasized the inculcation of conformity to dogma and ritual—a dogma which must frequently have seemed archaic, considering the difference between the time and condition of its genesis and the mode of life for the control of which it was invoked.

In the talmudic period, as in the biblical period, there existed a noticeable difference between education for boys and education for girls. It was the men rather than the women who were the responsible members of the religious community and who, hence, were given the benefits of formal instruction. Girls were rarely trained in anything but the domestic occupations. Even in the family ritual and ceremonial the male was dominant. Filial piety, however, was encouraged; and, even though the mother was not the responsible head of the household, she enjoyed the respect and reverence of the children and often imbibed the group heritages and learning through oral rather than written mediums.

The medieval period of Jewish education extends from approximately the sixth to the end of the eighteenth century, for the end of the Middle Ages for the Jews did not come until the culmination of the Enlightenment in Europe. Progressively the Jews in the Middle Ages found themselves more widely dispersed throughout the Western world and at the same time more isolated in their local communities. Their life took on more and more the character of a transitional stage torn between the memory of a glorious past and a messianic belief in an equally

bright future. Their world was becoming more and more fictional. As Benjamin Disraeli put it: "A race that persists in celebrating their vintage although they have no fruits to gather, would regain their vineyards."⁴

THE SOCIAL EVALUATION OF EDUCATION

Indicative of the increasing importance of education in this period are the many rabbinical pronouncements extolling the virtues of education. "As long as the voices of children are heard chirping the words of the Law in the houses of worship and learning, the Jewish people are safe against all foreign aggressors."⁵ "Take heed of the children of the poor, because from them will issue forth the Torah."⁶ Upon the extensive store of book learning was piled a rich layer of lore. Whereas the former was transmitted through the school, the latter was communicated through the channels of intimate family living in the cramped ghetto communities.

The violent waves of persecution which frequently swept down upon the scattered communities of Jews in the Western world tended to accentuate the nostalgic intellectual feeding upon the past and the romantic elaboration of the hopes for the future. Dreams turned a gnawing sense of inferiority into visions of triumph and certainty of survival. The survival of the remnant of Israel was regarded as essential for the realization of the messianic hope. The solidarity of a widely dispersed society became more and more evidenced by the voluntary obedience to the edicts of distinguished rabbis—distinguished not through their worldly power but through their reputation for learning. Many of these rabbis enjoyed a wide territorial authority extending far beyond the village or town where they had their seat.

The domestic, the communal, the reli-

³ B. Talmud Abot 2: 2, quoted in G. F. Moore, *Judaism* (1927), II, 128.

⁴ *Tancred or the New Crusade* (London, 1894), p. 388.

⁵ Talmud Babli, Gen. r. 65: 16.

⁶ Talmud Babli, Ned. 81a.

gious, and particularly the educational aspects of the life of the Jewish communities combined to furnish not so much an escape from the hostile world as a compensation for it. In his learning, be it ever so useless and archaic, the outcast and despised Jew could inwardly rise above his untutored persecutors. Since the Jews came to Europe as strangers and to a large extent remained strangers by virtue of their different descent, culture, and occupations, they found both the necessity and the opportunity to develop a distinctive educational system. Their way of life differed radically from that of their neighbors, and their religion was the central criterion upon which their differentiated way of life rested. Often they had good reason to be convinced that they were the bearers of a civilization more advanced than that of their Christian neighbors.

The Jew was tied to his Christian neighbor, however tenuously, almost exclusively by the bonds of *commercium* rather than by the bonds of *connubium*, which ultimately are required to blend the many into one both biologically and culturally. In the Middle Ages the Jews had to contend not only against the general xenophobia of the population but also against a state religion from which they were excluded as infidels. Perhaps if the Jews had gone (and to the extent that they have gone) to countries on a higher level of civilization than their own, they would have been (and have been) disappearing as a distinct group. If the Jews had pursued the path of *connubium*, which their religion forbade, as did other strangers, there would probably be no hatred of the Jews today. But there would also be no Jews. In addition to whatever internal factors of cohesion operated upon them, of which their education was perhaps the most important, it was the xenophobia of their neighbors, their exclusion from full participation in the life about them, and their persecution that insured their survival. As the founder of modern Zionism put it: "We are a people—the enemy makes us a people."⁷

The recognition that education has been

one of the prime forces making for the survival of the Jews is amply recorded in educational history.⁸

As Dr. Isaac Landman says:

The primary function of the Synagogue, even before it became a *Beth Hafillah*, a house of prayer, is a *Beth Hamidrash*, a house of study. Now, if we are to seek an aim, a purpose, an objective for religious education without channeling these into a prime definition, we seem to have them here: to educate for survival.⁹

The education in the case of the Jews designed to bring about this survival was an education in a way of life, changing with the changing circumstances in which the Jews found themselves in different times and places, but rooted in the Torah and the Talmud (which literally means "teaching") and in the accumulated lore of centuries.

Not only during the period when the ghetto was the characteristic mode of communal life of the Jews, but even after partial emancipation, when the winds of secularism began to disintegrate the isolated Jewish community, education among the Jews was primarily religious education. The obligation of the individual to seek this education and of the community to provide the facilities for it is emphasized time and again in

⁸ See Isaac Landman, "Survival Values in Jewish Religious Education," *Religious Education*, XXXIV (July–September, 1939), 135–42. Landman quotes, among others, Elmer Harrison Wilds, who stresses that "education has been the prime force in their national and racial existence. . . . The greatest lesson to be drawn from the history of the Jews is that a strict adherence to an educational system based upon a peculiarly high religious and moral ideal has preserved the unity of the race in a way that no political system could approximate. The salvation of this people has been due to its education" (*The Foundations of Modern Education*, pp. 60–77). Landman also cites Thomas Davidson to the effect that "one lesson, above all, Jewish education has to teach us, that the most important element in all education is moral discipline. The Greek with his art and his philosophy, and the Roman with his law and his statesmanship have vanished from the face of the earth; but the Jew, with his moral discipline, with his Torah, and his Talmud, is still with us, as strong and ready for life's struggle as ever" (*A History of Education*, p. 85).

⁹ *Op. cit.*

⁷ Theodore Herzl, *A Jewish State* (London, 1934).

the codes and edicts of the rabbis as well as in the fundamental law which centuries of dispersed Jewish communities embraced as a living entity. Maimonides, one of the best representatives of rabbinic Judaism in the twelfth century, stated this individual obligation as follows:

Every man in Israel is obliged to devote himself to study, be he rich or poor, of good health or afflicted by diseases, a youngster or a doddering elder; even if he be a beggar living on charity or a father burdened with a family, he ought to set aside time for study by day and night. . . . Among the greatest scholars of Israel there were wood-pickers and water-carriers, even blind men, and they nevertheless studied the Torah by day and night. . . . Up to what age is one obliged to study the Torah? Unto the day of death. . . .¹⁰

And those who were not able to study were enjoined to provide the means whereby others could do so. Maimonides may be taken again as the example of the rabbis who declared it to be the duty of the community to

appoint elementary school teachers in every state, district and town. A town which fails to send children to school shall be excommunicated until it appoints school teachers. If it persists in its failure, it shall be outlawed, because the entire universe is maintained only by the breath of school children.¹¹

In the medieval Jewish community, while wealth conferred prestige and power, it was effectively counterbalanced—indeed, more often than not far outweighed—by the influence and social dignity of descent (*yihus*), piety, and especially learning.¹²

But piety and learning did not create any distinct, superior class of charismatic priests such as existed in the contemporary privileged Catholic clergy. . . . We may readily discount some of the widespread exaggerated notions of the rabbi's position in the ghetto

community, as fostered by both the predominantly rabbinic orientation of extant sources and the romanticizing modern scholarship. We must nevertheless admit that at least until the rise of the early modern *parnasim* who ruled the communities of Holland, Germany and Poland with an iron hand, the leadership rested principally with scholars and men distinguished by good deeds or renowned ancestry, which itself was largely estimated on the basis of scholarly or pious deserts.¹³

The emphasis upon rabbinic studies to the disadvantage of biblical and linguistic studies was accentuated as the status of the Jews in medieval society was lowered and as their segregation became more complete. At times the dialectical method of talmudic instruction, especially in the north, was carried to absurd extremes. This was particularly unfortunate in view of the fact that the general overemphasis upon intellectualism in the ghetto already tended to produce unbalanced types of personality.

There were wide variations both in the esteem in which learning was held and in the methods of education as between the different regions of Jewish settlement. On the whole, the rabbinical tradition was strongest in northern and eastern Europe, and weakest in the south and in the west. Where the Jew had the opportunity to participate in the rising secular culture, the sciences and the professions, trade and commerce, the educational content and methods of the ghetto community were forsaken for the richer opportunities without.

CONTEMPORARY JEWISH EDUCATION

The advance of capitalistic civilization in Europe, associated as it was with the rationalization and secularization of life, did even more to undermine the traditional Jewish communal life than that of European society in general. The new liberal atmosphere opened the door to assimilation and weakened the ancient and once-powerful religious sanctions without giving the Jews a virile national culture to fall back upon. What is more, in more recent times the trend of Jew-

¹⁰ Salo W. Baron, *The Jewish Community*, II (Philadelphia, 1942), 169.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 170.

¹² Salo W. Baron, "Capitalism and Jewish Fate," *Menorah Journal*, XXX (summer, 1942), 128.

¹³ *Ibid.*

ish migration has been overwhelmingly in the direction of the most advanced capitalistic countries and in these countries into the most urbanized areas. The proletarianization of the Jews and the associated influences of socialism, trade-unionism, and class consciousness have further weakened the force of the old religious tradition and with it the religiously sponsored education. A notable exception is found among nationalist, particularly Zionist, sections of the Jewish population, where a distinctly Jewish education continues to be provided for the young.

The traditional type of school among the Jews from medieval times on was the *cheder*, which, if it became imposing in size, somewhat like a modern consolidated school, was called a *Talmud Torah*.¹⁴ Instruction consisted in reading and writing Hebrew and in memorizing texts by means of mechanical repetition and rote learning. By the time the boy reached the age of ten to fourteen he graduated to a secondary school, or *yeshiva*, where he studied the Talmud and was subjected to dialectical drill. This teaching was a unique medium for continuing the Jewish religion unchanged—embalmed—from generation to generation and for maintaining the Jews together as a separate cultural unit in a hostile world.

This form of teaching, which until recently was continued virtually unchanged in eastern Europe and in some of the cities of the United States, concentrated on literary knowledge to the exclusion of science and art. It had no place for sport or recreation, which among pious Jews, as among the Puritans, were regarded as distractions from the serious business of life and learning. The place of games in these schools was taken by intellectual acrobatics, which were thought

to be conducive to the further development of the mind in the subtleties of talmudic casuistry. When it is recalled that until approximately the eighteenth or nineteenth century compulsory education was virtually unknown to Christian children and that, in contrast, the Jewish boy was confined to the *cheder* from approximately the fourth or fifth year on, during most of the day virtually every day in the year, the long-run effect upon the differences in personality of the respective groups must have been serious. The ideal product of this system of education was the *matmid*, or the young man who devoted himself to the study of Hebrew literature day after day without intermission. While such a person was stamped with the gravity of a joyless youth, he was a person who entertained no doubts about his moral and intellectual convictions and loyalty to his people.

In addition to these elementary and secondary educational institutions, there were higher educational institutions or seminaries devoted to the training of advanced scholars. It was in these institutions that the most serious rumblings of the secular influence were felt, and it was these that were most ready to make the readjustments to a changing world situation. It is generally among the emancipated intellectuals who have intimate contact with the outside world that we must expect the critique of the established dogma to be most vocal. Thus, for instance, it was men like Moses Mendelssohn and his circle, who were moving along the margins of the European world of the Enlightenment, who accomplished some of the outstanding modern reforms in Jewish education. From the higher institutions in turn there reverberated in our own time upon the elementary and secondary institutions the more modern and scientific ideas concerning educational content and method. In the larger cities of America and of Europe today and, to a lesser extent, in the smaller communities Jewish religious education is proceeding along lines not so far different from the most progressive educational methods of the country at large. Increasingly the teachers and administrators in these

¹⁴ For a summary account of contemporary Jewish education see Arthur Ruppin, *The Jews in the Modern World* (London, 1934), chap. xix; *Jewish Education*, now in its fourteenth volume; Israel Chipkin, "25 Years of Jewish Education in the United States," *American Jewish Yearbook*, XXXVIII (Philadelphia, 1936), 27-116; Samuel Dinin, *Judaism in a Changing Civilization* ("Teachers College Contributions to Education," No. 563 [New York: Columbia University, 1933]).

nstitutions are trained according to modern principles, and, if they lack the fervor of old, they have at least mastered the techniques of the new day.

Whereas the Jews of western Europe and the United States have generally replaced their parochial schools with public education, in so far as the latter was accessible to them, and have supplemented this by religious schools, in other sections of the widely dispersed Jewish settlements the Jewish community has by choice or necessity maintained a complete and separate educational system.

In the typical American community Jewish religious education shows decided variations, depending upon the structuring of the community. In general the oldest settlers and economically the most successful part of the Jewish population belong to the *reformed* religious congregation. Jewish education in that part of the community is not unlike the Sunday school training given in modern Christian churches, supplemented occasionally by the study of Hebrew and by Jewish history and contemporary problems. It is supplementary religious education facilitating or at least not seriously obstructing assimilation.

A second form of religious instruction is found among the *conservative* part of the community, generally comprising the second-generation eastern Europeans. In this part of the religious community customs and rituals have only been partly modified to conform with what are regarded as the necessities and conveniences of life and retain most of the religious tradition of the community from which the settlers originally came. To a large extent this section of the Jewish community is Zionist in its political orientation. The religious education in this group consists of supplementary week day and Sunday school. It lays more stress than does the reform group upon Hebrew, upon indoctrination in Jewish traditions, and upon a nationalistic outlook.

The most recent settlers (excluding the bulk of the refugees from Germany) represent the *orthodox* section of the Jewish community and are composed largely of first-

generation eastern European immigrants. Until recently this group had deviated least from the educational pattern represented by the *cheder*, the *Talmud Torah*, and the *yeshiva*. The emphasis in Jewish education among this group is upon the preservation of the cultural and religious integrity of the Jewish community.

A fourth group is the secular, moderately nationalist, and sometimes politically radical proletarian section of the Jewish community emphasizing Yiddish as a folk language. It is upon this group largely that the Yiddish press continues to rely for its existence. In many respects this group conceives of itself as an American ethnic minority, whose future is bound up with the problem of other minorities, but particularly with the problem of the wage-earning masses.

In many American cities the religious education of most or all of these groups is administered by a centralized body known as the Jewish Board of Education, assuring the maintenance of high standards of teaching, of teacher-training and selection, and of school administration. While allowing for a wide range of difference in religious beliefs, the general policy of these boards has been to maintain the continuity of Jewish traditions and the basic tenets of the Jewish religion. However modern their educational policy may be in other respects, the general objective has been to maintain the Jews as a separate social and religious group and to rekindle a waning loyalty to the Jewish people.

It should be noted that in the contemporary American and European Jewish communities the school is supplemented as a solidifying agency by Jewish social centers, philanthropic institutions, recreational agencies, religious institutions, burial societies, clubs, lodges, and a host of other agencies, including the press. Together with the schools they are in part the product of past isolation and tend, though inadvertently, to perpetuate this isolation.

EDUCATION FOR INDIVIDUAL ADJUSTMENT VERSUS COLLECTIVE SURVIVAL

The anxiety which most Jews—not only those under direct attack by the organized

forces of nazism and anti-Semitism—feel about their future has reduced the estrangement of the younger generation from their elders and has given impetus to a revival of orthodox forms in religion and in formal Jewish religious education. The sense of liberalism and cosmopolitanism, which was given impetus by the Enlightenment and which through the *Haskalah* movement even penetrated to the more provincial sections of eastern European Jewry, has suffered a setback with the rise of political anti-Semitism in our time.

The survival of the Jews has probably depended more upon the segregation and internal solidification of the Jewish community as a response to exclusion and persecution than upon toleration by the outside world. In the light of the history of the Jewish people up to the rise of nazism, the adaptability of Jewish life to changing situations is scarcely subject to doubt as a powerful factor in survival. But the will to live is perhaps more convincingly manifested in the adjustment of Jewish education to changing needs and circumstances than in any other phase of Jewish social life. While it has been concerned with the transmission of knowledge and skills of a sort, it has been primarily designed to nurture a consciousness of a common past and a common destiny. The most important part of the education which the Jewish family and community has provided its members, especially the youth, has served to inculcate in the individual a sense of belonging to a historic people with deep roots in the past and of sharing the future of that people despite the seeming discrepancy between the fortune of the one and the fate of the many.

It should be noted, of course, that in all the countries of the Western world except those under the dominance of Nazi doctrines the education of the Jews, except for the religious education, is part and parcel of the general educational system of the country. The disproportionate crowding of the Jews into the professions in the past few generations has to some extent repeated what their concentration in business and finance

had done in an earlier period: It gave rise to a reaction expressing itself in Jewish quotas in many higher educational institutions, if not complete exclusion in the case of some. Incidentally, it may also be noted that the quota system in higher educational and professional institutions has mainly resulted in intensifying the individual struggle for admission and advancement.

The fascination which higher education and professional careers have had for the Jews may be traced to at least three factors: (1) the traditionalist scheme of learning cultivated as a social value for centuries and now translated into secular terms; (2) the relatively high degree of urbanization of the Jews; and (3) the lack of interest in or opportunity for entering other occupations. It is a striking fact that agricultural vocational education (except in the retraining of refugees in an emergency like the present or as stimulated by nationalistic enthusiasm, as in Zionism, or as a deliberate policy by philanthropic and resettlement agencies) has failed to attract more than a trivial segment of the Jews.¹⁵ In the higher brackets of education anti-Semitism has frequently generated a personal sense of frustration and embitterment. Among the Jews, as among other minority peoples, discontent is not confined to the lower strata but extends on up into the top reaches of the social hierarchy and is perhaps most acute among those who, despite their abilities, have found their path to advancement or acceptance barred.

THE JEWS AND THE NEGROES: CONTRASTING EDUCATIONAL PROBLEMS

The experience of the Jews may well stand as the classic example of the survival of a people and the perpetuation of a culture from which others similarly situated may draw appropriate inferences for their policies, both positive and negative. "There

¹⁵ See Ruppin, *op. cit.*, chap. x. For an account of the chief experiment in agricultural education and settlement see Gabriel Davidson, *Our Jewish Farmers and the Story of the Jewish Agricultural Society* (New York, 1943).

probably is no people more unlike the Negroes than the Jews. The latter have long been sophisticated, urbanized, and literate. While immersed in the stream of Western civilization, the Jews have retained a profound consciousness of their separate identity and past. The Negroes in these respects are virtually exactly opposite. The Jews, for instance, have no need for an urban league as do the Negroes, for the Jews, having grown up with the city, find urban life their natural milieu. Whereas the Jews on many occasions faced their supreme problem in resisting assimilation, the Negroes only rarely have been permitted to assimilate. Whereas the Jews have inherited their communal organization, the Negroes have had to build up their community structure painfully and laboriously. The Negroes have no minority language, ritual, religion, and culture to speak of, for which they must seek toleration as do the Jews. It is interesting to speculate how much of the anomalous status of the Jews today is due to the progress of the industrial revolution and how different the contemporary position of the Negroes would be if they had been permitted to share in the industrial, commercial, and professional roles which the Jews have played. Despite the obvious differences between the Jews and the Negroes, however, none can perhaps profit more by the historic experiences of the Jews than the Negroes themselves.

We already see in the crystallization of schools of thought among Negro leaders striking likenesses between the issues and the strategy of adjustment. Assimilationism and nationalist separatism are the extreme poles in both instances. Intermediate between these lie a series of variant policies which have close resemblances in the two peoples. Accommodation, submission, and sublimation are three distinctly recognizable intermediate forms of proposed adjustment. The Jews have perhaps more of a recognizable will to live as a people and as a culture than have the Negroes. Moreover, the Jews, as a historic people, have a core of cultural traditions to knit them together and

enable them to face a hostile world with an inner sense of equality and with equanimity despite their dispersion. The greater visibility of the Negroes, on the other hand, furnishes a not always welcome basis of racial identity from which the individual cannot, even if he would, escape.

The fact that the Jews have, through the centuries of their dispersion and their struggle for recognition and survival, acquired certain unmistakable successes within the framework of Western civilization no doubt gives them an advantage over the Negroes, who have had to traverse the road from African folk culture to Western civilization more recently and in a much shorter time, which did not permit them to share even those opportunities which the Jews until recently thought they could take for granted as permanent gains. On the other hand, it is the very success of the Jews in surmounting the obstacles put into the path of their progress which has made them the object of envy, hate, and persecution and which makes them vulnerable to the propaganda of organized anti-Semitism.

Despite the momentary and, we hope, temporary vicissitudes of history which have allotted to the Jews a more precarious prospect than there was reason to hope would face them in the age of liberalism, it is not unlikely that they will continue to enjoy in the long run certain advantages over the Negroes which even the aftermath of nazism cannot completely cancel. There is no doubt, however, about the fact that large masses of Jews who thought they were well along on the road of assimilation have, through their setbacks incident to the advent of racism and anti-Semitism as political weapons, come to a point of seeing themselves and their fate with a greater feeling of kinship and sympathy for the Negroes. For both peoples the goal of a happier adjustment to the world in which they must live is seen to be further distant than either had expected. They have the consolation that they can travel at least part of that road in companionship.

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THE EDUCATIONAL PROCESS AND THE BRAZILIAN NEGRO

DONALD PIERSON

ABSTRACT

Although the class distribution of Brazilian Negroes is not dissimilar to that in the United States, the differences in implication are profound. Whereas in the United States the rise of the Negro and of the mixed-blood has been principally within the limits of the Negro world, in Brazil the Negro competes freely with all aspirants, white or black, to the same class; and, if he gives evidence of personal worth, his racial antecedents will be to a considerable extent overlooked. Blacks, mulattoes, and whites are to be found participating together on all educational levels. Segregated schools are unknown. African customs and rituals, practiced on the lower-class level and partly fused into the culture even at the upper levels, are gradually losing their hold on Negro youth because of disparagement by prestige-bearing members of the European community. This process facilitates the education of Negro youth in European habits and ideas.

When considering the educational process in its cultural significance as observed among Negroes in Brazil, one should perhaps first of all define what is meant here by "education." By "education" we have in mind the series of communications by means of which a cultural heritage is transmitted from an older to a younger generation—in other words, the entire round of human interaction which enables a culture to renew itself and to maintain its existence.

Education conceived in this way obviously is not limited to the formal schooling of a generation which, in due course of time, will be left alone to perpetuate the culture in question; in fact, cultural transmission is perhaps only to a limited degree obtained by such rational attempts to extend the range of transmitted skills, ideas, attitudes, and sentiments and to insure their accurate reproduction as the school represents. It is probably trite to say that, without human association from infancy and the free play of interaction between the younger and the older generations, societies would disintegrate and cultures disappear, except in so far as written records might continue to furnish a link between the past and the future. It is perhaps not so obvious, however, that a considerable measure of this interaction is of a nonverbal character; that, in other words, the play of facial muscles, the movements of the eyes, slight shifts of the shoulders, the tensing or relaxing of the whole organism, the manner of responding to a specifically

put or implied question—indicating, as these gestures all do, approval or disapproval of given acts—play significant roles in transmitting that body of meanings which constitute a culture.

THE BRAZILIAN NEGRO

During more than three centuries, from approximately 1532 to 1856, large numbers of Africans were imported into Brazil as a labor supply, particularly for the sugar plantations of the northeastern coastal belt and the diamond and gold-panning regions of the interior. By the latter year probably more Negroes had entered Brazil than were ever imported into the United States or the West Indies. The burning of official records following emancipation in 1888 leaves in doubt the precise numbers. But anyone familiar with the five present centers of Negro concentration—the port cities of Bahia, Pernambuco, Maranhão, Rio de Janeiro, the interior state of Minas Geraes—and with the unfavorable conditions for survival, particularly during the colonial period, is readily convinced that the total must have reached millions.

The exact number of Negroes in Brazil today is perhaps equally unknown. The last attempt to enumerate the population according to race was made in the census of 1890, or fifty years ago. This enumeration gave 2,097,426 blacks and 4,638,495 mixed-bloods (including both mulattoes and Indian-white *mestizos*), equivalent to 14.6 and

32.4 per cent, respectively, of the total population. More recent vital statistics which take account only of color indicate that in the city of Bahia, for instance, 14.3 per cent of the children born in the thirty-one years between 1903 and 1933 were black and 49.4 per cent *pardo*, or brown.¹ A comparatively recent study made at the National Museum by Roquette Pinto estimated 14 per cent of the total Brazilian population to be black, 22 per cent mulatto.²

Although these statistics are probably subject to grave question regarding their accuracy or adequacy, especially from the point of view of racial conceptions in the United States, one may safely say that Negroes represent a considerable part of the present Brazilian population and that, with the exception of areas in the south where relatively few Africans were originally imported and large numbers of European immigrants have come in during the past century, probably at least a majority of the population has some African blood. To consider, then, the educational process as observed among Brazilian Negroes is to deal with education among a major portion of the Brazilian people, especially if one con-

ceives of the term Negro as it is ordinarily employed in the United States.

It should be pointed out, however, that the significance of the term Negro in Bahia, for instance, where I have known rather intimately Brazilian Negroes from the various classes of society, varies in marked degree from that common to the United States, where any individual descended from African forebears, even though he may be, to all appearances, white, is considered a Negro, provided, of course, the facts of his origin are known. In Brazil a man is a Negro if he looks like a Negro, and particularly if there is added to these physical marks social characteristics ordinarily associated with the Negro in the Brazilian mind. In other words, numerous individuals whose ancestors were in part, at least, African are classified in official statistics as "white" and are so considered by their associates.

A still more significant fact is that color, hair texture, and facial characteristics are in the Brazilian society of perhaps no more importance as indices of social classification than certain other indices, such as family connection, education, "breeding," professional competence, economic status, and cultural identification. The result is that numerous individuals are considered "white" who not only are descended from African forebears but who carry in their physical makeup unmistakable marks of such origin. In other words, the possession of social characteristics ordinarily associated in Brazil with upper-class standing tends to take a given individual out of color, as well as racial, categories. For instance, an English visitor at Pernambuco in the early part of the nineteenth century was surprised to hear a mulatto official referred to as "white." Upon pointing out to the speaker that the man in question appeared to the eyes undoubtedly to be a mulatto, he received the paradoxical (but, as far as the Brazilian racial situation is concerned, illuminating) reply: "He *was* a mulatto, but he is *now* a white; for how can a mulatto be a *capitão mor*?"³

¹ Official records, city of Bahia, on file at the Secretaria de Saude e Assistencia Publica. The recording of births is admitted by public officials to be incomplete, many deliveries among the lower classes (principally colored) going unrecorded by attending midwives. During the same period 24.6 per cent of the deaths in Bahia are recorded as occurring among blacks, 52.1 per cent among *pardos*. Data on births are not available for the years 1911, 1915, or 1919; no deaths for 1910, 1911, or 1917-20.

² E. Roquette Pinto, "Nota sobre os tipos anthropologicos do Brasil," *Archivos do Museu Nacional*, XXX (Rio, 1928), 309; *Ensaio de anthropologia brasileira* (São Paulo, 1933), p. 128. Artur Lobo da Silva, in a study of 30,000 recruits for the Brazilian army, found 10 per cent to be blacks, 30 per cent mulattoes "and other mixed bloods" (Coronel Artur Lobo da Silva, "A anthropologia do exercito brasileiro," *Archivos do Museu Nacional*, XXX [Rio, 1928], 19). Lowrie recently estimated the population of the southern state of São Paulo, which has received large numbers of European immigrants in recent years, to be one-sixth colored (Samuel H. Lowrie, "O elemento negro na população de São Paulo," *Revista do Arquivo Municipal*, XLVIII [São Paulo, 1939], 5-51).

³ Henry Koster, *Travels in Brazil, 1809 to 1815*, II (Philadelphia, 1817), 175-76.

CULTURAL TRANSMISSION AMONG
THE *Africanos*

Although assimilation of the Africans and their descendants has been proceeding at a gradually accelerating rate and has now reached an advanced stage, identification with Africa and with African cultural forms, in such centers of Negro concentration as Bahia, still marks off rather noticeably a portion of the population. Differences in dress, in food and food habits, in music, in forms of religious expression, in sacred specialists, in attempts to exercise control over personal destiny and over other human beings, and in credulity in folklore and, to a limited extent, differences in language describe different worlds which still coexist at Bahia: one largely African in derivation, the other European. Although most of the blacks have now to a considerable extent sloughed off their former cultural identification with Africa and been more or less completely incorporated into the European world, a remnant of *Africanos* still lives, in spite of symbiotic relations with the European group, to a considerable extent culturally apart.

Among those individuals identified with the African tradition, most of whom are Negroes but some of whom are whites, the *candomblé*, or fetish-cult ceremonies, which are serious, dignified, and carried on according to fixed, traditional forms, furnish informal instruction in the use of African musical instruments and ceremonial costumes, in songs, dances, and other ritualistic practices, and in the nomenclature and "behavior" of the *orixás*, or deities, who under favorable circumstances visit assembled worshipers. The four or five hundred adults present at a ceremony of this kind ordinarily bring with them the children and young people of their families, mothers with infants in their arms being not uncommon. Instruction in ritual and belief may be had informally outside the *candomblé* from relatives or friends who participate in the ceremonies or from sacred specialists, while for the important *filhas de santo* (literally, "daughters of the *orixás*"), or ceremonial

dancers, formal instruction is provided. Thus, on the first "visitation" of an *orixá* to a prospective *filha de santo* she must immediately enter upon a period of rigorous training. After surrendering all her garments so that, in symbol of the new life which she is about to begin, they may never be worn again, the initiate, or *yauô*, as she is now called, submits to a ritualistic bath, at dusk, in water scented with sacred herbs. Her hair is cut, her head shaved,⁴ and dots and circles are painted in white all over the head. The *yauô* is then escorted to the *camarinha*, or sacred instruction chamber, where she remains for a period of six months to a year to be taught by sacred specialists the various rituals of the cult, the songs, dances, the beliefs and sacred traditions. The more adequate her eventual knowledge of these cultural forms, the greater her prestige among the *Africanos*. Negroes (and whites) among this portion of the population will say with pride, "She is very learned in things African."⁵

But this portion of the population, as has been indicated, is proportionately small. Most Negroes in Brazil have now come to be identified primarily with the European culture.

EDUCATION, RACE, AND CLASS

From what has previously been pointed out about the Brazilian racial situation, it will probably be clear that, among those Negroes whose close approximation to the whites in pigmentation, facial characteristics, and hair texture identifies them with

⁴ Formerly, all hairy parts of the body were shaved.

⁵ For detailed information on African cultural forms still to be observed in Brazil see particularly Nina Rodrigues, *Os africanos no Brasil* (São Paulo, 1932) and *O animismo fetichista dos negros bahianos* (Rio, 1935); Artur Ramos, *O negro brasileiro* (2d ed.; São Paulo, 1940) and *O folk-lore negro do Brasil* (Rio, 1935); Manoel Querino, "A raça africana e os seus costumes na Bahia," *Annaes do 5º Congresso Brasileiro de Geographia*, I (Bahia, 1916), 626; Edison Carneiro, *Religiões negras* (Rio, 1936) and *Negros bantus* (Rio, 1937); Donald Pierson, "A Study of Racial Adjustment in Brazil" (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Chicago, 1939), chaps. x and xi.

the white portion of the population, the educational process proceeds in a manner fundamentally identical to that among Brazilian whites. With children from the upper classes it ordinarily involves the assimilation of a cultural heritage composed predominantly of Catholic European and Moorish cultural traits modified by transplantation to a virgin continent; by vicissitudes attendant on the formation and growth of a new society upon what in reality constituted for a long time a European cultural frontier; by a fusion, to some extent, with native Indian elements and, more extensively perhaps, especially in areas like Bahia and Pernambuco, with African cultural forms. With children from the lower classes outside the *Africano* group it involves the taking-over of a cultural heritage which, although essentially European in character, has been influenced to a greater extent than the culture of the upper circles by native Indian elements and, especially in centers of Negro concentration, by African cultural forms.⁶

Among the lower classes cultural transmission, with the exception of the instruction of the *filhas de santo* by the *Africanos*, proceeds largely in an informal manner. Illiteracy among this portion of the population is, in Bahia, for instance, almost universal. The educational process proceeds here, then, primarily by way of social interaction inside the family, the clan, the play group, and the work group; by way of the light, color, odor, and sound of the Mass and other Catholic ritual and, to varying degrees with different individuals, of the ceremony and ritual of the *candomblé*; and, to a limited extent, by way of the cinema and the radio. On the other hand, white children from the upper classes

ordinarily receive elementary and secondary instruction of a quite formal character, together with professional training in a school of law, medicine, or engineering. Regular access is had to one or more daily newspapers and to a limited number of magazines, journals, and books, as well as to radio broadcasts, including short-wave programs from other countries in Portuguese or in foreign languages, with one or more of which they may be familiar; they have also occasional contacts with visitors from other lands. They may also travel in Brazil or abroad, particularly in Europe, and perhaps study for some time in France, Germany, or (only recently but increasingly now) the United States.

Not only is the education of those Brazilian Negroes who are identified with the white group in no way different from that of the whites in both the upper and the lower strata of society, but also the education of the children of those Negroes of darker pigmentation and more negroid features whose possession of other indices of social status (e.g., an adequate education, "good breeding," professional competence, outstanding public service, or wealth) admits them to advanced social position. In the case of the latter children, cultural transmission may even proceed in the bosom of exclusive clubs or other organizations with limited and carefully selected membership.

The facts so far presented indicate perhaps the difficulties involved in considering the education of the Brazilian Negro as one would consider the education of the Negro in the United States; that is, they indicate the difficulties involved in treating Brazilian whites and Brazilian Negroes as distinct groups sharply set off one from the other. As far as Brazil is concerned, it is more feasible to trace the educational process among the lower and the upper classes, in each of which appear in varying proportions both whites and blacks; or, with reference to the principal centers of Negro concentration where African culture forms still persist, to consider the transmission from generation to generation of the European and the African

⁶ Direct connection between Bahia and Africa was perhaps more intimate and was maintained over perhaps a longer period of time than any similar connection elsewhere in the New World. Even after the extinction of the slave traffic vessels regularly plied between Bahia and Lagos, repatriating nostalgic emancipated Negroes and returning with West Coast products much prized by Africans and their descendants in Brazil. This contact did not cease until approximately 1905.

cultures, in each of which both whites and blacks, in varying numbers, participate.

One finds today at Bahia, for instance, a freely competitive order in which individuals compete for position largely on the basis of personal merit and favorable family circumstances. Consequently, individual competence tends to overbalance ethnic origin as a determinant of social status. Since, however, the darker portion of the population has had to contend with the serious handicap that their parents or grandparents or other immediate ancestors began at the bottom as property-less slaves of the white ruling class and since they now bear constantly with them, by reason of color and other physical characteristics, indelible marks of this slave ancestry, it is not surprising to find that the unmixed blacks are still concentrated in the lower classes, that they gradually disappear as one ascends the class scale, and that in the upper levels they are to be found only in limited numbers. The mixed-bloods, however, demonstrate a strong tendency to advance in social position and are at present concentrated in the middle ranks, while a considerable portion, especially of very light mixed-bloods, or *brancos de Bahia* as they are sometimes called, have penetrated into the upper strata. The whites, as might be anticipated, are concentrated in the upper levels. Their numbers, both absolute and relative, diminish sharply as one descends the class scale, appearing only in small percentages in the lower tiers.

One might note that this racial distribution in the classes at Bahia is not greatly dissimilar to that in the United States. In other words, the Negro, either pure or mixed with the white, has slowly but steadily advanced both in Brazil and in this country until today he is represented in all the classes. Even the relative numbers in the different levels are somewhat similar in the two cases.

The differences, however, are profound. Whereas in the United States the rise of the Negro and of the mixed-blood has been principally *within the limits of the Negro*

world, in Brazil the rise has been with reference to the *total community*; that is, the Negro in Bahia not only competes freely with all other individuals of his own color, but he can and does compete with all aspirants to the same class; and, if he has ability and gives evidence of definite personal worth, he will be accepted for what he is as an individual and his racial antecedents will, at least to a considerable extent, be overlooked.

These facts are reflected in the structure of the formal educational system. Table 1 indicates that blacks, mulattoes, and whites are to be found participating together in all educational institutions. Segregated, exclusively Negro schools as well as exclusively white schools are unknown. There seems never to have been in Bahia any deliberate attempt to limit racial contacts such as occurs where races have been embittered for a long time.⁷ Table 1 also reflects the relative numbers of the different ethnic groups in the various classes; for instance, the blacks are best represented in the elementary schools, especially in those which are state supported, attendance at which is free and hence more accessible to children from the lower economic groups. They gradually disappear, both numerically and proportionately as one ascends the educational ladder. Mixed-bloods, however, are to be found in increasing numbers throughout the educational system, even in the superior schools.

The Public Library at Bahia is patronized

⁷ This is what one might expect, considering that in large areas of Brazil the descendants of Europeans and of Africans have since colonial days been closely associated in an intimate, personal way and that no serious threat to the relations which grew up normally between the races in contact has ever appeared. A Bahian student once wrote: "From his earliest years, a child in Bahia is accustomed to associating with all racial types without any distinction being made between them." Even since emancipation, it is rare to find a white family without a Negro cook, maid, or houseboy; and most upper-class children are still reared by Negro nurses. The laundress in all probability is a black, as also, if the family owns an automobile, is the chauffeur. This close association over a long period of time has resulted, quite naturally, in the development of personal attachments which have tended to undermine formal barriers between the races.

by individuals from all the different ethnic groups, although blacks appear among its frequenters in rather limited numbers. For instance, of 560 persons observed using the

tions. Ethnic distribution here also follows rather closely ethnic distribution in the classes. A number of instructors, particularly in elementary and secondary institutions,

TABLE 1*
SCHOOL ATTENDANCE AT 38 SCHOOLS, CLASSIFIED BY ETHNIC ORIGIN, BAHIA, 1936

SCHOOL	No.	WHITES		MULATTOES		BLACKS		TOTAL	
		No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent
Faculty of Law.....	1	97	80.8	22	18.4	1	0.8	120	100.0
Faculty of Medicine.....	1	273	79.1	63	18.3	9	2.6	345	100.0
Engineering School.....	1	45	76.3	12	20.3	2	3.4	59	100.0
Normal School.....	1	157	55.1	83	29.1	45	15.8	285	100.0
Public <i>ginasio</i>	2	196	73.9	45	17.0	24	9.1	265	100.0
Private <i>ginasios</i>	2	93	67.4	37	26.8	8	5.8	138	100.0
Parochial <i>ginasios</i>	2	101	84.2	17	14.2	2	1.6	120	100.0
Manual Arts.....	2	43	17.7	114	46.9	86	35.4	243	100.0
Public Elementary.....	22	385	29.2	496	37.6	438	33.2	1,319	100.0
Private Elementary.....	8	175	56.1	97	31.1	40	12.8	312	100.0
Parochial Elementary.....	7	318	72.7	88	20.2	31	7.1	437	100.0

* Criterion: physical appearance. Data obtained by analyzing in each case groups present at the school in question on a given date and at a given hour.

TABLE 2*
TEACHERS IN SECONDARY AND SUPERIOR SCHOOLS, CLASSIFIED
BY ETHNIC ORIGIN, BAHIA, 1936

SCHOOL	WHITES		<i>Branços da Bahia</i>		MULATTOES		BLACKS		TOTAL	
	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent
Faculty of Law.....	22	91.5	1	4.2	1	4.2	0	0.0	24	100.0
Faculty of Medicine..	98	66.7	28	19.0	21	14.3	0	0.0	147	100.0
Engineering School..	17	77.3	3	13.6	2	9.1	0	0.0	22	100.0
Normal School.....	52	84.0	7	11.2	2	3.2	1	1.6	62	100.0
Public <i>ginasio</i>	20	60.6	6	18.2	7	21.2	0	0.0	33	100.0

* Of 30 elementary teachers observed in state elementary schools, 3 were blacks, 11 mulattos, 6 *brancos da Bahia*, 10 whites.

library facilities on different days and at different hours (1936), 9.6 per cent were blacks, 35.9 per cent mulattoes, and 52.7 per cent whites.

As indicated in Table 2, individuals of Negro descent are to be found among the teaching staffs of all educational institu-

are mixed-bloods, although the greater number are whites. Black instructors are still rare and are limited, with few exceptions, to the elementary ranks.

The instruction of white children by colored teachers and professors is not uncommon. For instance, in a private elementary

school a class of boys ranging in age from seven to eleven years were observed being taught by a black. Among the group were two whites, one *branco da Bahia*, one mulatto, and three blacks. Several substantial white citizens had received their early training under this man. In intellectual circles one often hears of a dark mixed-blood of distinguished appearance who organized some years ago one of the more important secondary institutions at Bahia and whose two sons are today well known and highly regarded educators. Several whites now prominent in local and even national circles speak with pride of their schooling under this distinguished man. A similar attitude is not infrequently shown with reference to other colored teachers and professors: for instance, a prominent medical specialist and noted lecturer at the Faculty of Medicine in Bahia; a legal "authority" and author of textbooks in law, now a justice of the Brazilian Supreme Court; a prominent nerve specialist; a noted surgeon; and the city's ablest and most-quoted literary critic.

As in the United States, professional training has been an important means by which both blacks and mixed-bloods have risen in economic position and social status. Recently, at the graduating exercises of the Faculty of Medicine in Bahia, a dark mixed-blood, upon receiving his diploma, was given by his fellow-students (chiefly whites) a vigorous round of applause, he being one of the few graduates so honored. "He is a fine man with a brilliant mind," remarked a white colleague. "We are proud of him." The development, after independence in 1822, of institutions for professional training offered to the more able blacks, and especially to the mixed-bloods, possibilities not previously attainable. Since, by reason of their mental alertness, this vanguard of the Brazilian Negro excelled in pursuits wherein intellectual ability is an essential to success, the development of these centers opened ready access to the rising professional classes, especially as *doutores* or *bachareis*.⁸ Many

promising young mulattoes were aided to a professional training by indulgent white fathers or other relatives and friends among the dominant class. For instance, of a prominent Brazilian intellectual, whose father was a white planter and whose mother was a Negro slave, we are told:

Theodoro was very intelligent as a boy, and showed remarkable ability in his studies. It is said that when a very young child at Santo Amaro, he used to slip away late at night, after his mother's master had gone to bed, to study by the street lamp on the corner near the house. When his father discovered this, he was much impressed, and other signs of Theodoro's intelligence and his ability to apply himself multiplied the interest which his father took in him, and he supplied all his needs. When his father left Santo Amaro to come to Bahia, he brought Theodoro with him, and here Theodoro went to primary school where he had as white playmates his father's nephews and others. Later, when his father went to Rio, he took Theodoro with him. The boy never left his father's company as long as his father lived.⁹

Theodoro was a dark mixed-blood with kinky hair. He grew up to be a prominent citizen, noted not only for his distinguished bearing and personal charm but also for his intelligence and professional competence. He had a noted career as an engineer and intellectual, representing Bahia in the Federal Senate, and for years was head of the Instituto Historico e Geographico da Bahia. At one time he was a close friend and confidant of a recent president of Brazil.

EDUCATION AND ACCULTURATION

As has been pointed out, cultural transmission at Bahia ordinarily results in the continuing fusion in the minds of the younger generation, both white and black, of cultural elements from the different cultures in contact. With many individuals from the lower classes the subtle influences emanating from association with persons identified with either of the two cultures—one European, the other African—provided they rep-

⁸ Graduates of the Faculties of Medicine, Law, and Engineering.

⁹ From a letter to the author from a man reared in the same community as the individual in question and long acquainted with him.

resent in their eyes relatively equal prestige, seem quietly but inevitably to result in cultural fusion. Among the upper classes contact with the ideas, attitudes, and sentiments of other peoples, particularly those of European origin, by way of newspapers, magazines, books, foreign visitors, and foreign travel leads to less noticeable perhaps, but nonetheless real, cultural fusion. Hence, the educational process at Bahia often becomes intimately bound up with the process of acculturation and even to some extent identical with it.

The education of the Negro in European habits, points of view, and philosophies of life began with almost the first contact between Africans and Brazilians. It proceeded primarily in an informal way, although it was at times aided by organized attempts at instruction. One of the first of these was the instruction in catechism which took place in the homes of the masters, in the chapels attached to the great landed estates, or in the church itself. Education within the households of masters during the Brazilian colonial period is a subject worthy of detailed study. Certain it is that, as association between members of the master's family and his slaves became more constant and intimate, instruction in European habits and traditions increased, aided, of course, by the efforts of the church and, to a much lesser extent, the school, until today the task of educating millions of persons of African descent in the habits and skills derived from Europe has proceeded a long way.

One should point out, however, that this process has seldom operated unilaterally; that is, it has seldom happened that the descendants of Europeans, in teaching Africans and their descendants European ways, have not themselves been taught, in an unconscious, if not conscious, manner, many of the attitudes, sentiments, ideas, and even skills imported with African slaves. The *ama*, or Negro nurse, well beloved in Brazil and widely renowned in poetry and song, and the *mucama*, or maid, were the primary agents of this instruction. Great numbers of Brazilian children, particularly those of the

upper classes, learned even their first words of Portuguese from black and mulatto women and in the course of this close contact quite naturally took over numerous African words and phrases, some of which have become universally employed throughout Brazil. African folklore, African ideas, attitudes, and sentiments, were in many cases also taken over and are to be found today deeply imbedded, particularly at Bahia, Pernambuco, and other centers of Negro concentration, even in the upper classes. Africans are said also to have introduced, during colonial days, iron-working into Minas Geraes and cattle-tending skills into the pasture areas of the north.

Unfortunately, we still know too little about the mechanisms involved in the process of acculturation. It seems clear, however, that, among other things, fusion proceeds only as long as, and probably to the extent that, each culture in contact enjoys prestige in the eyes of the individuals concerned. A Bahian lower-class Negro once remarked, "This *candomblé* stuff! It ought to be done away with! Only a backward people tolerate such nonsense. Why, the English have driven it out of Africa,¹⁰ but here in Bahia these old customs still hang on." Clearly, this individual no longer cares to identify himself with the culture of his African forebears—a shift in attitude all the more remarkable when one considers that his uncle is probably the most competent leader of the *Gêge-Nagô* fetish cults at Bahia, a wise old man of some eighty years, widely known and respected throughout the lower-class world not only at Bahia but also at Pernambuco, where he occasionally goes to perform African rituals for which there is no competent local individual.

Upper-class Brazilians tend to look upon the beliefs and the practices of the *Africanos* as matters for ridicule, disparagement, and, at times, condemnation. African forms of behavior are thought of as queer, bizarre, unintelligible, inferior. They represent an-

¹⁰ Reference is here made to Lagos, with which West African port Bahian Negroes were long in direct contact.

other world to this element of the population.

The general disposition, however, is to tolerate these practices as long as they are not too obviously indulged in, particularly in public places, and as long as they in no way interfere with the European habits of the major portion of the population. Upper-class Brazilians act in this respect with somewhat the same leniency which an adult exercises toward the immature conduct of a child, in the confident expectation that, as a Bahian once put it, "time and education will do away with these evidences of backwardness."

Thus, because of constant, although ordinarily tolerant, disparagement on the part of most prestige-bearing individuals in the European portion of the community and of such institutions as the church, the school, the newspaper, and the political organization, most of the younger Negroes now tend to be weaned away from the beliefs and practices of their ancestors, to forsake, for instance, the *candomblé* and the body of ideas and sentiments identified with it, and to look upon these customs and traditions as evidence of "ignorance," "backwardness," and "retarded mental growth." Older leaders of the cult often complain, as did one in my hearing, that "the *candomblé* isn't what it used to be. The young people today don't learn *Nagô* like we used to and so they don't know how to carry on and—what is worse—they don't want to learn."

The children and grandchildren of the *Africanos* are at times in more direct contact with the schools and other instrumentalities of European cultural diffusion than their parents and grandparents; and, in many cases, they have now come to take toward their immediate relatives the same attitudes which the Europeans take toward

them. This behavior on the part of their children as well as their European associates is developing in the *Africanos* themselves an increasingly acute sense of inferiority.

By reason, then, of the fact that not only cultural fusion but also cultural conflict is taking place at Bahia, the educational process becomes quite complex. The loss of prestige on the part of the African culture in the eyes of Negro youth often places insuperable barriers in the way of the transmission of that culture from the older to the younger generation. The extent to which communication is inhibited may, and often does, reach the point where the two generations become virtually isolated psychically from each other, even though they may continue to live in the same household and even to participate in certain common activities. In other words, the antagonism directed toward African cultural forms on the part of individuals identified with the European culture, especially on the part of those connected with the school, the church, and the local political organization, tends to shake the confidence of the younger generation of Negroes in the efficacy of the cultural forms of their parents and thus to inhibit and eventually to block altogether the re-creation of the African culture in the minds of the new generation. This blocking of communication, this damming-up, so to speak, of the free flow of ideas, attitudes, and sentiments between individuals from different generations, may result—and, in fact, is in Brazil today resulting—in the gradual but persistent disappearance of a culture, namely, that transported from Africa with imported Africans. At the same time, it facilitates the education of Negro youth in European habits, ideas, attitudes, and sentiments.

ESCOLA LIVRE DE SOCIOLOGIA E
POLÍTICA DE SÃO PAULO

EDUCATION AS A SOCIAL PROCESS: A CASE STUDY OF A HIGHER INSTITUTION AS AN INCIDENT IN THE PROCESS OF ACCULTURATION

HORACE MANN BOND

ABSTRACT

The Fort Valley State College is a social institution. The members of the college provide subjects for the study of the process of acculturation. Preliminary studies suggest the development of attitudes which individuals use in part to compensate for deficient environments. These attitudes have some resemblance to a religious faith. Equipped with the apparatus of faith, a "permanent minority" enjoys a peculiar stimulation in its intellectual life. The parallel with the early history of the Jewish minority is provocative.

I

During the last two years I have been engaged, as an active agent, a participant, and something of an observer, in what is at least designed to be a series of educational processes. In our four-year college we make a systematic effort to "educate" more than 300 young men and women of the Negro race. A high school enrolling 225 students, an elementary school enrolling 652 students, and a nursery school enrolling 25 small children are also under the immediate direction of our institution.

At our institution, when we are trying to impress certain persons with the immensity of our task and with the number of human beings upon whom our salutary and beneficial work is being lavished, we frequently quote these figures. If this symposium were our local Chamber of Commerce, I would also give stress to the fact that we are spending more than one hundred and fifty thousand dollars a year and that we give employment to eighty-two adults in the community; in short, that, second not even to the local bus manufacturer or to the local peach-crate factory, ours is the largest pay roll and the largest industry in Fort Valley.

There are better reasons for attaching significance to this enterprise. The twelve hundred human beings we are trying to "educate" and the eighty-two adults whose assistance we employ in effecting the "education" of these twelve hundred younger persons provide a fascinating field of inquiry

for that person who would inform himself with reference to such a theme as that set for this symposium. Beginning with the youngest child in our nursery school and ending, if you will, with the president himself, these twelve hundred human beings are, in the mass and individually, tremendously interesting human beings. Each has a most complicated personal history; and each in his own right deserves the studied inquiry, analysis, and understanding that the keenest tools of scientific social inquiry might provide. Beyond the twelve hundred students there are thousands of other human beings equally fascinating, though more remote from our range of concern, who must be included in the estimation of such an educational institution as the Fort Valley State College. Our students come from families; they have fathers and mothers (or foster-fathers and foster-mothers) and sisters and brothers and aunts and cousins without number.

Each of the teachers, staff workers, and employees of the institution also has a personal history that, if we understood it adequately, would help us understand him adequately. In our local school constituency we have Negro and white ministers, physicians, storekeepers, bankers, lawyers, farmers, day laborers, W.P.A. workers. On our controlling board we have lawyers, newspaper editors and owners, educational leaders, statesmen, and politicians—especially politicians. Over and above all these persons whom we

meet directly are the thousands and hundreds of thousands of black and white inhabitants of the state of Georgia who represent our clientele.

What we are, as an educational institution, is what a composite of these students and teachers and directors and trustees and constituents would be. It is a complex picture; and I have only suggested its complexity to say that this paper can be merely an introduction to what, if it is ever written, will be a much more detailed account of the educational process as it is conducted in such an institution as the Fort Valley State College. I intend here, then, only to sketch the merest outlines of the subject.

II

I began by saying that our interest was in education as a social process, a social process illuminated by the particularities of the institution with which I am connected. Description requires preliminary definition of the terms employed. We may agree with Dr. Robert E. Park, in his abstraction of a definition from John Dewey, that "formal education is merely a rational procedure for further carrying on and completing, in the schoolroom, a task that began with the child in the home."¹ In the same book from which this summarization was derived, John Dewey defines education further as the "communication of ideals, hopes, expectations, standards, opinions,"² from one generation to another.

While Fort Valley includes a number of formally organized educational institutions, we realize, as Dewey does, that education as a social process may be incidental and indirect. In our formal efforts we agree upon certain objectives, and we press toward their achievement by establishing appropriate procedures and structures. Outside of our formal efforts and, indeed, within them, incidental education of a kind that may or

may not be consistent with our formally stated objectives is proceeding apace.

And this is so because we cannot escape regarding all affecting forces and institutions as true educational instruments. Each individual, white and black, lives in a series of overlapping social orders to which adjustment in various degrees must be made. It may be agreed that judgments as to the propriety or social usefulness of these learnings are dependent upon a hierarchy of values as to the ultimate vitality and importance of the social sphere in which a set of social learnings or adaptations takes place. The formal educational institution established and supported by a political state is one in which the objectives pursued as desirable goals have received the sanction of this political over-world in which the students live. Formal education then becomes, indeed, a "rational procedure for carrying on in the schoolroom" not *all* tasks begun in the home but those particular tasks which the over-world—what we might call the "official social order"—has selected out of the many that are being carried on in the home and which are adjudged as having a functional value for the persistence and self-renewal of the forms and structures of that "official world."

We need here to make a distinction that is of importance and that, when made, avoids a paradox, especially in the consideration of educational structures for a minority group. The home may initiate many types of learning which the school must uproot. Entirely contrary learnings, or modifications thereof, must be substituted. The ideal homes of which this is not true are rare.

Take the example of language. The average Negro home from which our elementary-school students at Fort Valley come does begin, with the child, the important task of transmitting to that child the language of the over-world in which that child may some day live. The families carry on this task with numerous imperfections. In the smaller social area—the plantation economy, or the small town of Fort Valley—the

¹ "Education as a Social Process" (Nashville: Fisk University, 1941). (Mimeographed.)

² *Democracy and Education* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1923).

corrupted grammar which these children learn at home could be regarded as a functional learning with adaptation values. A Harvard or Oxford accent has definite disadvantages in our small world—the Negro and the white world—of Fort Valley. At the same time the corrupted usage these children learn as an incident to their home life must be modified in our formal educational efforts. One of our greatest difficulties is to modify in the formal educational institutions—elementary schools, high schools, and colleges—these habits of speech which were begun in the home and which are continually being reinforced outside of the school-room.

Now this example illustrates a vital point suggested in Dr. Park's article for this symposium. He referred to the conflicts that arise in the process of socializing the second generations of immigrant families in this country. The conflict is sharpened where the educational tasks begun in the home (and entirely appropriate to the original social order in which the family lived) are found to require modification or substitution in the new setting. The formal educational structures and the informal contacts sustained by the youth of these culturally non-standard homes actively effect such modifications and substitutions.

This is the nub of our problem at Fort Valley, although, as I hope to be able to show, our particular situation is immensely more complicated. The immigrant family finds in the American school a place where the standard American culture is communicated to the new generations. To the extent that the ordinary American school teaches the children of native whites, immigrants, and Negroes standard English, the use of figures, the general facts of nature, some simple manipulative skills, and the elementary facts of personal physical survival, it is within the bounds of objectives which the entire community generally recognizes as fit and necessary tasks for all. This is the standard cultural heritage to which all children are admissible with hardly any constraint or public feeling of impropriety. In

itself this fact is a significant index to a profound change in public opinion, especially in the South. Within the memory of living men the admission of Negroes to the most fundamental of these social heritages was denied by force of public law and opinion.

III

The immigrant child of the second generation lives in a dual world, at home and at school, of ideals, hopes, expectations, standards, and opinions. Our Negro children live permanently not in two but in several different worlds. What this situation means for personality and other difficulties in immigrant children is known to us all; and the implications for Negroes are just beginning to be sensed. Unlike the immigrant, the Negro child is a member of what, at present, seems to be a *permanent* minority.³ This fact we have frequently remarked but have been slow to accept in its implications for our educational philosophy. As Dr. Park has again reminded us, the similarity between the status of the Jewish people and that of the Negro is provocative, at least. As the Jewish people throughout the world today appear for various reasons to be a permanent minority, so the Negro in America is likewise a permanent minority. Those of us who have followed the history of this ancient people in such a book as Sigmund Freud's *Moses and Monotheism*⁴ will remember, with renewed interest in the similarity, that once the Jewish race was a permanent minority in Egypt.

It is membership in a permanent minority—about which I will admit reasonable argument—that raises the most far-reaching questions regarding the education of Negroes as a social process in the United

³ When this paper was first read at the Fisk University Symposium, the phrase "permanent minority" (greatly to the surprise of the author) provoked strong dissent from some, who saw in it implications for the passive acceptance, by Negroes, of long-time patterns of racial segregation and discrimination.

Two alternate forms descriptive of Negro status in America are "caste" and "minority." The term "permanent minority" is preferred by the author.

⁴ New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1939.

States. At Fort Valley, as elsewhere, our formal educational efforts are bent in the direction of realizing the aims and objectives of that which we have called the "official social order." It is sometimes astonishing to find official and unofficial organizations, indeed, bending every effort to aid us in realizing these aims. Not long ago, in a Louisiana village where I lived, a representative of the American Legion asked for permission, on behalf of the local Post, to award a medal to one of our pupils who had written the best essay on "The Principles of Americanization." The occasion was provided, the representative came; and with sincere tears in his eyes and an honest catch in his throat, he exhorted us all to live up to the proud privileges of American citizenship, with all its rights and its responsibilities.

On occasion we have welcomed to our platform several of the more prominent religious leaders among the white people of our state. These gentlemen—and, indeed, the great masses of our white constituents—far from placing any obstacle in our path, would gladly forward the achievement by our minority, through the organized formalities of our school, of the fundamentals of a standard American culture.

I might here stress the word "fundamentals," without underestimating the vast gain which even tentative sanctions, extended to admission to the bare threshold of the culture, imply. For all of us—white and black—understand perfectly the private world within which we are to constrain ourselves, or be constrained. It is this private social world of a permanent minority that is frequently described by that pregnant phrase, "knowing your place." Negroes in Fort Valley "know their place." White people in Fort Valley—and in Nashville—"know their place." That "place," for either racial group, has an attendant set of ideals, hopes, expectations, standards, and opinions, that are the stuff of a continual incidental education in the family, in the entire community, and, indeed, in the pattern of the school as it is formally organized.

It is in this sense that we may agree that

the school in any social order—even where there are two distinct and apparently opposed social orders—is both formally and informally, directly and incidentally, "a rational procedure for further carrying on and completing in the schoolroom, the task that began with the child in the home." At Fort Valley, as elsewhere in the South, we are organized formally to carry on and complete, modify and correct, the tasks that were begun with the child in the home—or that should have been begun in the home—as far, at least, as the fundamentals of the standard American culture are concerned. But we are also organized, formally and informally—as elsewhere in the South—to carry on and complete, to modify, correct, or establish, the fundamentals of a subculture which has set aside the Negro in America as a permanent minority; and these fundamentals were also begun in the home.

IV

We have been collecting a number of case histories at Fort Valley. They include histories of members of the faculty and of the staff; of students and of parents; and of patrons, white and black, of the institution. They are done without the benefit of psychoanalytical interpretation; they are, to date, merely testaments to the existence of social and economic worlds—and a private racial world—which throw into sharp focus several primary facts of differences between education as a social process for standard white American elementary, high-school, and college students and for Negro elementary, high-school, and college students from a substandard economy. This is not to say that psychoanalysis is despised or underestimated as a technique; if we had the resources, it would be applied, and to our advantage. Of course, there is some doubt that the new knowledge would indicate a major point of difference between our Negro population and any other American population. Our histories are suggestive in particularly one direction, without any presumption for closer analysis. They show for our faculty—and in lesser degree as one descends the scale

to the nursery school—the dominance of the matriarchate in the composition of the Negro family. One might almost generalize that the Negro teacher typically comes from a family in which the mother has been for a longer or shorter period the chief economic support of the family, the person with the best education, and the most important source of inspiration to the individual as he remembers it. This is also true of our college students, and it is true of our elementary-school students only in less degree. Whether one believes with Frazier⁵ that the matriarchal Negro family is a product of the generally inferior status of the Negro in America, or with Herskovits⁶ that it is a cultural inheritance from Africa, it is a fact that may be of psychological importance. One is reminded of Park's⁷ old description of the Negro as the "lady of the races"; a description that may have more in it than meets the eye. Certainly no one who (even with disbelief) has followed Freud's psychological interpretation of the history of the Jewish people can fail to be impressed with the possibilities of further inquiry.

This is a brief excerpt from the life of a teacher:

I believe that some people have something in them that enables them to do anything they make up their mind to do. Whether they come from the lowest depths, if they have this quality, they can educate themselves, and teach themselves anything. When I was a child, I wanted to walk like a soldier. I wanted to walk straight. I was sickly—perhaps that was why.

I made up my mind to walk straight, and I did so. I told my mother once, "I'm going to do big things—I'm going to make you proud of me." I was born in Louisiana, and my mother always had to work hard. My father was trifling, and I never forgave him for some-

thing he did when I was twelve years old. We were on a farm, and I had a calf that belonged to me. My father took the calf, and sold it for twelve dollars. Then he took the money and left my mother and myself and my sister, and went up north. Then my mother began to cook for a railroad gang. You know that is about the roughest life a person can live. We travelled from place to place with the section gangs until I was fifteen. In spite of going from place to place, I finally graduated from elementary school. My mother encouraged me always. Then my father came back to see us on a visit. He urged my mother to join him and to go back with him. I told my mother, although I was just a lad, "No! He left us when we needed him, and we don't need him now." So he left us, and we decided to go on our own. We saved up twenty-seven dollars, and when we got up north we had just three dollars left. I got a job in two days, and from then on I supported my mother and educated myself.⁸

In its detail this is an astonishing document as the background for a college teacher. And yet document after document retells the same story: a pitifully low income with which to finance any kind of education; usually a tremendous personal drive that impels the individual to make any kind of sacrifices in order to pursue the somewhat vague objective of "getting ahead"; a starved social milieu during childhood, with poor, or no, cultural or intellectual stimulation; a childhood which, even when lived in the bosom of a family in "polite" society, is replete with contacts with the children of the very poor, with their irregular sex and other attitudes and habits; in short, the story of self-made men and women who have arisen from the depths of poverty—and of being a Negro.

It may be that similar accounts of white teachers would tell similar stories; and yet I doubt that there would be as much of privation and denial and sacrifice—and of inner drive. With our very youngest generation of Negro teachers we are coming to a social inheritance of literacy and income that permits the leisurely and ordered acquisition of

⁵ E. Franklin Frazier, *The Negro Family in the United States* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1939).

⁶ Melville J. Herskovits, *The Myth of the Negro Past* (New York: Harper & Bros., 1941), pp. 173 ff.

⁷ Robert E. Park, "The Bases of Race Prejudice," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, November, 1928, pp. 11-20.

⁸ From the Fort Valley State College manuscript collection.

higher and graduate instruction without the terrific miseries and deprivations that now appear in memory as a bright and comforting badge of courage, but which have left their scars in mind and soul and body. A human being who has done so much and suffered so greatly is likely to be a tough-minded realist, indeed, in a world that calls for realism.

Here is the account of one of our young men students, who is currently being exposed to the process of education in our institution:

My grandfather was killed by white men, when my father was a little child. Later my grandmother married again. She had seven children by her first husband. My mother's parents were born in Telfair county. Grandmother died when my mother was ten years old. My mother's father has been married twice since. The second wife left him for another man. My mother has seven sisters and eight brothers living.

My mother was married when she was eighteen years old. The first three children were boys. One of these boys died. The next child was a girl and then I came and after me another boy and then another girl, but the girl died.

We had an income of about \$100 a month until 1930, which was very much better than most of the other people around us. We lived in a good home. My father was a skilled mechanic with the waterworks until the depression came in 1930, when he was laid off due to prejudice, and a white man put in his place. My father tried to make ends meet by doing a lot of things. He peddled on the streets. We finally moved to a farm and my father and the family made twenty bales of cotton and we had just enough clear to get my two older brothers a suit apiece. The rent from two houses we owned in town enabled us to eat.

When we came back to town after that bad trial on the farm my father started to run a grocery store. He sold whiskey, also, which was illegal. The sheriff covered up for him by staging fake raids, and they split the proceeds. One day the sheriff cursed before my mother, and father told him not to do so. He called father a "smart nigger," and said he was going to get him. My father got out of the business and stuck to his grocery business. The sheriff framed him anyway by planting some whiskey in the backyard, and then having some fellow "tip him off." . . .

During my elementary school life I was quiet and good. I suppose this was because I hadn't been around much and I didn't know what it was all about. As I grew older I began to run with the boys all over town, and I began to learn my way around. Girls didn't take effect upon me until I was about thirteen. I hadn't had any experience with girls, and so I was greatly interested. The boys would often tease me about not having any sex experience. I had my first real sex experience when I was fifteen, and I didn't have another until I was seventeen. . . .

We are not living, but existing. I hope, and am working for the day I can help my people to live as I think they should live.⁹

I know that any group of white college students could yield a similar document. And I will say for our Fort Valley State College population that comparative data from other institutions in the South show that (principally due to limited dormitory space) we have a relatively high selection of students from the upper social and economic brackets among the Negro population. But such figures universally show for all our institutions that our student populations are drawn, in far greater measure than white colleges, from the children of the poor; that, even when the families represented are middle-class families, the circumscribed ghetto of the Negro community from which they have come has brought them almost without exception into close and constant contact with the seamy side of life. Class residential segregation among white persons sets the middle and upper classes which fill the colleges apart from the low-income and the disorganized white populations. There is not enough economic self-sufficiency in any Negro population in America to provide the Negro child, and the prospective college student, with insulation from the raw and ugly "facts of life."

Let me repeat what seems to be a most significant aspect of all these documents. It is the constant reiteration of high ambition for personal and for familial security. Each of these students and each of these teachers has a cause; a reason for struggle and for "getting ahead," for persisting in the grim

⁹ *Ibid.*

struggle with life. One would expect, in such a population, an immense amount of defeatism, of the subsidence of the human spirit under the crushing load of economic and racial inequalities. But you find little if any of such a spirit.

One is reminded, in re-reading these documents, of a statement from an autobiographical account by DuBois.¹⁰ He was thunderstruck one day, he says, to hear a young Bostonian—wealthy, handsome, of good family—confess that he was puzzled over what he should do as a life's work, because there was "nothing in which he was interested." It had never occurred to DuBois, he says, that a person should have any doubt regarding what he should do; as for himself, the pathway of duty and of service to the Negro people, as an imperative necessity, lay clear before him. At Fort Valley our young men and women exhibit—in the midst of poverty and the evidences of human exploitation—an unconquerable resolution and, indeed, an utter faith and conviction in their sense of having a mission to perform in the elevation of themselves and of their people.

V

The summarization of our problems might be given in statistical form. Our studies show that children in our elementary school are retarded in their learning of reading and arithmetic by approximately one year in the third grade and two years in the sixth grade—a variation from standard American expectations which does not increase through high school and college because of a more rigorous selection. One of the members of our staff has recently completed a study which shows that the children of skilled workers—who are few in number—in a year increase their score on standard-achievement tests by seven-tenths of the whole grade they should achieve, while the children of unskilled workers and of farmers increase their score on these tests only by sixty-four hundredths of the whole grade. The children of Baptists enrolled in

our elementary school increase their achievement index by sixty-seven hundredths of a whole grade, while the children of Methodists increase their score by only sixty-five hundredths of a whole grade. The children of parents in families with one room to the inhabitant have a slightly higher annual increase in score over the children of parents in families with three-quarters of a room to the inhabitant.

On the basis of comparisons between white and colored students in Georgia, we discover what is characteristic of such students throughout the South. Only 25 per cent of our students achieve the middle score made by Georgia white college students in standard-achievement tests. These white students similarly show relatively the same lag when compared with white college students in the North and West.

Furthermore, there is evidence, at least from our elementary school, that there are definite limits to the degree to which our children may be expected to attain standard-achievement ratings, even with the most expert teaching and with the optimum conditions provided for instruction. The culture is so powerful in its force that it seems to fix, in the learning of the standard fundamentals of the culture which are sanctioned by the society, improvability within certain definite limits. In other words, if our elementary-school children now increase their scores by a median of sixty-seven hundredths in the course of a year, the optimum provision of educational advantages could hardly be expected to raise that index above, say, eighty hundredths of a normal year of progress. The same conclusions might be drawn for students in our college. Now this would be a magnificent gain and quite enough to justify any amount of investment. The point is, the culture imposes a law of diminishing returns as far as formal educational investment is concerned. We are led to believe that the rapid comparative improvement of migrant Negro children from the South—witnessed and documented in New York, Chicago, and Washington—is not so much a testimonial to the superior formal educational advantages provided the

¹⁰ W. E. B. DuBois, "The Significance of Henry Hunt," *Fort Valley State College Bulletin*, October, 1940, p. 8.

Negro population in those cities as compared to the South, as it is an index to the total superiority of the stimulations and advantages of incidental educational processes in those urban communities to which our Georgia—and Fort Valley—children have gone.

I have referred here to the outcomes usually expected of formal educational institutions working toward the achievement of formal educational objectives. There is another area suggested to me by the conviction that another factor, not by any means universalized but still present and, on the whole (by the evidence of the last three generations), still growing in the Negro population, deserves our very serious attention.

This paper has already suggested the possibility that the Negro in America shows evidence of developing a parallelism to the behavior and general attitudinal structure of a permanent minority. Not long ago, half in jest—but only half in jest—I remarked to a Jewish friend that I believed the Negroes were a chosen people. The friend replied wryly, "Chosen—to suffer?"

That wry suggestion has since that time, as I have reviewed the scope of this paper and the implications of the materials which I have had no opportunity, by reasons of space and time, to include therein, begun to take root and form in my mind as a most interesting speculation, if nothing else. It might be argued in all seriousness that a permanent minority is one that is "chosen to suffer," and because of this fact it is also in a very true sense a "chosen people." I have referred to John Dewey and to Sigmund Freud; I should like to add to the list of basic references for this paper William James's *Varieties of Religious Experience*.¹¹

The resoluteness of conviction and the indomitable courage in the face of terrifying obstacles, found in all the documents of students and of teachers that we have collected at Fort Valley, appear to me to be nothing more or less than a variety of religious feeling, or at least of the fertile soul-stuff in which a permanent minority may

well discover a religion. Indeed, it is the stuff of which the minority may discover not only "a religion" but the "true religion" itself. The parallelisms in Negro religious folk songs to the sufferings and to the history of the Jewish people are too well known for me to do more than mention them. We have sung—and we sing now—"Go Down Moses" and "Joshua Fit the Battle of Jericho" with an enthusiasm that bespeaks not merely primitive usage of a convenient folk knowledge but intelligent and discriminating identification with the historical parallel.

I do not mean to say that our students at Fort Valley are deeply religious in the vulgar sense of the word as usually applied to Negroes. If a revivalist came there, he would be laughed at. A great many of them attend Sunday school and church in the community; but they have done so more with the sense of achieving identification with, and opportunities for service to, the humble masses of their people through an existing agency for uplift than from naïve religious feeling.

It is probably not necessary to say—except to the excessively naïve—that this paper is not a platform for solving racial problems through attendance upon Sunday school, church, and prayer-meetings. Religion has been viewed with what James called an "experiential" rather than a "spiritual" judgment.¹² The prospect for its development is seen as an effective mechanism for the permanent minority that is the Negro in the same way in which Freud, in his psychological treatment of the history and religion of the Jewish people, viewed monotheism as the essential kernel of their evident intellectual superiority and continued social cohesion and survival down through the ages.

If anyone would see what religion can do for ordinary human beings, members of majorities, who deliberately set themselves aside by their choice of new religious forms, see what Fox did, not merely for his contemporaries but for later generations of Quakers. Remember what Joseph Smith

¹¹ New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1902.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 48.

and Brigham Young did for the descendants of the rude people who embraced their faith. Go to the Shakers, the Campbellites, the Adventists, the Dukhobors; and see what transformations a religion can effect in ordinary folk—as far as the achievements of the objectives of our formal educational processes are concerned.

When, going beyond the mere addition of religious stimulation to a sector of a majority population, as in the case of the sects mentioned before, there is the combination of a permanent "racial" minority with a permanent "religious" minority, as in the case of the Jews, a combination results that may be depended upon to fertilize the world permanently with intelligence, as well as with blood and tears. Said William James:

Religious feeling is thus an absolute addition to the subject's range of life. It gives him a new sphere of power. When the outward battle is lost, and the outward world disowns him, it redeems and unifies an interior world which otherwise would be an empty waste.

.... In its characteristic embodiments, religious happiness is no mere feeling of escape. *It cares* no longer to escape. It consents to the evil outwardly as a form of sacrifice—inwardly it knows it to be permanently overcome. If you ask *how* religion thus falls on the thorns and escapes death, and in the very act avoids anni-

hilation, I cannot explain the matter, for it is religion's secret.¹³

I conclude this paper with this speculation: that the Negro in America is at present in all practical respects a "permanent" minority; that as a permanent minority the process of education, both formally and incidentally, has effects upon it and results in structures different from those which might be characteristic of the standard majority; that any permanent minority, in due course, will develop feelings, attitudes, and convictions that serve indeed as a protective, but even more as a stimulating, device in contact with the majority; and that this latter set of attitudes may be depended upon to provide a powerfully compensating force to offset the ordinary effects of the environment. Were this the religious institute, and not that of the social sciences, I should be tempted to say that the Negro people are just as certain to produce a Moses and a Messiah to formulate an ethics and a religion appropriate to its status as another permanent minority, some time ago, discovered a Moses and has since sought a Messiah.

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¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 49.

COMPARATIVE EDUCATION IN COLONIAL AREAS, WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO PLANTATION AND MISSION FRONTIERS

EDGAR T. THOMPSON

ABSTRACT

On the basis of Wissler's analysis of American culture in terms of mechanical invention, universal suffrage, and mass education the historic culture of the South has not been American. The amount and character of education in the South, as well as the nature of the section's educational problems, must be understood in the context of its own special culture. At the basis of whatever cultural uniqueness the South has is the institution of the plantation. From the point of view of the educational process, plantation societies may be compared with agricultural mission societies. The plantation and the agricultural mission have different histories and conflicting ideologies, but they develop in similar environments; and in adjusting to the permanent elements in the environment, like geography and climate, they eventually become very similar institutions. The educational process in each goes about as far as, and not much further than, the needs of the situation require. And the needs are, or have been, about the same. The comparison suggests that education is fundamentally a process of biological adaptation and survival. But an education which has sufficed for the relatively simple world in which both the plantation and the mission developed will not suffice for competition in the more complex and uncertain order into which the world is moving.

We already are familiar with some of the more general and objective facts concerning white and Negro educational opportunities in the South. These facts are often and strikingly expressed in terms of the money spent in our biracial system of education. Thus it is pointed out that the average expenditure for every pupil throughout the nation in 1930 was \$99.00. The average expenditure for white children in the South was less than half this amount, or \$44.31, while the average expenditure for Negro children was only \$12.57, or about one-fourth that for southern white children and about one-eighth that for the average of the United States. Those southern states with large Negro populations, where the average pupil in a rural school comes from a tenant family, show even greater discrepancies. In 1930 Georgia spent an average of \$35.42 for each white child and \$6.38 for each Negro child. Mississippi, with half her population Negro and more completely dominated by the plantation system than any other state,¹ spent more for her white children than did Georgia

(\$45.34 per child) and less for her Negro children (\$5.45 per child).²

More important than these figures (and many more might be offered) are the attitudes in the southern social situation which they represent and presumably measure. All such statistics must be understood in the context of southern culture. A comparison of southern culture with American culture as seen, for example, by Clark Wissler may serve to suggest some of its essential features. After comparing American culture with the cultures of other societies, Wissler tells us that its dominant characteristics may be condensed into three sets of ideas and beliefs which, he says, actuate the American people. These are mechanical invention, universal suffrage, and mass education.³ Now if the complex of these characteristics defines the American culture, then historically the South has not been a part of it, or at least has been only marginal to it. In fact, the South has differed so radically from the rest of the United States that it be-

¹ "There is little doubt that the plantation system is both absolutely and relatively more important in Mississippi than in any other state" (quoted from *Plantation Farming in the United States* [Census Bull. (1916)], p. 21).

² These figures are taken from a little booklet entitled *School Money in Black and White*, published by the Julius Rosenwald Fund and prepared by a committee of which Fred McCuiston was chairman.

³ *Man and Culture* (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Co., 1923), pp. 5-12.

came, by the time of the Civil War, culturally and economically almost a separate nation. The establishment of the Confederacy was intended to give these cultural and economic facts a more complete constitutional sanction.

American culture is and has been characterized "by a great emphasis upon mechanical devices." Southerners have imported and used these devices in increasing degree, to be sure, but the "amiable American hobby" of tinkering with machinery has been so little an integral part of southern life that a mechanical cotton mill is still regarded by many as a "fetched-in contraption" alien to its traditions. Economic opportunities in the North have offered a constantly increasing variety of ways of earning a livelihood, whereas the South, until relatively recently, has offered only one, agriculture, and that, a particular kind of agriculture. The mechanization of southern agriculture has, in recent years, expanded rapidly, but traditionally the southern plantation has operated mainly with hand labor and with only elementary tools and machines. Negroes particularly have been outside the American mechanical tradition.

Industry in the South, and especially the textile industry, was originally developed by local interests in a sort of crusade to provide opportunities for poor whites. It came with the recognition that the section had a poor-white as well as a Negro problem, and it was sponsored as a program for the solution of that problem. These white millworkers, recruited from rural areas, have continued to speak the language and carry the mental images of the farm. Control of the industries in which they work has largely passed to outside interests; and these interests have succeeded, in large measure, only by bringing the operation of the factories into line with the paternalistic traditions of the plantation system.

Universal suffrage, or "the idea that what most of the people in the group approve will be as near to the correct solution as can be achieved for the time being," is, according to Wissler, another dominant trait of the

American culture. Years ago James Bryce, in *The American Commonwealth*, likewise noted the disposition of the American people to refer every question to the arbitrament of numbers, confident that the people are sure to decide right in the long run. In the South, however, the mores have largely nullified the ideal of universal suffrage, which has been regarded as something imposed upon a defeated people by the northern victor. Since the rise of the southern white democracy the ballot box has become a symbol of class stratification based upon color. Recent southern opposition to the abolition of poll taxes serves to show that the old attitude toward suffrage as a class privilege and not as a procedure for the democratic determination of policy continues to possess considerable strength. The meeting and settling of all issues by means of the ballot has never been the practice in the South. In the United States rule by just one majority group occurs only in this section; elsewhere the membership of the majority changes from one issue to another. As far as the South is concerned there are two reasons for this. One is the presence in this region of an authoritarian tradition stemming from the planter aristocracy and woven into the general class and racial situation. The second reason is that the issues that appear as problems elsewhere in the nation have not been regarded as problems in the agrarian and feudal order of this region where they are settled in the mores.⁴ Consequently, a large part of the southern population, including the greater part of the Negro population, has not been accustomed to resort to the ballot to change those conditions which constitute problems elsewhere but which in the South have been taken for granted as if they were a part of the order of nature itself.

American culture, Wissler continues, "is characterized by an overruling belief in something we call education—a kind of mechanism to propitiate the intent of nature in the manifestation of culture." But formal

⁴ Walter Wilbur, "Special Problems of the South," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, CLXXVI (November, 1934), 49-56.

mass education, even for whites, certainly has never been a completely integral part of southern culture. That it is not even now is shown by the figures on the money spent in the South's educational system presented at the beginning of this paper. Upon an illiterate and agricultural laboring population in the South has rested a planter and upper-class white population whose literacy probably originated or was maintained through the necessity for keeping in touch with the affairs of the market and the city and with political and economic conditions affecting the market. With a substantial income and leisure even an illiterate planter became concerned to give an education and a certain amount of "culture" to his children. But for those who have remained more or less outside the sphere of direct market relationships no great need for education has been felt. In the past, southern agriculture has required little above a uniform grade of unskilled labor, subject to routine tasks, shaped to change on the basis of contingency alone, and one which was not required consciously to assume the risks incident to selling in a foreign market. As a result, education has not appeared to these classes as a necessity or as something having survival value, but merely as something which conferred status, and often a rather dubious status at that. For in the folk mind there was the general conviction that book learning only muddled up thinking and that ordinary gumption and common sense were sufficient for whatever problems men had to face. And to the planters and employers of labor an educated peasantry has seemed no more advantageous than an uneducated one.

The numerous towns and villages which, from the very beginning of settlement, formed a nucleus for the small farms of New England and provided favorable soil for public school education found no historical parallel in the South. Here, after the Civil War, towns and villages began to appear in greater numbers with the partial disintegration of the plantation system. The southern public school movement, which accompanied the rise of towns and villages, repre-

sented in part an adjustment to a new set of economic and social needs in a changed situation. It assumed the character of a crusade led by devoted idealists charged with pathos for the illiterate and benighted and urged on by unfavorable comparisons with the more advanced North and West. The crusade resulted in notable progress in attaining a more fundamental educational process, but, as in the educational crusades of Japan and Soviet Russia, much of the alleged advance has turned out to be spurious when the amount of rote learning it produced is considered. Learning by rote has become not only a fact but something of a tradition, especially in the rural white and Negro schools of the South.⁵ The reason is that southern society, unlike a society such as that of Denmark, has not been the kind of society in which separate institutions designed for the instruction of the children of the masses were required for the integration of economic and political life. This is ceasing to be true, but the tendency from Colonial days to the present has been to regard the public school, and especially the Negro school, like the cotton mill, as a "fotched-in contraption." The schools have been tolerated and maintained by being brought into line with the class and racial traditions of the plantation system.

Accompanied by a friend, I once attended a rally at a Negro school in a Texas community. The white city-school superintendent of this community was a Scotchman from North Carolina. The rally had been organized by the colored principal acting under orders from the white superintendent, who, while making a speech, pointed his finger at the colored principal and said, "I told him if he didn't bring this school into line I would find me another principal." The setting was in a school building and there was no cotton or tobacco to be seen, but my friend and I agreed on our way home that the superintendent seemed to run the school as if it were a plantation and to regard the

⁵ Robert E. Park, "A Memorandum on Rote Learning," *American Journal of Sociology*, XLIII (July, 1937), 23-36.

principal, the teachers, and the pupils as the planter regards his tenants and laborers. There was no ill will, and the superintendent seemed to have the welfare of the school at heart; but the pattern of control was the pattern of the plantation.

It should be evident from all this that we have to understand education, like almost everything else in this region of the United States, in the light of a cultural situation which is southern and not American if we accept Wissler's analysis of American culture. And it would seem that behind whatever differences there are in the southern situation lies that very quintessence of southernism, the plantation, an institution which long has ceased to be merely a large estate on which cotton or tobacco is grown but one which, like Christian Science, has become a state of mind. Within the structure of this institution and the system which has grown up around it the positions of both white and Negro education have been assigned along caste lines.

The institution of the plantation, as it developed in the South and in other colonial areas around the world, was originally and has continued to be a type of economic enterprise very unlike those other economic enterprises that developed in the *laissez faire* capitalism that succeeded feudalism in Europe. Unlike the "free" labor of capitalistic Europe—that is, labor free to seek and to change employers—plantation labor was sought, moved, settled, and controlled by employers. In different plantation societies the control has taken different forms; and in a single plantation society like that of the South the control has changed in form from indentured servitude and slavery to sharecropping. But always the form has served to emphasize the political, i.e., the authoritarian, character of the institution to a degree exceeding that of the economic enterprises of European and northern United States capitalism.

The plantation represents one kind of political institution which develops at points of intercultural and interracial contacts, but in the course of the long history of such con-

tacts on the part of migrating peoples there have been many other kinds of latifundia. The state itself, according to Oppenheimer⁶ and others, originated in just such situations. It would seem that the contact of peoples differing in race and culture nearly always results in some new institution, organized around the problems of control growing out of the new social relationships and furnishing a structure through which the motives and purposes of those who came to exploit the situation can in some measure be realized.

Thus along the world's frontiers have arisen such varied and interesting institutions of the land as haciendas, plantations, farms, missions, ranches, and the like. They are as varied and as interesting as are the immigrant institutions of the large city, but they cannot be passed in quick review by walking through forty blocks,⁷ and so their range is not so apparent and comparison among them is not so easy. They are institutions of the land and of settlement, and, once established, they largely determine how people shall live on the land. But more important for our purpose here is the fact that they seem to lay bare the elementary processes that go into the making of the state; in them the competitions and conflicts of racial and cultural groups living in the same territory are brought down to their most elementary terms. And as obvious and as elementary as any, in the conquest and exploitation of a pioneer region, is the process whereby the land is alienated and its resources brought under the control of invading settlers, planters, missionaries, and the like. New land or settlement institutions arise as an incident in the process of extending the range of the "political formation and economic exploitation" which Oppenheimer has conceived to be basic to state-building. The land changes hands, and those who come to possess it and to convert it to new and presumably higher uses subject those

⁶ Franz Oppenheimer, *The State* (New York: Vanguard Press, 1938).

⁷ See Konrad Bercovici, *Around the World in New York* (New York: Century Co., 1924).

over whom they come to possess authority to new and stricter forms of discipline. To this end they make and enforce new rules and impose new conditions of life generally. The important point to be noted here is that the class which enforces the new arrangement is the same class which instructs in the new arrangement, not simply in order to indoctrinate but also to bring about a level of efficiency necessary to sustain it.

Education in a homogeneous society is normally a process of inducting the maturing individual into the social heritage. It is thus, as Dewey has emphasized, essentially a process of renewal and growth without which the group would have no continuity. As the society becomes more complex, the process by which members educate one another through their daily contacts has to be supplemented and augmented by more formal instruction in separate educational institutions, but education continues to be a matter of transmitting a tradition from one generation to another. In a situation of racial and cultural contact, however, education becomes a matter of expanding a culture from one people to another; it becomes a part of the process of acculturation. In intercultural and interracial situations, where the culture of the dominant group is regarded as the standard, the members of the lower groups must learn things from the school which members of the dominant group are presumed to learn in the home, such as rules of hygiene and of conduct. Since the adults of the subordinate group are as illiterate in these matters as their children, education often begins with the adults before it reaches their children. In any case, the task of the elementary school for the subordinate population is much more important and much more difficult than that of the elementary school for the children of the dominant group. Incidentally, it is on the elementary-school level that the education of Negro school children in the South is weakest.

The whole of European culture has never impinged equally upon the whole of a native culture. Since culture is carried in the knowledge, skills, attitudes, habits, and

tools of particular individuals, European culture has worked upon native society through the medium of the purposes of trader, administrator, planter, missionary, etc. Because these purposes and programs get incorporated in plantations, trading factories, missions, and the like, the thought suggests itself at once that a comparison of the histories of these various colonial institutions, with attention to the role of education in each, might prove very rewarding. Students of southern education might in this way gain insight into and perspective toward the problems of education in a plantation society which might very well change our whole conception of them. We might, for one thing, discover just how education grows up as a natural process, how it works, how it becomes formalized and ritualized, and just why and how it undergoes change. For such a purpose no other institution of the frontier seems to promise more than a study of the agricultural mission.

Such a study is made all the more significant by the fact that the education of Negroes in the South has always had a certain missionary quality about it, even since the planter regained control from the northern missionary. The schools of the Negro in the South, unlike their churches, have always been directed and controlled from outside their own ranks. Planter and missionary have held different and conflicting points of view, but both have assumed the necessity for outside and overhead control.

In their most obvious and visible aspects the plantation and the agricultural mission appear quite similar. They both are large landed estates. They both rest upon an agricultural economy; and very often the mission, like the plantation, exports its products to foreign markets. They both import supplies from abroad. In both, the field labor is performed by a people different in cultural and ordinarily in racial origin from those who direct and manage the enterprise. The latter possess great authority, and the former may be legally or in effect slaves. But, similar as the two institutions are in their organization and in their natural inter-

ests, in their political and moral principles they are ideological antagonists. Their very different histories and original purposes have, nevertheless, resulted in a similar phenomenon.

The mission represents the working-out of motives and purposes inherent in religious proselytism. Implicit in such a religion as Christianity is the belief that it possesses a universal validity, a belief which imposes upon its followers the moral obligation to transmit its precepts. This obligation takes an organized and concrete form in the person of the missionary, who, by definition, is committed to the propagation of his faith by teaching and persuasion. And, of course, the most obvious field for propagation lies among those people most completely outside the culture in which the religion originated.

The pioneer missionary usually begins his work by carrying his message to the heathen in a direct manner. There is something typical in the picture of Charles William Eliot in early New England preaching with Bible in hand to the Indians in the snow. The Indians appeared interested in his strange behavior, at least for a while; but they did not know what he was talking about, and Eliot undoubtedly soon discovered that fact. When it is apparent that direct attempts at conversion avail little, then it is realized that conversion has to begin with civilization. Missionaries conceive of themselves as propagating a particular religious doctrine, but they are really propagating a culture. Usually coming from small communities, they soon begin to lose interest in their narrow religious doctrines and begin to interest themselves in the larger problems of cultural assimilation. What they finally seek to do is merely to educate. The immediate expression of the indirect method in missionary activity is a concentration upon agricultural, health, and domestic education as a solvent for the native's physical and mental disabilities.

There are subtle and unexpected adjustments to be made, too, in the missionaries' social relations with the heathen. What

these are and how they arise is naively revealed in a letter written by Mrs. Lucy Thurston, wife of one of the pioneer missionaries to the Hawaiian Islands, to a friend in Boston in the year 1835. The letter was occasioned by the necessity for explaining to their supporters back home why the missionaries in Hawaii kept native servants in their households.

... In our own house we have the various classes of master and mistress, of children, and of household natives. There is a native family attached to our establishment, whose home is a distinct house in our common yard. They give us their services. One man simply cultivates taro, two miles up the country, and weekly brings down a supply of the staff of life for ourselves and our dependents. Another man every week goes up the mountain to do our washing. ... In like manner a third man, who under the old dispensation, officiated as priest to one of their gods, now, under a new dispensation, with commendable humility, officiates as cook to a priest and his family. Then, aid in the care of the house, of sewing, and of babyhood, devolves upon female hands.

We commenced mission life with other ideas. Native youth resided in our families, and so far as was consistent, we granted them all the privileges of companions and of children. Not many years rolled on, and our eyes were opened to behold the moral pollution which, unchecked, had here been accumulated for ages. I saw, but it was parental responsibilities which made me so emphatically *feel* the horrors of a heathen land. I had it ever in my heart, the shafts of sin flying in every direction are liable to pierce the vitals of my children. ...

I reviewed the ground on which I stood. The heathen world were to be converted. But by what means? Are missionaries with their eyes open to the dangers of the situation, to sit conscientiously down to the labor of bringing back a revolted race to the service of Jehovah, and in doing so practically give over their children to Satan? ... I could see no alternative but that a mother go to work, and here form a moral atmosphere in which her children can live and move without inhaling the infection of moral death. ... The first important measure was to prohibit them altogether the use of the Hawaiian language, thus cutting off all intercourse between them and the heathen. This, of course, led to the family regulation, that no child might

speak to a native, and no native might speak to a child, babyhood excepted. This led to another arrangement, that of having separate rooms and yards for our children, and separate rooms and yards for natives. The reason for this separation . . . was distinctly stated to household natives. . . . We are willing to come and live among you, that you may be taught the good way; but it would break our hearts to see our children rise up and be like the children of Hawaii. . . .

Dear Mrs. Bishop, who was laid in her grave six weeks before the arrival of the reinforcement, longed exceedingly to see and give them a charge from her sick couch. The purport of it was this: "Do not be devoted to domestic duties. Trust to natives, however imperfect their services, and preserve your constitutions." I needed no such warning, for I had learned the lesson by my own sad experience, and when, after years of prostration, I was again permitted to enjoy comfortable health, I availed myself of the aid of natives for the accomplishment of such domestic duties as they were capable of rendering. . . . For as one of our physicians told me, "You may as well talk of perpetual motion, as to think of performing as much labor here as you could have done by remaining in America."

As to the effects produced upon natives thus employed in our families, they have more intelligence, more of the good things of this life, more influence among their fellows than they could otherwise possess; and numbers of them, I doubt not, will be added to that great company, which no man can number, redeemed out of every kindred, and tongue, and people, and nation.⁸

A planter's wife in early Virginia might easily have written an almost identical letter to a friend in England.

Lind has shown the close affinity between the mission and the plantation in the development of the Hawaiian Islands. The early competition between them merely evidenced "the fundamental affinity between them." Later they joined forces "in urging the transition from the native system of land tenure to one more in conformity with capitalistic principles." The missionaries were among

the earliest to foresee the commercial possibilities of sugar cane, especially after financial assistance from the homeland was terminated, as a means of supporting the missions and furthering the advancement of their parishioners. The mission estate of Father Bond in Kohala formulated a fixed set of rules for the government of its members.⁹

Protestant missions not only developed agricultural estates in the past but they maintain a large number of them at the present time, or did until recently, in the Orient, in Africa, in South America, and in the South Seas. In 1920 the International Association for Agricultural Missions was organized "to promote the interests of Christian agricultural work in all lands."

But the institution of the agricultural mission was carried to its most extreme development by missionary priests of the various Catholic orders operating in what is now the southwestern part of the United States, in Latin America, and in the Philippines. Perhaps no other community in the world has been so greatly influenced by the agricultural mission as has Paraguay, in South America. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the unmarried Jesuit priests in Paraguay, unlike the Protestant missionaries in Hawaii, did not encounter the problem of protecting their children as they grew up among an alien population, but other forces in the situation established them as a class apart. However, their demonstration of success in the organization of agriculture, and the example of their own efforts and production, operated to set up links of influence and dependence between themselves and the natives: links which were not established forcefully or even consciously but which gave them prestige and then authority and power.

When the power of the Jesuits extended far enough to make it possible, tribal life was forcefully broken up and the Indians were "reduced," as the friars put it, to mission-

⁸ Lucy G. Thurston, *Life and Times of Lucy Thurston* (Ann Arbor, Mich.: S. C. Andrews, 1882), pp. 125-31.

⁹ Andrew W. Lind, *An Island Community* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1938), pp. 147, 149, 170, and 214.

village life. These reductions grew up, Keller tells us, "in the wide regions relatively or totally unoccupied by Europeans."¹⁰ In the missions the Indian charges were rigorously isolated from the world, and the missionary normally formed the only contact with the outside.

Bourne gives us a picture of mission life and points out what the mission came to be. Under the increasing supervision of the friars, the Indians, he says,

... were taught the elements of letters, and trained to peaceful, industrious and religious lives. In fact, every mission was an industrial school, in which the simple arts were taught by the friars, themselves in origin plain Spanish peasants. The discipline of the mission was as minute as that of a school: the unmarried youths and maidens were locked in at night; the day's work began and ended with prayers and the catechism; each Indian, besides cultivating his own plot of land, worked two hours a day on the farm belonging to the village, the produce of which went to the support of the church. The mission was recruited by inducing the wild Indians to join it, and also by kidnapping them. Spanish America from California and Texas to Paraguay and Chile was fringed with such establishments, the outposts of civilization, where many thousands of Indians went through a schooling which ended only with their lives. In the process of time a mission was slowly transformed into a "pueblo de Indios" ... and the mission frontier was pushed out a little farther.¹¹

When the mission in Latin America "had been included within the slowly expanding area of intercourse with the outside world," as the market came nearer and the mission became more and more dependent upon it, it ceased to be a mission. Like the plantation, it was a frontier institution, and when the frontier passed on the mission went with it. But not before it had accomplished a significant transformation in the culture of the Indians. It introduced new methods and

standards of agricultural production, it taught new arts and crafts, and it left the Indians at least nominally Catholic in religion. However, in spite of the devoted, persistent, and strenuous efforts of the priests, the mission left no high and lasting educational tradition. The literacy they promoted only led to the charge that the mission Indians had become mere apes and parrots incapable of progress and invention when left to themselves.¹²

If the mission grew up out of a background of religious fervor, the plantation had its origin in northern European capitalism. A plantation was originally a migration, a transplantation of people to overseas territory; and, in certain frontier areas capable of producing a staple crop for the European market, the migration passed over into an institutional structure for the production of the staple. The plantation type of migration became, in these areas, the plantation type of estate. Where this happened the migration was not composed of family, community, or congregational groups intent on reproducing in the New World the agricultural economy of the Old. It did not, in other words, result in the kind of settlements that the Pilgrims made in New England or the Germans made in Pennsylvania and in parts of the South. The kind of migration which resulted in plantation establishments, where they were economically possible, was a migration made up of individual adventurers and traders seeking profitable investments. They did not come to make a home for their children or to convert the natives to Christianity, although these things occurred to them later. It is significant that, in the histories of the various plantation societies, the members of the initial planter class are recruited from the ranks of ship captains and traders. This is the sort of men who possess both capital and knowledge of investment opportunities in foreign places. They are likely to be unfamiliar with the folk agriculture of their home countries, and there is no reason why they should seek to reproduce it abroad. But an opportunity

¹⁰ A. G. Keller, *Colonization* (Boston: Ginn & Co., 1908), p. 286.

¹¹ E. G. Bourne, *Spain in America, 1450-1580* (New York: Harper & Bros., 1904), pp. 305-6 (quoted in Keller, *op. cit.*, pp. 287-88).

¹² Keller, *op. cit.*, p. 293.

for profitable investment in new commodities of agriculture like tobacco, sugar cane, or rubber is in line with the commercial interests which they represent. Hence it is that the virtues of these men are not those of niceness and scholarship but of resourcefulness and enterprise, and in the areas where they operate they are too busy opening up the country and profiting from the exploitation of its resources to concern themselves overmuch with the educational welfare of the general population.¹³ The South is that part of this nation where the planter has most profoundly impressed himself upon the form of society and where something of his original motives and attitudes persist.

The concern of the missionary is for the educational and spiritual welfare of the natives, but the purpose of the planter to profit through the exploitation of land and labor leads ordinarily to an unfavorable judgment of native workers. In plantation societies the native is invariably condemned as lazy and worthless. The remedy is not to improve him through education. It is cheaper and far easier to turn to outside sources. Thus the planters of the South imported white indentured servants from Europe and then Negro slaves from Africa. The planters in Natal turned to India, and those in Hawaii to China, Japan, and the Philippines. It is a frequent observation that whereas the native is not a very satisfactory laborer in the land of his birth he is highly prized when he is transported to territory strange to him.

With imported male or family-less laborers the control situation changes in favor of the planter. It is easier to fit unattached individuals into their proper places in the organization of plantation work. They are encamped upon the land of the planter's estate, held there, and prevented from scattering out over the territory generally. It is to prevent such dispersion in areas where there is free or waste land available that slavery, indentured servitude, contract labor, and other forms of forced labor arise.

Up through this stage the plantation itself is a kind of school but not one formally and consciously organized for the purpose of teaching. Nevertheless, as Booker T. Washington said, "every slave plantation in the South was an industrial school. On these plantations young colored men and women were constantly being trained not only as farmers but as carpenters, blacksmiths, wheelwrights, brick masons, engineers, cooks, laundresses, sewing women, and housekeepers."¹⁴ In Africa it was said that the "best school for the African is a good European estate."¹⁵

The situation changes again when the importation of outside labor is interrupted. This happened in the New World when the African slave trade was shut off; it happened in Mauritius, in Natal, and in some of the islands of the West Indies when India refused to allow more of her people to emigrate as laborers to these plantation areas. Now it becomes necessary to find a new source of labor; and the new source is found in the children of the laborers, for in the meantime the mass of imported and assorted individuals have gradually organized themselves into family groups and have produced offspring. Born to the situation, the children tend to accept it without question; but their very presence introduces new problems of control and changes in plantation organization.

It is when the plantation reaches this stage in its life-history, the stage of Creole or "home-grown" labor, that questions of positive educational policy begin to arise. In fact, this stage in plantation development in different areas around the world is best studied in the materials on education in colonial areas because of the close relation between labor control and educational policies. In the South, before about 1800, the idea of an education for Negroes was not rejected because it was not even entertained. Be-

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 11; Lillian Knowles, *The Economic Development of the Overseas Empire* (London: G. Routledge & Sons, 1924), p. 219.

¹⁴ "Industrial Education for the Negro," in W. E. B. DuBois *et al.*, *The Negro Problem* (New York: James Pott & Co., 1903), p. 1.

¹⁵ Raymond L. Buell, *The Native Problem in Africa* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1928), I, 529.

cause some Negroes, however, had been gaining a sort of informal education through personal contacts with whites and because some of these Negroes, like the slave Gabriel in Virginia, were found plotting insurrections, laws were passed aimed at restricting educational opportunities for them. After the Nat Turner rebellion in 1831 legislation became even more repressive; yet in spite of the laws individual whites, especially pious women who believed that "everyone should know how to read the Bible,"¹⁶ continued to teach Negroes.

As long as the children of the laborers are slaves like their fathers, as in the ante bellum South, the public educational policy is to discourage or prevent any formal education at all. "Of what use will education be to them if they get it?" is the question which appears to answer itself as far as planters are concerned. But where the children of the laborers are free, either by virtue of emancipation or because they do not inherit the legal compulsion to work which operates against their fathers, the community is forced to accept the necessity for education in some form and to some degree. The question then becomes, "What kind and how much?"

Since education is both an instrument of

control in the hands of the planter class and a means of emancipation and status for the children of the laboring classes, it is easy to understand both the hopes and the fears of the employing classes when they first begin to yield the privilege of education. Stated briefly, the educational policy of the planter class is to insure that the children of plantation laborers will remain plantation laborers. If education there must be, let it be an education designed to make hewers of wood and drawers of water better hewers of wood and drawers of water. The planters' solution is therefore an occupational education; but often this is not a solution from the point of view of the working-class members of the dominant race, for whom such an education may raise up dangerous competitors.

To those upon whom it is urged, a vocational and occupational education is suspect, since it appears to lead to an intensification of occupational distinctions and to a society consisting of impenetrable caste strata. Since the status of the privileged class is associated with educational attainment in the sciences, the liberal arts, and the professions, it is natural for those at the bottom to be attracted to this kind of education, the kind of education which promises to lead them out of their traditional class into a higher one. The son of a plantation laborer in Hawaii, whose attitude seems typical, wrote as follows:

My parents always told me to study hard and become a great man and not a cane field laborer, who had to go to work early in the morning, rain or sun, and work to late in the evening. They even said that they would buy anything for me if it is related to school.¹⁷

Regardless of the type of education, the appearance of the school at the stage of "home-grown" labor in the plantation's history precipitates two problems. On the one hand, it defines child labor as a social problem, since child labor is any kind of labor that keeps a child away from school. The

¹⁶ The laws were enacted against the categorical Negro, but it appears to have been breached by whites in the case of individual Negroes whom they knew and toward whom they were personally sympathetic. In 1853 Mrs. Margaret Douglas encouraged her daughter to teach a class of Negro children in a room in her home in Norfolk. Mrs. Douglas was arrested and convicted by the court. In conducting her defense, Mrs. Douglas pointed out that an example had been set for her by the Sunday schools of the various churches of Norfolk. Concerning the case the *Petersburg [Va.] Daily Express* for November 30, 1853, observed: "It did not appear from the evidence of any of the gentlemen called upon by Mrs. Douglas, that they had actually seen negroes taught from books in any of the Sunday schools of the city, but the fact, as stated by them, that nearly all the negroes attending the Sunday schools could read, gave rise to a violent suspicion that many of the ladies and gentlemen of our city, moving in the highest circles of society, had been guilty of as flagrant a violation of the law as could be imputed to Mrs. Douglas and her daughter."

¹⁷ Quoted in Romanzo Adams, *The Education and Economic Outlook for the Boys of Hawaii: A Study in the Field of Race Relationships* (Honolulu: Institute of Pacific Relations, 1927), p. 15.

recognition of the large amount of child labor in the South as a social problem is a matter of recent history. Here, as in the West Indies and in South Africa, it has led to much discussion and an agitation for the primacy of the school over the demands of employers.

On the other hand, the school tends to produce a white-collar class which the industrial and agricultural system does not absorb. Even in the South the education of the Negro has developed more rapidly than have his opportunities for wider participation in economic and political life. It is in Hawaii, however, that the contest between the educational ambitions of the sons and daughters of the plantation laborers and the labor needs of the planters is most acute. In 1882 the first annual meeting of the Planter's Labor and Supply Company defined the type of labor most ideal for plantation work with the statement: "The industrial condition of these Islands requires people as laborers who are accustomed to subordination, to permanency of abode, and who have moderate expectations in regard to a livelihood."¹⁸

While the sugar industry was expanding, while times were prosperous and labor continued to be imported, education did not seem to be harmful. But, under the stress of a receding price, a growing burden of taxation, and a possibility that the supply of labor from the Philippines would be cut off, there developed the conviction that education makes people unfit for common plantation labor. The planters became outspoken for a fundamental change. They would place limitations upon the schools, and such schools as remained would serve merely as training grounds for plantation workers. In his address to the annual meeting of the Hawaiian Sugar Planters' Association in 1925, the president of the association said:

Why blindly continue a system that keeps a boy or girl in school at taxpayers' expense long after they have mastered more than sufficient learning for all ordinary purposes, simply to enlighten them on subjects of questionable value;

¹⁸ *Hawaiian Planters' Monthly*, I (1882), 187.

subjects on which they could as well enlighten themselves (if by any chance their inclinations tended in that direction) and at the same time, by entering some field of employment will, besides earning wages, be gaining experience and efficiency, and above all learn to appreciate the value of a dollar by working for it. . . . The solution as I see it, is that the taxpayer be relieved of further responsibility after the pupil has mastered the sixth grade, or the eighth grade in a modified form.¹⁹

In Malaya, which developed rapidly into a plantation community during the past half-century, the British pursued the policy of educating principally for the needs of the planters. A few English schools were maintained to train an adequate supply of clerks; there were some vernacular schools for the natives and for the children of the Indian workers on the plantations; but the British were frankly opposed to "any ideal of education not adjusted to local wants," as it must inevitably "lead to economic dislocation and social unrest."²⁰

A committee in Ceylon, appointed to inquire into the state of education in that colony, objected to a type of education which had done nothing more than to produce

a class of shallow, conceited, half-educated youths who have learned nothing but to look back with contempt upon the conditions in which they were born and from which they conceive that their education has raised them, and who desert the ranks of the industrious classes to become idle, discontented hangers-on of the courts and the Public Offices.²¹

Similar statements from other plantation areas might be offered,²² but these are sufficient to show that the educational problems

¹⁹ *Proceedings of the Hawaiian Sugar Planters' Association*, 1925, p. 13.

²⁰ *Education in Malaya* (London, 1924), p. 15.

²¹ Quoted in H. A. Wyndham, *Native Education* (London: Oxford University Press, 1933), p. 46.

²² See, e.g., C. Y. Shepard, "Agricultural Labour in Trinidad," *Tropical Agriculture*, March, 1935, p. 63; and T. Walter Wallbank, "British Colonial Policy and Native Education in Kenya," *Journal of Negro Education*, October, 1938, p. 52.

of the South are typically those of plantation societies generally.

When the educational process in a plantation society is compared with that of a mission society, the conclusion suggests itself that, whether formal education is promoted from above, as in the case of the mission, or whether it is demanded from below, as in the case of the plantation, it achieves no higher level than the needs of the situation require. And the situation is very much the same for both institutions. The great mission establishments of the past did not develop along every frontier where missionary work was carried on. They did not grow up in New England, for instance, even though the Congregational church there had a complete monopoly of the field. The great agricultural mission estates grew up in the same kind of areas where the plantations grew up and for very much the same reason—these were the areas that could grow the *Kolonialwaren* for which there was a ready market abroad. The fact that financial support from home for missionary activities in the Colonies was not expected to last forever faced every mission sooner or later with the problem of becoming self-supporting. Thus the aims of civilizing, educating, and converting and of finding means for self-support all came to coincide; and the result was to make the mission a large landed and agricultural estate. Where there was more land than there was labor to cultivate it, where there was a favorable market for the products of the land, the mission became very much the same sort of institution that the plantation became. One traveler who had seen both institutions thought that the lot of the Indian neophytes in the California missions differed very little from the lot of the Negro slaves on the West Indian sugar plantations.²³

The two institutions have at times become so much alike that when found together they are in a condition of competition and conflict. In colonial Brazil, planter opposition to the Jesuits resulted in the forced withdrawal of the friars as the conviction grew that the missions "were simply competing plantations worked at merely nominal cost by converts adroitly turned into slaves."²⁴

To the permanent and fixed elements in the environment, elements of geography and climate, even conflicting ideologies tend eventually to make the same kind of adjustment.

Education, like other aspects of culture, is a condition for the satisfaction of the elementary needs of individuals and of groups of individuals. Like intelligence, it is in considerable measure a response to a problematical situation that requires reflection and energy and struggle. The fundamental educational process is therefore a kind of biological adaptation. As long as a group is at least maintaining its numbers at given standards it may be presumed to have an educational system commensurate with its needs. It may be that the people of the South have had about all the education they could use in the kind of world in which they have lived and competed. The situation, however, is changing radically. The star of the southern plantation is on the wane, and for the future a region of white and Negro small-farm holdings appears likely. To win their bread and protect their liberties in the new world of competition and conflict with others, the people of the South must gear their minds and hands to new levels of endeavor. New needs will bring—must bring—a new and more vital education.

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²³ Katherine Coman, *Economic Beginnings of the Far West* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1912), I, 150.

²⁴ Keller, *op. cit.*, p. 154.

TRANSMITTING OUR DEMOCRATIC HERITAGE IN THE SCHOOLS

RUTH BENEDICT

ABSTRACT

No educational policies can of themselves make a stable society out of our unstable one. In our changing culture it is necessary to base our teachings upon fundamental commitments of our culture if we are to avoid teaching many things the child will have to unlearn later. Transmission of our democratic heritage is most threatened at the point of transition from childish dependency to adult independence.

Controversies about education in recent years have in one way or another turned upon the issue of the role of the schools in transmitting our cultural heritage. There have been those who have blamed the schools for every "un-American" trait they believed to be increasing in our society. Some of these critics place on the schools responsibility for the decreasing religious affiliations in our cities and rural areas; some attack them for the moral relativism they see in our decade. Such criticisms assume that an educational system can, of and by itself, have such far-reaching effects as these; and this same assumption is just as basic in a very different argument: that education should shoulder the responsibility for ushering in a new social order. In so far as these critics and exhorters have argued only that some particular set of facts should be taught in our schools—American history or the Bible or Thomas Aquinas or the achievements of the T.V.A.—there is no need for further discussion; the school curriculum can easily be improved without claiming that our educational system makes or breaks the social order. But the assumption made by these critics has consequences of its own which go far beyond the changes in curriculum they urge. It is an assumption that can be examined in the light of comparative studies of other cultures, and such an examination can throw light on the whole relation of education to social change.

It is instructive to study a long series of societies, identifying those where culture is relatively stable and those where it is highly unstable. One does not find that those which are stable educate their children in one fashion and those which are unstable in another.

There are a great many different ways of rearing children: they may be treated like little adults from birth and divide their day into work and play almost exactly as their parents do; they may be little outlaws who consider the adults fair game, pillaging their fields and evading responsibilities; they may be privileged beings whose every wish is gratified, however inconvenient. But none of these or other ways of rearing children correlates with whether or not the culture is reproduced in the next generation. Stability of culture over generations is not a function of the particular kind of education that is given to children. It is a function rather of social conditions in the whole tribe or nation. Anthropologists have to study rapidly changing cultures over and over again, and usually with sinking hearts. When a Plains Indian tribe is put on a reservation, the differences between older and younger generations are very great, and transmission of culture most inadequate. The livelihood techniques the parents knew can no longer be used, for the buffalo have disappeared from the plains, and horses can no longer be raided from other tribes. The older ways of life no longer work, and with them go the religious rites that guaranteed them and the respect which the young once showed their elders. These drop out, and the tragedy is that it is hard to replace them. Then one generation is not like another: transmission of culture has been interfered with by all the external and internal conditions which are present in an unstable society. Sometimes the anthropologist can study cultural change under more favorable conditions: when incentives to activity are increased; when there is more lei-

sure because iron tools, for instance, have been introduced; and when the arts of life therefore flourish and new developments take place.

Under such social conditions—whatever the method of education—transmission of culture is achieved only in part. But a homogeneous society faced by no new circumstances sufficiently drastic to disturb its balance transmits its culture generation after generation, no matter how it breaks the rules of education that seem to us essential. Our problems in transmission of culture arise from the rapidity of social changes in our society; and no method of education can prevent this. The choices open to our school systems are only whether they will cling to the teaching of subjects and attitudes which the child can no longer use profitably in the world in which he will live or whether they will give him equipment he can use. They cannot possibly make a stable world of an unstable one. Those critics who blame the schools for the changes they resent in our culture are making the educational system a scapegoat for vast changes in the structure of modern society which they do not take into account.

Once we are sufficiently skeptical about the notion that schools—or parents—have it in their power to indoctrinate our children so that they will maintain the status quo, we can face the crucial problem of the relation of education to the social order. All the problems in this relationship, whatever the tribe or nation studied, concern the degree to which the method of education fits the requirements of that society. It is not a matter of identifying some good educational policies and some bad ones. The “best” education can be a weakness in a society that does not give the adolescent scope to put his learning into practice; it can breed sullenness and frustration. The “worst” can be well adapted to all that will ever be required of him as an adult.

Nothing is more striking in some primitive societies than the rapid intellectual development of children which flattens out somewhere in early life so that a man of

twenty, perhaps, has already all the skills and all the knowledge of a man of fifty. This fact has sometimes been read off as an inherent characteristic of simpler peoples; it is said that their mental powers are capable of only a limited development. It would be truer to say that they do not expand if the society requires nothing further of them. If men can supply their needs of livelihood and gain prestige among their fellows without adding to their skills or their knowledge, they early reach a mental plateau. This is not a characteristic of all primitive societies, for in many tribes a man must accumulate “wisdom” and special techniques throughout his life in order to take any desired position in the society. It is this continuing stimulus to mental achievement supplied by the responsibilities society puts upon its members which in any society, our own included, prevents the arrest of intellectual development.

Not only intellectual development but also training of the emotions and will-power are relative to the social order in which they occur. Life in some primitive cultures requires tough and violent people if they are to carry on; they can fill their roles with less cost to themselves and to their fellow-men if they have been reared not to expect universal kindness. Primitive people are generally more permissive to their children than we are, and their methods of child-rearing often seem to us extraordinarily attractive. They are not all of them the better for it. In some tribes where sorcery is a common practice and greatly feared, children are believed to be unaffected by black magic. They live in a charmed circle. At adolescence they become liable to all the machinations of their fellow-tribesmen, and they are unprepared. Sorcery in such tribes is a daily terror the intensity of which is possible just because the children were secure and happy in their childhood. There are other tribes where the maladjustment between education and adult requirements is quite the opposite. Life in the band is co-operatively regulated; all members share the labors and the rewards of labor. But the boy's education is, as they

say, "like breaking a colt." He must be humiliated by his elders, and they send him on lying errands to make game of him. He must be chased out of bed to jump into icy water. He is taught that he has only himself to depend on. "Rely on no one. Your hands are your friends. Your feet are your friends. Your eyes are your friends. Rely on these." The education he is given does not fit the co-operative arrangements of band life; and the aggressions, the mean gossip, the bickering of tribal life, are objective measures of the lack of consonance between child-training and the kind of character structure which can operate to advantage in the culture.

In our own culture there are of course many inconsistencies between education and the world for which it offers training. I shall not discuss the curriculum, though it is obvious that in any changing society the curriculum must be reconsidered constantly. The matters which are affected when we try to make our education consonant with our total cultural life go far beyond the curriculum. They include attitudes which our children learn in the course of studying their lessons and the institutional organization of our schools. And we cannot plan without analyzing our own culture. The more clearly we see its general outlines, the more wisely we shall propose.

We are constantly in danger in our schools of underestimating the cultural changes that occur in such a society as ours. Education in our world today must prepare our children to adapt themselves to unforeseeable conditions. It must give them a basis upon which they can make their own decisions in situations not yet on the horizon. The controversies of our decade will die out or be re-embodied in quite different events. The phrasing will change. In the first decade of this century the duty of thrift was one of the absolute values on which all my teachers were agreed. Starting little bank accounts was a learning activity which would bear the fruit of the good life from childhood to old age. The object was to create in school a sentiment for valuing accumulation rather than for present expenditure. My school-

mates and I have lived through the nemesis of this teaching, through periods when one's whole duty was to spend and the hoarder was antisocial. Then, too, we were taught that the world was through with war and that in our day and age ethics and humanitarianism were so developed that the voice of the whole earth was unanimous for peace. We have lived through the first World War and the Long Truce, and today we do not know where the second World War will take us. The absolute values of peace which we were taught in school are something for which people are jailed.

A clearer analysis of our culture would have made it unnecessary for that generation of school children to unlearn painfully these lessons they had been taught. If, instead of trying to educate us to recognize an absolute good in hoarding, our teachers had chosen out of the cultural values of American civilization that pre-eminent one of initiative and independence, if they had been able to teach us that according to our abilities we could get somewhere if we showed initiative and independence and that we would be honored for them by our fellow-men, they could have subordinated saving money to the due place which it holds in an American scheme of things. They could have put their teaching on the ground that some attainable goals are worth saving for. If, instead of pacifism, they had taught us that peace was the dearest possession of any people and the one most worth giving one's greatest efforts to perfect, if they had taught us that war was the greatest calamity but one which, no matter what men's ethical sentiments were, would follow from certain acts, the generation they taught would not have had to unlearn the lesson.

"Transmitting our culture" in a changing society means self-examination and a certain detachment; for, unless our analyses are good, our teachings may go into limbo with the passing of some special set of circumstances. A stable society is not faced with such necessities. It can inculcate saving for generation after generation, or it can inculcate stripping one's self of all possessions.

If these are integrated in the whole economic pattern of their culture, they can be taught to each generation in minute detail. Stable societies, too, have teachings either about the glories of war or about the virtue of peacefulness; these are consequences of the state of warfare or lack of warfare in which they live, and generation after generation maintains the status quo. The great challenge of education in our changing world today is that it requires so much more of our educators than a stable society need require.

This challenge is intensified when we try to state what we mean by transmitting our heritage of democracy. Here, too, we must stress those things without which our culture would be unrecognizable. Fortunately, in America there is a certain basic agreement. In contrast to European and South American nations, the United States from the first has had a tradition of liberty and opportunity, and despotic power has been at a minimum. It is true that there are marked divergencies in current definitions of what democratic heritage we want to transmit, divergencies which turn upon whether the speaker is demanding liberty and opportunity for a special group to which he belongs or whether he is demanding these privileges for all Americans on the same terms. What is essential to all of them, however, is that they identify our way of life with adequate scope for personal achievement. All the definitions are drawn from experience in our culture where initiative and independence are traits every man wants for himself.

The transmission of our democratic heritage means primarily, then, preparing children in our schools to act as adults with initiative and independence. Our culture does not go about this with the directness that is characteristic of many tribes which set this same goal. With us, children are dependent, and yet as adults they must be independent. They are commanded as children, and as adults they command. This is in strong contrast to those societies which make no qualitative differences between children and adults. The qualities they value in grown men they boast of also in little boys even if

the child flouts his father or even strikes him. "He will be a man," his father says. Such tribes do not have the problem we have in our culture: the unlearning of dependence and docility when the child reaches man's estate. Nevertheless, this discontinuity in the life-cycle is basic in our culture, and we have used it to good advantage. We greatly prolong infancy, and we define it as a period of learning. We give ourselves, therefore, the opportunity to equip our children with all that a long-continued and uninterrupted course of teaching can give them. We do not always take full advantage of our opportunity, of course, but the opportunity is there. The child on the threshold of manhood has spent years sitting at the feet of the older generation, and his teachers have had a remarkable chance to pass on to him all they know and value.

One great danger we face under this system is not that the child will be rebellious or insufficiently docile—but that he will learn his lesson of docility too well. Our schools impose the school schedule, the subject matter, the personnel, the forms of discipline; in all these matters the child takes what is offered. As long as he accepts these arrangements as the condition of his progress toward adulthood, his docility in these matters need not interfere with a later independence. But the training is overwhelmingly in docility rather than in self-reliance and independence, and many adults have obviously been overinfluenced by this training. They find dependency hard to relinquish. Progressive education, with its greater encouragement of the kind of behavior the child will need as an adult in our culture, is clearly on the right track. There are many classroom customs which could be introduced and which could give the child greater experience in responsibility and initiative. All such methods bridge the gap between school and life and lesson the numbers who find it difficult or impossible to make the transition.

The spread of progressive education is at least in part a compensation for increased restrictions on children's opportunities for in-

dependence and responsibility in our modern cities. In the earlier days of our democracy, village and even city life provided more chances for genuine autonomy. Boys shouldered their fishing rods and organized their own games and filled their free time according to their own ideas. A bully at the fishing hole was the affair of the older boys who swam there. Their chores, too, were genuine responsibilities. A boy might have to milk the cows and tend store, but his work belonged in the scheme of things. He was doing the things his father also did. Today he listens to the radio or plays in supervised playgrounds or on the street with one eye on the policeman. His father's work is away from home and he cannot contribute to it. The changed conditions in our cities make it harder for the child to get experience in the kind of behavior upon which success in his adult life will depend; and, unless our schools offer such opportunities, the persistence of childhood dependency into adulthood—our so-called "regressions"—will inevitably become a greater social problem.

Just as our system of child-rearing runs the danger of inadequately transmitting our cultural heritage because the child may learn the lesson of dependency too well, so, too, it may fall short because he learns too well the lesson of external sanctions for moral behavior. Our moral tradition is based on internalized sanctions; we do not regulate private life by constant external supervision as is the custom in some European countries and in many native tribes of Africa. Our democracy needs as many individuals as possible with the capacity for self-discipline, individuals who will subordinate immediate and shifting wishes to a chosen goal. But self-discipline is not a lesson which is learned directly by enforced discipline. In many societies the step from one to the other is never made. It is not automatic. In our culture we make the transition the hard way, and all our psychiatric discussions of the punishing superego are documentation of this difficulty. For our transition internalizes not the actual consequences of the compromising act but the outside punisher himself, a punisher

who when he is internalized can be overwhelmingly inhibiting. Many societies follow a different course. From earliest childhood they inculcate genuine self-discipline, and individuals in such societies do not have to make such expensive transitions as are common in our culture. Parents in such tribes are not so afraid as we are of placing responsibility for his acts genuinely in the child's hands. If the baby sells his tanned-skin dress to a white man for a dime, no adult punishes him; they would consider that extraneous to the issue. The dress was his, and he alone is responsible for what he has done with it. But at the next feast he has no fine dress to wear. He learns the consequences of his act; he does not learn the punishing parent. Even very extreme disciplines are left in the child's hands. From our point of view these disciplines seem arbitrary and out of all proportion to the goals sought. They may be rubbing one's self with nettles or letting wads of grass burn into one's skin or drawing blood from sensitive parts of one's body. The point is that even these are readily assumed by the child himself, not imposed by an outside authority. Democratically organized societies have often fared well by giving the child experience in genuine self-discipline. They put upon the child responsibility for going out to seek a vision and for taking the initiative in obtaining his own instruction in hunting. Data from such societies make it clear that absence of enforced discipline does not necessarily mean license or laziness. This notion, so common in conventional discussions of our educational system, can arise only in a society which has systematically minimized opportunities for preadult self-discipline.

These specific points of strain in our educational system occur just because of the contrast in our culture between the child's world and the adult world, and all our problems are acute at the period of transition itself. Gradually our schools are coming to realize that it is just at this transition period where they have failed the child. Vocational training and job-placement assistance are being provided, but the problem is only

partly met, as statistics in unemployment and criminology abundantly show. Primitive democratic societies which, like us, require one set of behavior for the child and another for the adult have remarkable basic likeness in their procedure at the period of transition. They have great graduating ceremonies—the conclusion of puberty rites—and automatically give the graduates as a group their new responsibilities as adults, providing them with the necessary tools and equipment. They do not leave the transition to each adolescent's fumbling attempts, and they do not put obstacles in the way of his access to the means of production. It seems fair to say that it is at this point of transition from childhood dependency to adult independence that our culture most often fails adequately to transmit our democratic heritage and that our educators must work with

our social planners if our current wastage is to be lessened.

These examples of what education can do to insure the transmission of our democratic heritage are not based on "the nature of the child" or on an absolute standard of what a mature individual should be or of what a good society is. They depend upon surveying some of the major wastages in our civilization and upon citing ways in which some other cultures have met similar situations. Such knowledge of comparative cultures can often be useful; and it highlights the truth that our democracy, with its special demand for initiative and independence, is a special way of functioning as a human being that has to be learned. All that we know about the learning process we need to apply socially to this task of transmitting our democratic heritage in a changing world.

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EDUCATION AND THE CULTURAL CRISIS

ROBERT E. PARK

ABSTRACT

Education, in the more inclusive sense of that term, is the process by which the cultural heritage of a society, or cultural unit of any sort, is transmitted from a preceding to a succeeding generation. The problem of transmission is complicated by movements and migration of peoples and by the rapidity of social change, due to technological advances. Cultural crises arise when the tradition transmitted, including the folkways and mores and the religious beliefs, no longer conform to the more secular interests and practices of everyday life. When the younger generation loses cultural contact with the elder, or when one section or class of the community ceases to function in conformity with the interests and ideals of the community as a whole, the problem of education is to re-establish communication and to reweave the web of intimate and personal relations of individuals, constituting the older and younger generations, as well as the diverse regions, in order to achieve understanding and revive the loyalties upon which the moral, as distinguished from the economic and political order, rests. It is the function of news and, more especially, of art, literature, and the humanities to create the understandings which make for moral unity and solidarity in the community, in so far as it can be created and maintained by art, literature, and formal education.

John Dewey introduces his notable book, *Democracy and Education*, with an impressive statement of a fact which most of us take for granted, namely, that education is a process by which a cultural heritage is transmitted from one generation to the next. It is, at the same time, a process by which a society renews and perpetuates its existence; for society, as Dewey has said elsewhere, exists in and through communication, and communication is precisely the means by which the cultural, as distinguished from the biological, heritage is transmitted. Formal education is, therefore, merely a rational procedure for carrying on and completing, in the schoolroom, a task that began spontaneously with the child in the home.

In order to emphasize the importance of this process of cultural transmission and renewal, Dewey invites his readers to consider the possibility that by some strange chance an older generation should come to an untimely end, so that there would be a complete break in the cultural succession. In that case a new, naïve, and unsophisticated generation, abandoned in the midst of this complex civilization of ours, unable to read or even to talk, would have great difficulty digging out of books, artifacts, and other archeological remains the insights that would enable it to recover its lost inheritance.

This is, in some sense and to some degree, what happens any day when young folk

leave home to seek their fortunes in the city. This is what happens to a younger generation of immigrants, particularly if it grows up in an immigrant community such as exists on the East Side in New York City or the West Side in Chicago. A rather complete and informing literature, consisting mainly of immigrant biographies, has been written on this theme.

To this second generation of immigrants, because the new world, which is strange and foreign to their parents, is the only world they know, strange things happen of which they are scarcely aware; things the significance of which only a psychiatrist would, perhaps, fully understand. Strange things happen to the older generation, also, when they learn, as they sometimes do, that they and their ways seem queer to their children.

What happens in such cases is a more or less complete break in the cultural succession. The tradition which the immigrant family brings with it is rooted in a different milieu and is part of a local and national culture different from that in which the family is living in the country of its adoption. To be sure, the difference between one culture and another is not very great as long as both are European or as long as they are local cultures which are integral parts of one of those more inclusive cultural units we call "civilization."

Even so, any interruption of the cultural

process may have profound consequences which involve the whole educational process—not only that which goes on normally in the home and in the schoolroom but that which is continued outside, in the workshop and on the playground, and, finally, in all the adventures which the theater, the dance hall, and the city streets eventually provide.

When, however, the immigrant is not of European origin (as, for example, in the case of the Japanese and Chinese), then the break in the cultural succession is likely to be more complete and more devastating. Particularly is this true in a region or in a community—like that of the Hawaiian Islands—where the population is so largely made up of peoples of different racial stocks, each living in the isolation of a more or less completely closed community. There the break between the first and the second generation is likely to be much greater and its effects more profound. In Hawaii, where there is a great deal of intermarriage between the immigrant and the native population, it sometimes happens that neither parent learns to speak the language of the other and they are therefore able to communicate with each other and with their children only through the medium of English, which is, naturally, the lingua franca of the island and, like every other franca, only imperfectly understood by the people who use it.

Some of the consequences referred to are so obvious and so marked that they have produced in the second generation a recognizable personality type sometimes described as "the marginal man," i.e., the man who lives on the margin of two cultures—that of the country of his parents and that of the country of his adoption, in neither of which he is quite at home. We know, in a general way, for reasons that are not at present wholly intelligible, that this so-called "marginal man" is likely to be smart, i.e., a superior, though sometimes a superficial, intellectual type.

On the other hand, the immigrants, whether of the first or the second generation, if they continue to live in the isolation of an immigrant community, are likely to sink to

a cultural level in the country of their adoption lower than that of the national or racial stock in the country of their origin. This is true not merely in the United States but also, conspicuously so, in Brazil, where European countries have attempted to colonize and to maintain in the New World environment an Old World language and culture.

We ordinarily think of the problems that arise, in the course of such cultural diffusion and acculturation as have been described, as problems of personality. They are, however, at the same time, whether they arise in the home, in the school, or in the community, pedagogical problems—problems that grow out of the difficulties of transmitting a cultural tradition from one generation to another or from one cultural unit to another. As it appears in the schoolroom, the problem is likely to be that of rote learning; as it appears in the family or the local community, on the other hand, it is that of the problem child.²

What we do not know is just what is involved in this process of transmission of a tradition from one generation to another and from one cultural group to another. Especially is this true where the two cultural groups are as different as are, for example, those of the American Indian and the European, where, under ordinary circumstances, the two races live together, to be sure, but in more or less complete cultural isolation—i.e., in relations that are symbiotic rather than social. One need not, however, go so far afield for an illustration as the American Indian. An equally outstanding illustration of cultural isolation is that of the Mennonites in Pennsylvania, the so-called Pennsylvania Dutch, or the so-called "Cajuns" (Acadians) of Louisiana.

In such cases as these, isolation may measuredly preserve and perpetuate an existing culture; but some sort and some degree of break or change in the culture is bound to take place in every case in the course of the educational process. Some modification of

² Robert E. Park, "A Memorandum on Rote Learning," *American Journal of Sociology*, XLIII (1938), 23.

the tradition is necessary to preserve not merely the form but also the content of the cultural tradition; for a tradition is not merely a treasure to be preserved, but, like the society of which it is a part, it is an organism to be renewed and perpetuated. That is why we have continually to re-write our histories; to redefine our laws and renew, in the light of a later experience, our faith in our traditional ways of life. That is why education, when successful, is a more or less creative process in which the culture is, in course of transmission, re-created in the mind of the student and of the community.

Not only do societies and cultures change, but they sometimes change so rapidly that one generation so far loses contact with the next that it is with difficulty that the cultural tradition is transmitted. This has certainly happened more than once in America. It has happened since 1914 in the case of the younger and older generations of women in the United States. It has taken place more than once in Russia. It is, interestingly enough, the theme of Turgenev's famous novel *Fathers and Sons*, written sixty years ago, and of other less notable works of fiction, dealing with European life, written since that time.

At other times and under other conditions societies expand territorially so rapidly that they are not able, even where the economic organization continues to function, to maintain cultural contacts. In fact, as we shall see later, sectionalism in a political society, like sectarianism in a religious society, is one characteristic way in which cultural crises arise. In such cases the common understandings, or mores, by which personal and political relations are ordinarily regulated and effective political and moral order maintained, are dissolved, and understanding gives way to confusion and disorder.

Society, it seems, has at least two dimensions: (1) a temporal and (2) a spatial or territorial. If it is the function of education to perpetuate the life of society in time, by renewing and transmitting the cultural tradition from one generation to the next, it is, by the same token, the function of education

(if not of the school) to perpetuate its existence in space by renewing the understandings by which different sections, classes, and races in the community not only carry on a common economy but are able to maintain a degree of political and moral solidarity which makes effective collective action possible.

Crises, it seems, may arise in several different ways and on more than one level of integration. If I speak here and now of different levels of integration, that is merely a recognition of the fact that society, as we know it, is actually a hierarchy of relatively independent levels of association—economic, political, and religious. For each of these levels of association, with their institutions, there exist distinct and more or less independent social sciences. Furthermore, with the emergence of our totalitarian states and the existence of total war it is perhaps more obvious today than ever before that these different levels of social integration are not so independent of one another as they have sometimes seemed. It is inevitable that, in a society more completely integrated, changes and crises which occur on the economic level, where human relations are relatively abstract and impersonal, must bring about repercussions on every other level, including that occupied by the family and the church, where associations are more intimate and more personal and hence more controlled by imperatives that are traditional and non-rational rather than explicit and formal.

It may not be so obvious that these different levels of societal integration represent a hierarchy in which the economic order, at the base of the social triangle, supports the political, which, in turn, supports the personal and moral, the order characteristic of familial and religious societies.

Nevertheless, when changes on the economic level are more rapid than changes on the political and religious levels, the solidarity and efficiency of society on every other level are inevitably affected. This is the phenomenon ordinarily referred to as "cultural lag." We have cultural lag when customs and creeds no longer conform to the

actual functioning of the social process and no longer control or direct them. As a matter of fact, any movement of disturbance of an existing order, if long continued, may bring about a social crisis.

Since Malthus wrote his treatise on population, there has been no question of the fact that the mere increase and aggregation of populations, or their movements and migrations from one cultural milieu to another, may have consequences on every other level of integration.

One of the more remarkable instances of disintegration of the moral order as a result of migration is reported by Pauline V. Young in her volume, *The Pilgrims of Russian-Town*.² In this instance a primitive religious sect of German origin, the so-called "Molokons," or "milk-drinkers," migrated to America from central Russia, where they had lived for many years in more or less complete cultural, if not economic, isolation. They settled on the outskirts of Los Angeles and attempted to maintain there the religious practices and moral discipline to which they had been accustomed in Russia. The results were disastrous, not merely to the religious community, but to the personal careers of many of its members, particularly to those of the second generation.

Recently my attention was attracted to an item in the *Nashville Tennessean* entitled "'Sudeten Problem' Has Baptists Fighting Civil War Over Again."³ It was an account of a prolonged debate over the petition of three thousand Southern Baptists, living in California, for admission to the Southern Baptist Convention then in session in San Antonio, Texas. The petitioners had found it impossible, they said, to work in harmony with the Northern Baptists. Living in California, they were territorially northerners, but in their customs and traditions they were southerners still. The petition was received with sympathy and understanding, but it raised a constitutional question. It was opposed on the ground that it would offend the

California Northern Baptists and would, as the opposition put it, "constitute an action similar to Hitler's assumption that Czechoslovakia was German because some Germans lived there." However, human nature prevailed finally over logic, and the California exiles were taken into full fellowship in the Southern Convention. The case suggests the following comments.

1. It is extraordinary what difficulties a difference of local customs can make, even among Baptists. The differences between the Northern and Southern Baptists were due, it was said, to "certain practices such as open communion." However, as I recall John Steinbeck's account—in his novel, *Grapes of Wrath*—of the migration of the "Okies" and "Arkies" to the fruit farms of California, I suspect this is, to say the least, an understatement.

2. It is interesting, too, that the case of Hitler and the Sudeten Irredentists was cited as a precedent to characterize and define a constitutional issue in a Baptist convention in San Antonio. It suggests that our traditional policy of national isolation is weakening in places where we might least expect it.

3. My interest in this incident is in the fact that the trouble between Northern and Southern Baptists in California was due to a cultural conflict—a conflict which arose as a consequence of a migration. However, a migration, if one does not take its ultimate consequences into the reckoning, is no more than a change in the territorial distribution of a population. If my diagnosis be correct, the incident may be regarded as a symptom of a condition by no means peculiar to California. It is rather, I suspect, a minor indication of a condition which exists there more obviously perhaps than in most other parts of the United States, except in our great metropolitan centers like New York and Chicago.

For some years past, during a period when migration from abroad has almost ceased, internal migration in the United States, and particularly the westward movement of population, has continued. California with its glamorous landscape has been the haven

² Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1932.

³ Tuesday, May 19, 1942.

toward which everything that was human and mobile, it seems, has gravitated. During the last three decades the population of California has increased more rapidly than that of any other state in the Union.

California has been at once the gateway and the barrier to migration from the Orient. When the gates were open and migration was encouraged, considerable numbers of Chinese, Japanese, Filipinos, and Koreans poured into the country, largely by way of Hawaii. When the gates were closed, they nevertheless continued to filter in.

The demand for labor to till California's vast fruit and vegetable gardens did not cease with the restrictions that excluded Japanese immigrants. The demand was temporarily supplied by seasonal laborers from Mexico. Every year, in response to the seasonal demand, the tide of immigration that crossed the border left behind in the course of its recession a permanent deposit of Mexican Indians and mestizos and formed in this way a kind of population delta extending northward from the Imperial Valley.

Later, when the combined effects of the drought and the depression had completed the ruin of the farmers on the marginal lands in the Southwest, there poured out of that dust bowl a flood of migratory laborers to recruit the army of fruit tramps who follow the harvest from the Imperial Valley to the Canadian border.

Meanwhile, to add to the cultural complexity of California's cosmopolitan population, there has been a steady drift, westward and northward to the coast cities, of Negroes from the Southwest, destined to fill in the niches in the expanding industrial organization of the West Coast cities.

All this migration has had a marked effect upon the social structure of California society. For one thing, it has dotted the Pacific Coast with Chinatowns and Little Tokyos, not to mention the large Mexican colony in Los Angeles and the transient fruit camps all up and down the valley. Here a large part of California's population, which comes from such diverse and distant places, lives in more or less closed communities, in intimate

economic dependence, but in more or less complete cultural independence of the world about them.

But the disposition of racial and cultural minorities to settle in colonies and to cherish, in the seclusion and security of their own communities, different traditions and peculiar folkways is true of other sections of California's population which are also, in some sense, alien, alien at least to those who count everyone a foreigner who was not born in the state. California is celebrated for its residential suburban cities—cities like Pasadena, where the rich and retired live in a seclusion so complete and so silent that in some of the residential hotels, it is said, one scarcely hears anything but the ticking of the clock or the hardening of one's arteries.

And then there is Hollywood, where, to be sure, the seclusion is perhaps maintained but the silence is absent. Hollywood is a sort of legendary place, visible but remote, where, from the distance that the public sees them, our film favorites live like the gods on Mount Olympus, carefree and unconcerned about anything except their family troubles.

I mention Pasadena because Professor Thorndike of Columbia, in his search for statistical indices of the good life in American cities, found that Pasadena ranks first among the first 10 which have more radios, telephones, bathtubs, and dentists, in proportion to their populations, than any of the 295 others.⁴ Professor Thorndike's statistics are based on thirty-seven such indices. I mention four which seem fairly representative of the values of what Professor Sorokin characterizes as our "sensate civilization." Professor Sorokin has meanwhile published, under the title *The Crisis of Our Age*, a critique of our modern urban civilization in which he says, in effect, that it is a civilization based on gadgets rather than on ideas and ideals.⁵ Obviously one evidence of the cultural crisis is the fact that such distin-

⁴ E. L. Thorndike, *Your City* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1939).

⁵ Pitirim Alex Sorokin, *The Crisis of Our Age: The Social and Cultural Outlook* (New York: E. P. Dutton & Co., Inc., 1941).

guished scholars could differ so widely with respect to the indices of the good life.

The fact that California, with its Hollywood, residential suburbs, Little Tokyos, and Chinatowns, has, like some of our metropolitan cities, become a congeries of culturally insulated communities, suggests that America has already measurably achieved the communistic ideal of a classless society—that is, a society without any hierarchical structure or, one might almost say, a society with no structure at all.

But this would by no means be a complete description of California, or of any of our great cities where changes have been going on at a comparable pace. California not only has its closed communities, but it has its proletariat. It has its "Okies" and its "Arkies," its mobile, foot-loose, and dispossessed—victims alike of wanderlust and the great depression, as these have affected the population in those great open spaces we used to call "God's country." With these one should include the large numbers of people from the Middle West who, before the depression and since, have gone to the Pacific Coast to enjoy the sunshine and the luxury of a suburban fruit farm where, with an automobile, one may have all the spacious freedom of the country and the intellectual emancipation of the city.

These varied elements of a population, already pretty thoroughly mixed, meeting and mingling again in the expansive atmosphere of this last frontier, have created a milieu and provided a soil in which a wild, weedy growth of political isms and religious cults has sprung up. But that is something that has always happened, it seems, on the frontier in America. It is, as Tolstoy has pointed out, one of the fruits of enlightenment.⁶

I have cited California because it is one of the conspicuous spots in which the diverse races and cultures of our cosmopolitan population have been thrown, so to speak, into the crucible: a crucible in which, perhaps, a new civilization is brewing and a new indigenous race is in the making.

⁶ Lev Nikolaevich Tolstoy, *The Fruits of Enlightenment* (Boston: W. H. Baker, 1901).

One cannot, of course, be certain what will ultimately come out of the crucible, except as we are able to compare it with what has taken place in similar situations, earlier and elsewhere. Gilbert Murray, in his volume, *The Rise of the Greek Epic*,⁷ has described in convincing detail the invasion and conquest by the northern barbarians of the Aegean world of 1100 B.C. This invasion was at once the source of the Homeric legends and of the ancient Greek civilization which arose on the ruins of the earlier Aegean. The time was some three thousand years ago, but the process, though it proceeded at a slower pace, was not unlike that we seem to be witnessing in the world today. "It is almost a rule of history," says Murray, "that before any definite invasion of a new territory there is a long period of peaceful penetration. In the beginning it is not an army that comes to invade. It is some adventurers or traders who come and settle; some mercenaries who are invited in."

I cannot repeat the whole story. It impresses one, on the whole, as something with which one is not unfamiliar. The historical context is different, but the consequences are the same. While there is room for both races there is little fighting. But a time comes when there is violence: violence which terminates in confusion and chaos, "a chaos in which an old civilization is shattered into fragments, its laws set at naught." It is a time when, to state it in one of the happiest descriptive phrases with which I am familiar, "that intricate web of normal expectation which forms the very essence of human society [has been] torn so often and so utterly by continued disappointment that there ceases to be any normal expectation at all."⁸

It is the "intricate web of normal expectation" which is torn and rent likewise when peoples migrate anywhere in large numbers or when the pace of economic change is too much quickened. Professor Herman Clarence Nixon of Vanderbilt University has recently published the annals of a little comen-

⁷ (2d ed.; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1911), p. 67.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 78.

munity in the hills of northern Alabama, called Possum Trot. Since it is the story of his home town, Professor Nixon's account is autobiographical and personal, but by no means less instructive for that reason. *Possum Trot* interested me for several reasons, but mainly because it gave me a detailed historical account of another and different aspect of the migration which has been responsible for prosperity and the present condition of California and some other parts of the country that have been similarly blessed.

If the racial and cultural situation of California, as it exists today, is the result of a current of population flowing into a growing center, then Possum Trot, as it exists today, is the result of a corresponding movement of dispersion. One of the first things that is likely to strike the sophisticated reader of Mr. Nixon's description of Possum Trot is its earlier isolation. Culture, like race, is, or was originally, a local phenomenon, the product of isolation. Civilization, on the other hand, as Spengler and others have observed, is a product of the city. In the modern world of city-dwellers the rural community is a place to be born but is not a place to live. The tragedy of life in the country, we are told, is its isolation. But Possum Trot in the last forty years has been gradually emerging from its isolation, and that seems to Professor Nixon the only really tragic thing about it. This is what he says:

Possum Trot is not more isolated than it used to be. It is less isolated than it used to be. It is closely connected with the world by economic ties. It is connected with urban "5 and 10 cent" stores. It is connected with cotton warehouses in Anniston. It is connected with the government's A.A.A. office in the county. It is connected with the courthouse in Anniston, and a few Possum Trotters can frequently be seen sitting on the low retaining wall around the courthouse lawn. Sitting there and talking. Sitting there passing the time away. Sitting there waiting for bus time.

Possum Trot is no longer either an economic or a social unit, though it once was both. Possum Trot, the population of Possum Trot, the economy of Possum Trot, is now just an integral part of a larger and unpredictable economic unit.

But Possum Trot is only slightly connected in any conscious social way with the rest of the world. It is an economic part of Anniston, but not a social part of Anniston. It is an economic part of Jacksonville, but not a social part of Jacksonville. It is an economic part of Piedmont, but not a social part of Piedmont. The economic world has absorbed Possum Trot. The social world has largely passed Possum Trot by. For Anniston, Piedmont, Jacksonville, Alabama, and the United States, the Possum Trot men, to a large extent, are just economic men. Here is then a social lag. Social change is not keeping up with economic change. Economic life goes on changing; but socially something is lost and not yet replaced. The community, no longer isolated, is an aggregation of individuals who are culturally more isolated than ever.

Possum Trot is no longer isolated. It has been incorporated into the national and into the world economy. It no longer has the control it once had, or seemed to have when people were more interested in politics than they are today, over its own destiny. Meanwhile, somehow, life in Possum Trot has lost its meaning and its zest. Something new has been added, no doubt. There are more things to buy in the stores, if one has the money. That means the standard of living is higher. But, as the author puts it, socially something has been lost. The social world, the old familiar world of personal and neighborly relations, has somehow disappeared. What remains of Possum Trot is, in the drastic language of the author, "an aggregation of economic men."

Not only in Possum Trot but in every other part of the world the economic necessities of an emerging and more inclusive social order have undermined the ancient local, tribal, and familial loyalties which once bound men together. At the same time, and as an incident of the growth of a world economy, the mechanization and rationalization of what was traditional and customary have banished the old superstitions and the old creeds by which men formerly regulated their lives. Everywhere individual men, in pursuing and achieving a new economic freedom and a new economic independence in the expanding markets of the world, have measur-

ably ceased to be persons and neighbors and have become, in Nixon's language, "economic men."

The question that emerges from this wide-ranging discussion is this: What can education do about it? What can education do about Possum Trot? What can it do about the world? This is obviously not a problem for technology. No gadgets or scientific formulas can re-create the understandings or revitalize the institutions that have disintegrated, largely under the influence of scientific analysis and of technological changes.

Institutions are not artifacts, not even legal artifacts. They cannot be created either by discussion or by legislation. On the contrary, they are the product of what Sumner describes as "concurrent action," operating over considerable periods of time. They are the product of growth and of education, assuming that education is, as Dewey described it, a process by which society renews and perpetuates itself. There is, as far as I can see, no other means by which a society or an institution can perpetuate itself, i.e., continue in some form or other to live—except as individuals acquire, as a result of their continued participation in the conscious life of the nation and of the race, the accumulated experience and traditions of the society and institutions of which they are a part.

In the new and more inclusive society which is emerging, we shall be living—particularly if it is to be a free and democratic society—in a new intimacy with all the peoples of the world, not only with our allies but with our enemies. In this situation, what will be? What is the task of the schools?

We shall need, as never before, to know human geography and, perhaps, geopolitics. We shall need to know—not all of us, but some of us—all the languages. We must have institutes, such as they have long had in Germany, France, and England, for the study of the languages and cultures of the peoples outside of Europe, in Asia and Africa. We must, in short, prepare ourselves as never before to live not merely in America but in the world.

The most important task of the schools, including high schools and colleges, has been and will continue to be, I believe, to make Americans literate—literate in a large way, of course, making them capable, for one thing, of reading newspapers intelligently. News, like other forms of knowledge, comes to us, for the most part, in little items. To read these items intelligently involves the conscious or unconscious sorting of them and integrating of them with some previous fund of knowledge, i.e., knowledge which has accumulated in our minds about some one or the other of our permanent interests.

Integration, in the sense that I use the term here, involves interpretation of the new in terms of the old. It is, in fact, only in this way that what we read becomes intelligible. To interpret the news we must supply, from our own resources, a background that will make the news and the current events it records significant. This business of sorting out and classifying the news is done for us in a rather imperfect way by the daily newspaper when it prints its items on the particular page where its readers are accustomed to look for them. News magazines, like *Time* and *Fortune*, do the same thing but do it better. They not only classify the news, but they supply, from their records of current events and other sources, a background for the understanding of news which the average reader cannot command.

One of the outstanding characteristics of the world today is the extraordinary amount of news that is published, not merely in the daily press, but in other periodicals and in what publishers designate as current books. Furthermore, writers of current books who, like Kaltenborn, are editing the news, have turned more and more to history to find materials that enable them to interpret current events. Thus a recent writer in the *Saturday Review of Literature* (Elmer Davis, I believe) announces that two books above all others—Hitler's *Mein Kampf* and Thucydides' *History of the Peloponnesian War*—should be required reading today. Current events are never wholly intelligible except as we see them in perspective and as incidents of long-term changes in social institutions. These

long-term, so-called "secular" trends represent what is really going on in the world rather than just what seems to have happened.

High schools and colleges, in preparing students to live in the world rather than in their special occupations, should prepare them to read literature. Our modern world seems to be falling apart and disintegrating, largely because men—rather than women—are so profoundly interested in their vocations that they have ceased to read literature. At any rate, they have ceased to read Shakespeare and the classics. They read instead the news, particularly the news in their special fields of interest.

William James, in an essay the full import of which seems to have escaped most professional students of human nature and society, calls attention to what he calls "a certain blindness in human beings" with which we are more or less afflicted and which makes us insensible to the feelings of creatures and people different from ourselves. This blindness is due to the fact that all values are originally individual and subjective. It is only as men and women learn to participate in common enterprises, like war or the rearing of a family, and only as these common enterprises become institutionalized, that values that were individual and subjective become objective and social.

One problem of our modern world, perhaps at the moment the greatest problem, has arisen from the necessity of curing ourselves, as far as that is humanly possible, of every form of blindness which makes it difficult for us to communicate, to achieve understandings, and to act effectively with others in the interest of a common cause. That is essentially the problem of morale—national and international. If anything—except a continued, intimate, and personal association—is measurably to cure the "blindness" of which James writes, it will be done, I believe, through the medium of literature—literature and the expressive arts.

Literature and art are, in the language of Tolstoy, "forms of human activity consisting in this, that one man consciously, by means of certain signs, hands over to others feelings

he has lived through, and that other people are infected and also experience them."⁹ What Tolstoy's statement amounts to, it seems to me, is this. The function—perhaps I might be more specific and say the social function—of art is to communicate not ideas but sentiments, incidentally, perhaps, creating and sustaining in this way a mood in which, for a space, one's sense of individual and personal differences is lessened and one's sense of mutual understanding and moral solidarity is enhanced. At any rate, something like this is with most of us, I am sure, a familiar experience.

Implicit in Tolstoy's statement and in his creed is the notion that art no more than science exists for itself alone. It has some more important function than that of providing an entertainment, merely, or a momentary escape from reality. "Nothing," says Santayana, "is so poor and melancholy as an art that is interested in itself and not in its subject." The same thing may be said of a science that is interested in its method rather than in its discoveries.

If, then, the function of education is, as has been said, to transmit, renew, and so perpetuate the cultural heritage, then the task of the schools in a period of cultural crisis does not differ; it is merely more difficult than it would otherwise be under normal conditions of life. That task of the schools is, in any case, to prepare students to read the news at a time when news is more disturbing and when there is more of it than usual; to prepare them to read and understand literature—the literature of great writers, whose wisdom constitutes perhaps the most important part of tradition—and to read in addition the literature of contemporary life in so far as it serves to reveal what gives significance to other, and particularly other alien, lives in regard to which, as James insists, our judgments are likely to be obscure, unjust, and stupid.¹⁰

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⁹ Lev Nikolaevich Tolstoy, *What Is Art?* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1930).

¹⁰ William James, *Talks to Teachers on Psychology and to Students on Some of Life's Ideals* (New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1914).

EDUCATION AND CULTURAL DYNAMICS

MELVILLE J. HERSKOVITS

ABSTRACT

The problem discussed in this paper concerns the role of the educative process in maintaining cultural stability and promoting cultural change. The mechanisms by means of which African custom was transmitted, in Africa, in workable form from one generation to the next are first sketched. The question is then raised as to what institutions in New World Negro social behavior are to be regarded as having preserved their African characteristics because of the educational experiences of their carriers, and what aspects of this behavior can be thought of as the result of accommodation to European patterns through the operation of the educational process.

I

The role of the educative process in maintaining cultural stability is today too well recognized to require renewed emphasis. The understanding that this experience far transcends the limits of any formal scheme of training the young has brought with it the conception that education is a conditioning process which begins with birth and does not end until the death of an individual. From this broad point of view, every experience is educational. Even if the concept is restricted to formal methods of introducing the young to their culture, the range of situations under which the ends of instruction are achieved is far more inclusive than any institutional framework could hope to cover.

This approach, however, emphasizes the stabilizing force of education, and thus tends to minimize the aspect of change. Yet it is a truism to students of culture that one of the most difficult paradoxes inherent in their materials is contained in the fact that while a body of traditions is conservative, maintaining its identity often over centuries, no living culture exists that is not in a constant state of change. In the study of cultural dynamics, therefore, it is essential, not only to determine the resistance to cultural change as against relative rate of change in societies existing under various conditions and for various aspects of given cultures, but also to analyze the mechanisms which have made for stability or have encouraged change in as many historic situations as possible.

It is here that students of education in primitive societies have made their most slender contribution. The tendency to stress the conservative aspect of education is understandable in the light of the relatively great stability of small, isolated, nonliterate "primitive" societies when these are compared with the enormous industrialized aggregates that carry the historic cultures. Statements which content themselves with pointing out that there are situations which cause a given individual to rebel against an incest taboo, let us say, or that cause a person of unstable psychological makeup to have visions which give religious patterns new turns, contribute but little to an understanding either of how new elements are taken up and retained, or of how they are worked into tribal educative schemes and thus made a part of a cultural heritage.

Negro peoples of Africa and the New World, in their institutionalized forms of behavior and in the sanctions that underlie this behavior, run the gamut from full-blown aboriginal customs to patterns which, especially in the United States, reflect a high degree of acculturation to the sanctions and institutions of the Europeans with whom, in the New World, they have been in contact. Such materials are particularly germane, since by implication, at least, the usual assumption made by students concerning the stabilizing role of education has here given way almost completely to a position holding that the opposite result was achieved. Especially is this true in the United States, where

those concerned with the understanding of Negro life seem to have ignored almost completely the possibility that the stabilizing element in education, as concerns aboriginal patterns, may have retained its strength in the new situations which confronted the Negroes in this country.

The common assumption that the attitudes, modes of behavior, accepted values in life, and other fundamental parts of the non-material cultural equipment of the Negro slaves were given over in contact with the whites tends to turn its back on the educative drive to retain earlier patterns.

But it is difficult to have one's educational cake and eat it. When it is recognized that children in Africa were taught so well that they, like all human beings, in acquiring automatic responses to given situations and in reacting in terms of these accepted modes of procedure, gave continuity to their cultures, can it be assumed that these same conditionings readily and completely gave way in a new social climate? Can emphasis be shifted thus easily from acceptance of custom to rejection, from accommodation to reaccommodation, from stability to change?

The problem can be solved only in terms of data drawn from the nature of present-day institutions of these folk, and of an examination of the ways in which they are inculcated in the young. It is proposed here, therefore, to outline something of the educational processes operative in one West African society, Dahomey, which all records indicate contributed heavily to the peopling of Negro America. Some consideration can be given to certain aspects of Negro behavior in the United States which seem to reflect something of the same traditions that are found in this West African society, and the means whereby these have been preserved and are handed down. It will be borne in mind, in reading this discussion, that limitations of space make brevity necessary; and that much relevant material from West Indian and South American societies which would fill in this sketch cannot be included. Nonetheless, enough data can be given to raise the question whether or not it is ac-

ceptable, either logically or methodologically, to assume that the stabilizing factor of education in African society disappeared as promptly and as completely under conditions of New World slavery as is indicated in current hypotheses regarding the failure of Negroes to carry over any part of their aboriginal heritage into the present-day American scene.

II

The culture of Dahomey, French West Africa, has been relatively untouched by the circumstances of French political control since the conquest of the kingdom in 1894. Except in certain obvious areas, life goes on much in the way it went on in the autonomous kingdom. Slavery is no longer practiced; the cowrie shell has been replaced by French currency; a railway runs from the principal port of the colony into the interior; one on occasion sees sewing machines. Yet, in many parts of the territory of the kingdom, descendants of those who were slaves still give half their time to working in fields owned by members of the families which owned their forebears; the cowrie shell has by no means disappeared from the markets; the railroad is an inactive factor in the lives of the vast majority of the people; sewing machines, in accordance with the aboriginal patterns governing this type of work, are operated by men and not women. Thus, once the student probes beneath surface details of this kind, their superficiality becomes apparent. In Dahomey, and, as we are realistically coming to understand, elsewhere in Africa, training in aboriginal modes of behavior is a mechanism which is permitting the people to hold fast to traditionally sanctioned custom; and this, more than any other single factor, is preventing the breakdown in morale that has been the experience of so many other peoples who have made contact with European civilization.

This culture of Dahomey is a complex entity, "primitive" only in a technical sense of not having a written language. As has been shown,¹ this culture comprises involved

¹ M. J. Herskovits, *Dahomey* (New York, 1938).

economic institutions and mechanisms and numerous social structures based on relationship and nonrelationship groupings. It was marked in the days of its autonomy by a well-organized political structure that ruled the considerable population with firmness and efficiency. The theological sanctions of its religious system make up a sophisticated concept of the universe, and the supporting structure of ritualism occupies the time of many specialists and impresses by the richness of its resources. Its graphic and plastic arts take on many forms. One pattern is particularly worthy of mention as significant in aiding this people to maintain so involved a civilization without the aid of writing—the explicit recognition of all institutions. The proper verbal label can be found for each detail of this culture, and the number of individuals who easily and freely use the correct terminology in the routine of life, to say nothing of those who can give it on request, is striking.

The desire for children is a convention that drives deep in Dahomean culture. This can be traced to economic as well as psychological sanctions, since, on the economic level, children constitute a kind of insurance. In the case of the man, sons will help him till his fields and aid him in many other ways, while a man's son-in-law will likewise owe him certain duties year by year. As for a woman with offspring, she can be assured of support in time of need and when old age sets in.

The tendency to draw distinctions, to categorize, and to name is nowhere better evidenced in this culture than in the conventions which govern the naming of children. The very fact that the existence of these differences is recognized implies differing attitudes toward such children; and their reactions to this offer suggestive leads in future research toward an understanding of the shaping of personality by social convention. A person assumes various names at given critical periods of his life, but his most important designations are those given at birth. The child born with a caul or with feet foremost; the child born to members of

various cult groups; or the one who survives after a series of still-born forerunners—all these are given particular kinds of names which inevitably set attitudes and aid in conditioning behavior. Extra fingers or toes place children under the protection of one of the powerful members of the Sky pantheon; and persons bearing the names indicative of this are believed to be predestined for riches, since polydactylism is held to be a sign of good luck. A four-fingered child belongs to the feared river spirits, whose priests and the diviners are consulted to determine whether it will bring riches or poverty to its parents and whether it is to be "returned" to the spirits that gave it. In this case it is exposed on the river bank, unless it "refuses to accept the verdict" by wailing, in which case it must be taken back and reared, though with what attitudes on the part of the parents can be imagined. Children having other anomalous traits, such as macrocephaly, likewise belong to this category. Twins are, in a sense, the darlings of this culture. The effect of the twin cult on twins, and even more importantly on the child born after twins, in influencing the development of children in this category must be considerable, for on such individuals are lavished all forms of special attention.

Existence in a polygamous household, or even in a monogamous establishment governed by patterns based on plural marriage, dominates the early life and training of the child. In accordance with these patterns, a wife has a dwelling of her own within her husband's compound, where she lives with her children. The common husband likewise has his own dwelling, and here each of his wives in turn cohabits with him out of this routine until her child has been born and weaned. The difference in early experience, particularly in terms of unconscious conditioning or of later attitudes in terms of relative closeness to father and mother, as contrasted to what obtains in those cultures where, for example, a man and woman and their children inhabit the same hut continuously, the child often sharing the same sleeping-place as its parents, is obvious.

Particularly in postinfantile and preadolescent years, such matters as the relative lack of opportunity of witnessing the sex act, which as we know can have such far-reaching effects in shaping the personality of the growing child, is here a factor of some significance.

The closeness of contact between mother and child in the earliest years, outstanding in the Dahomean system of child-training, is as striking as it is important, since for the first year of life the child is almost literally never away from its mother. She busies herself about the compound, with her child always in sight, lying on a cloth under the eaves of her house, shaded from the sun. If the child becomes restless, she will put it astride her back in a cloth which she ties in front, proceeding then to go about her tasks regardless of whether the child is awake or asleep, pounding meal in a mortar, or washing clothes, or cooking, while the head of the child rolls this way and that as the mother moves. If she is the favorite of a wealthy husband, she may be permitted to do lighter tasks inside the compound for a year after the birth of her child; but in the case of one in less favored circumstances, she resumes her economic obligations after a period of three or four months, working in the fields, or trudging along the roads obtaining goods to sell in the market, or making pots, with the child always astride her back, or near by.

During the first months of life little food other than its mother's milk is given the infant, though after four or five months other foods are introduced into its diet. As among many primitive folk there are no regular feeding times, the breast being presented whenever the child cries for it, or, in any event, every few hours. As soon as other foods are given the infant, however, the Dahomean tradition of discipline comes into play, and the child is fed forcibly until it learns to eat whatever food is presented to it. Dahomean mothers are busy women and have no time to pander to fastidious tastes of their children. Their methods are direct and effective. As the child lies or sits in its

mother's lap, she supports its chin on the palm of her left hand while she presses its nostrils together with the index and second fingers of the same hand, thus forcing the mouth open if the child is to breathe. When this occurs, food is placed in the mouth with the right hand. Methods of weaning are equally efficient; the mother sprays her breasts with some evil-tasting, sour substance, and in most cases the desired effect is obtained with all promptness.

It is not to be thought that the child's early existence is characterized by any lack of affection, however; for Dahomeans are extremely fond of their young, and both fathers and mothers have no hesitation in manifesting their regard. The variation in methods of training between gentleness and brutality may be indicated by considering the way in which children are taught to walk, as against the way in which sphincter control is inculcated. When a child is about a year old, it is put in charge of a young relative, who holds the baby by its hand and encourages its first efforts. When it has learned to take a few short steps, four small bells of a special type made for the purpose, strung on a cord, are tied about each foot. The child, hearing the pleasant tinkling sound made at each step, is encouraged to continue its efforts, and the delighted shrieks of small children testify to the efficacy of this device.

Training in the control of excretory functions varies from continuous teaching to a type of conditioning experience that might well, in sensitive children, result in traumatic shock. As a mother carries about her infant, she senses when it is restless; and when it must perform its functions, she places it on the ground. In ordinary cases the training process is completed in an easy fashion after about two years, but some children do not respond to this training and manifest enuresis at the age of four or five years, soiling the mats on which they sleep. In such a case the child is first beaten; then, if this does not achieve the desired result, a mixture of ashes and water is poured over the head of the offender, who is then driven

into the street, where all the children run after it, shouting over and over again the words of a song especially reserved for the purpose, "Urine everywhere." Or, in the coastal area, such a child is thrown into the lagoon. If, after a second immersion, the habit is not stopped, a live frog is attached to the child's waist, which frightens it into a cure.

Between infancy and puberty, two major educational strands can be traced in the experience of the developing child. One of these comprehends the overt training he receives, particularly in those occupational techniques that must be mastered if the individual is to take his proper place in society. In this category also is included training in proper behavior toward the living and the dead and some knowledge of religious and ceremonial custom. The other strand is constituted by continuing exposure to the psychological atmosphere of the household in which he lives and which determines the attitudes he will later take toward others, especially those belonging to his own relationship group, with whom he will in the course of normal events associate throughout his adult life.

The training gained through observation and experience of the manner of life of his elders is predominant under the first category. As in African societies generally, children are encouraged to do the things done by adults and are intrusted with tasks that would seem to the Euro-American observer far beyond their years. A child of two and a half is to be seen carrying its mother's stool to the market place, or balancing an empty calabash or dish on its head. A year or two later, he is able to handle a sharp bush-knife, or cutlass, with facility. On days when work in the forges is forbidden by supernatural precept, the boys of the ironworking sib take over, an infant of three or four operating the bellows for his preadolescent brother in the same manner as this brother performs the identical task for his father, while the preadolescent hammers out red-hot iron on the anvil to make a small blade for the miniature hoe he is constructing. A little girl,

when three or four years old, goes to market with her mother, performs her allotted tasks about the house, helps weed the fields, or carries clay for pots. Boys likewise participate, the son of a farmer helping his father work in the field, the offspring of a clothworker cutting out crude patterns and stitching these designs to remnants of materials left by his father, the child of a weaver learning the intricacies of threading a loom by operating a simple one. Patterns of economic co-operation are similarly inculcated at an early age. Le Herisse tells how, in the early days of the French occupation, small boys were individually employed to bring water to the Residency. Difficulties ensued, however, and were not resolved until the boys formed a group, appointed a responsible head, and received orders "through channels."

On this institutional level, also, the child may be said to absorb noneconomic aspects of life just as effortlessly. In the main, the ceremonials that affect him directly between the first two crisis periods of his life, birth and puberty, are few in number. The many rites that mark the birth of an infant, its introduction to society, and the return of its mother to full participation in the daily round probably occur too early to affect his behavior or personality structure. As he grows older, however, observing these rites when performed in his compound for younger siblings, he soon senses the realization of the need for supernatural sanctions in all situations, a pattern that is emphasized by his contact with the larger ceremonial round of his village. Children are ubiquitous at religious rites; nor does the Dahomean pattern of proper behavior before the gods require children, as in our culture, to be small replicas of their elders. Sanctimoniousness is entirely absent, and children play as they will during the long daylight hours when rites are performed, effortlessly absorbing the drum rhythms and melodic patterns of song, imitating dances as they wish, or, finally, as night wears on, returning to their parents to fall asleep in their places. This childhood freedom during

such rites operates to induce a feeling-tone in later life toward the gods that is not unrelated to the deep interest with which the Dahomean, like most West Africans contemplates the supernatural and the almost matter-of-fact attitude he takes in his relationship to deified ancestors and other gods.

On occasion, however, ceremonial life does take the child at first hand. Children who have been vowed to the gods by their parents may be called at an early age. In such cases, unless divination shows a willingness on the part of the deity to postpone the long and expensive initiatory rites, the child will be received in the cult-center by the priests for induction into the group of initiates together with its adolescent or adult members. On one occasion the participation of an infant barely able to walk was witnessed. The child was carried on the back of a priestess throughout the long twenty-eight-day ritual, and the case illuminates the effectiveness of the conditioning process. For, though no attempt was made to teach so young a child the proper dance steps before the end of the period when it had learned to toddle, this child on one occasion danced in perfect form and rhythm the basic steps of the Sky-gods to whom she was vowed.

There are a few ceremonies performed by the children during this period, such as when a first deciduous tooth works out of the gum. When this occurs, the child assembles its playmates, who dance about in a circle, clapping their hands and singing such rhymes as:

He who has lost a tooth,
Cannot eat salt:
Come, give me palm-oil
To eat with my cake.
I don't want the teeth of a pig,
They're big!
I want the teeth of a goat,
They're small!

Training is also effectuated by the evening gatherings of the children of a compound to tell stories. Here the child is intro-

duced to the sanctions underlying approved modes of behavior by means of the morals drawn from the tales. These are of the familiar Uncle Remus animal type where the principal character is the trickster, sometimes, but not always, getting the better of his more powerful but less able fellows. The child thus absorbs sanctioned reactions toward the situations of later life, learning the need for proper reserve in dealing with one's fellow-men and that too great frankness in discussing one's affairs or the naïve taking at face value of another's expressed motives often leads to disaster.

The manner in which these stories are told helps to inculcate in the child the competitive drive which, as a counterpart of the co-operative patterns of Dahomean life, are of such great moment here as everywhere in West Africa. This setting has not a little of the picturesque, and the warmth of human relations involved in the situation is of some significance. The children gather in the evening, usually at the home of one of the old people of the compound. They may perhaps first listen to stories told by their elders, but eventually one of them takes charge and, as leader, conducts the rest of the session. This develops into a contest in which each child must demonstrate his story-telling ability. Riddling is an integral part of the pattern, and the losers are assigned by the leader a certain number of tales to be told the group. Each child strives to fulfil his task, so as not to expose himself to ridicule. The educational rôle of these stories is recognized by the Dahomeans, one of whom, sophisticated in French culture, directly compared them to the books from which European children learn their lessons.

The second strand in the experiences of these years is more important in shaping personality structure than in teaching the child to carry on the institutionalized cultural patterns. As in the case of infants, the fact of living within a polygamous compound is paramount in this context. As far as is known, no detailed study of this situation has ever been made, which is regrettable. For, despite the methodological difficul-

ties inherent in such an analysis, the restraints imposed by these situations and the blockages to the attainment of goals are to the highest degree suggestive for an understanding of numerous problems in the culture-personality equation as this manifests itself in polygamous cultures. Factors of sexual rivalry, of jockeying for position, of attaining preference for a child, make for intrigue that goes on against a background of shifting alliances between co-wives which reveals the inner drama of such groupings. The atmosphere of such a compound cannot but affect the growing child, not only in his immediate relations with his mother, his father, his mother's co-wives and their children, but in the way in which it shapes attitudes and typical reactions in later life.

In large Dahomean compounds rivalries between wives are intense. There are in this culture thirteen different categories of marriage, which can be grouped under two large headings—those in which the control of the children is in the hands of the father, and those in which the mother retains control over her offspring. In institutional terms this means that for the first group a man has made certain ceremonial payments and accepted certain continuing obligations toward his fathers-in-law, who have approved the marriages. In the second category these obligations are not undertaken. Wives married in the same category have a fellow-feeling, and help one another when quarrels arise between co-wives. To what extent these quarrels result from the constant jockeying for position vis-à-vis the common spouse, or from the inadequacy of sexual satisfactions, or are the result of the clash of irreconcilable personalities in constant close contact, cannot be said. That all three probably enter would seem to be justified from a priori consideration of the setting. Certainly gossip and argument run rife; and the depth to which feeling goes is indicated by the songs sung by a co-wife against another with whom she has quarreled, as she works at her mortar in the courtyard of their common habitation:

Woman, thy soul is misshapen
 In haste was it made, in haste;
 So fleshless a face speaks, telling
 Thy soul was formed without care.
 The ancestral clay for thy making
 Was molded in haste, in haste.
 A thing of no beauty art thou
 Thy face unsuited for a face,
 Thy feet unsuited for feet.

In Dahomean society, where ambition runs high, the chief objective of a plural wife is that one of her children succeed his father. This means that it is important that her sons make a good appearance. Though children are whipped when guilty of misdeeds, such misdeeds are, wherever possible, kept from the ears of the child's father, and the punishment, at least for minor infractions, is carried out at the home of the mother's sister or at her parents' home.

The fundamental factor in the child's situation, however, is that while he shares his father with the children of other women, who in a very real sense constitute obstacles in his life-career, he shares his mother with his "very own" brothers and sisters. This attitude is reflected when the inheritance of an estate is involved. For it is a truism in Dahomey that, though a man's heirs quarrel without end over the distribution of his wealth, for "real" brothers and sisters to dispute concerning a mother's estate is unheard of. Personal relationships follow similar lines. Though a man may be proud of his father's exploits and feel affection for him, the warmest regard of a child is reserved for his mother, who is, to all intents and purposes, the effective parent.

Space does not allow the discussion of other educational devices which come into play in late preadolescence and during puberty. It is not without significance, however, that the stages in a boy's and girl's life are carefully noted and named, so that even a young individual's place in society is objectified. Important but too involved to permit them to be recounted here are the techniques of sex education. Particularly as regards the girls, one here finds the closest approximation to formal schooling that exists

in Dahomey; though the fact that in early puberty groups of boys build and live in houses of their own, electing their own leaders and carrying on much in the fashion of adults, is also regarded by Dahomeans as educational. Especially important are the recognized mechanisms for sexual experimentation, while perhaps not less significant is the withdrawal of nubile girls from contact with boys who might cause them to become pregnant. This creates a situation which leads either to further training of young men in sex through illicit relations with older women, or to indulgence in homosexual experience, which is sanctioned for this period. The attainment of adult status, marked for the girl by the cutting of designs in her skin which later develop into cicatrized aids to beauty, is also to be noted. In the case of boys the experience of circumcision, marked at its termination by ceremonial intercourse with an old woman to "cool the heat of the knife," is likewise important in helping make a Dahomean the kind of person he is to be as an adult.

It is thus apparent that there are numerous mechanisms which operate to shape the personality structure of the individual, at the same time fitting him into his place in the community by training him to carry on its institutions in the manner approved by his society. The degree of variation in individual reactions to the learning process is not easy to determine. On the whole, however, the product can be characterized as one which accepts the stratified forms of social structure that mark the culture, manifesting at the same time ambition to attain prestige in recognized ways, and having a drive to take advantage of such avenues of social mobility as may present themselves. At the same time, the individual is trained to co-operate with his fellows and, as a result of the overt characterization of the ways of life, to have an objectively manifested affection for and pride in his people and the institutions by which they live. He shows reserve in his dealings with others, but in certain situations, particularly when dealing with those who stand in the relation of insti-

tutionalized friendship to him or with members of his own cult group or association, he manifests a warmth of regard and a willingness to aid in difficulties that compensate for these other characteristics. Certainly, whatever the stability of such a psychological type, the effectiveness of the training given in carrying on the institutional aspects of Dahomean life from generation to generation have been demonstrated by perpetuating this culture for many generations and by performing well the task of adequately adjusting those who live in accordance with its sanctions.

III

We may now turn to a brief consideration of the problem of determining the role, in the New World, of the educational process in making for the retention or disappearance of habit-patterns and of institutionalized forms of behavior, such as have been described in the preceding section. That students of the Negro tend, with few exceptions, to posit the disappearance of African modes of behavior among Negroes of this country is not so significant as it might seem on first glance, since this conclusion has been reached on the basis of little or no acquaintance with the African background. The historical processes held to have brought about this presumed great loss of aboriginal endowment are rarely investigated realistically, a fact the more remarkable when it is considered that so radical a change in the cultural habits of so many people, achieved in such a short time, would, if true, be unique in the experience of man.

This is not the place to adduce evidence as to the validity of the common assumptions, for an analysis of such matters can be presented only in extended form.² What is important for the major point under discussion is acceptance of a hypothesis involving an almost complete breakdown of pre-American forms and techniques of education as a method of transmitting aboriginal beliefs and modes of behavior. Yet such a position

² Cf. M. J. Herskovits, *The Myth of the Negro Past* (New York, 1941).

would seem to involve a reconstruction of the setting of slave life that is unjustified historically or logically. Can it be held, for example, that the slave mother took no part in teaching her infant to walk? That perhaps somewhat later she imparted no instruction in behavior habits, in attitudes toward elders, in etiquette? Can it be seriously maintained that no instruction in terms of any moral code was given? That the young were not taught ways and means of meeting the hardships of their life? Must it not be recognized that, however sparse the slave culture may have been, it had to be taught, and the teaching had in the main to be done by parents? And, granting the obvious affirmative answers to these questions, can it be maintained that in all this the values and traditions of African life must have been completely ignored by those concerned with training their young?

We may envisage the situation of an African-born slave, mating and having offspring. It is impossible to assume that an educational experience of the type that has been indicated in the preceding section, so strong that it has made possible the continuation of a complex civilization over many generations, should have been completely lost in all its aspects on those brought to this country. A certain dilution in African behavior resulting from his new setting would be expected, yet it is difficult to see how it would have been possible for a slave to bring up his children without inculcating in them something of the values of life and the modes of behavior that he had in Africa been taught to regard as right and proper. Some of this teaching, in all likelihood, would, indeed, be without any direction and would involve no more than unconscious imitation by the children of habits that themselves lodge below the level of consciousness in the adult—motor behavior of various kinds, such as postures, modes of walking, the use of the hands while talking, characteristic facial expressions, and the like.

The imitation of speech habits would lie on almost the same level. Controversies

concerning the derivation of American Negro speech appear almost pointless in the light of an understanding of the manner in which languages are learned. Certainly, in the light of our knowledge of educational psychology, it would be difficult to maintain that African speech habits were so completely given over by adults through more or less casual acquaintance with white people that nothing of the earlier modes of expression remained to be taught to their children. The matter bristles with further difficulties if the assumption is followed through to its customary conclusion. For in this case it would appear that not only did Africans lose their own forms of expression on contact with the whites, but in that same contact they only received and never gave.

A further point must be made. In most analyses of the carry-over of Africanisms in the United States, the Negro is regarded as a passive element in the situation. In a sense this is merely a restatement of the assertion that the educational processes—education in the larger sense—that went on in slave cabins are completely overlooked. No competent student of culture could take the position that the Negroes were not affected, and deeply affected, by the new setting in which they found themselves. But few students of the Negro have recognized that, in the New World, Negro culture or white culture is not to be regarded as a unit and that, if we look at the Negroes not as a passive but as an active element in the developing situation, our perspective will be false if we do not recognize the different interests which these people have traditionally held in various aspects of their own culture, interests which carried over as they gained competence in handling the culture of their masters. In African societies, as in all cultures, certain aspects of life are of greater concern to a given people than others. This means, further, that in every culture interests tend to center on certain activities. These take the form of conscious drives which, directed toward a certain segment of the entire body of tradition, determine that area of the culture wherein the greatest

elaboration is achieved in a given period of a people's history. For Negro studies, the significance of this principle lies in the fact that, under the stresses of contact with a foreign body of tradition, these interests tended to be maintained with the greatest possible tenacity and were emphasized in the teaching of the young.

If, then, we assess the acculturative situation of the Negro in the United States in the light of his differing interest in the several phases of his traditions and in terms of varied opportunities for the retention of Africanisms in the several aspects of culture, we find a certain coincidence between the two which significantly indicates a means whereby the carry-over of earlier traits not only could have been achieved but must in many cases have been consciously striven after. When we consider the operation of the slave system, it is apparent that African technology, economic life, and political organization had but relatively slight chance of survival. Utensils, clothing, and food were supplied by the masters, and it is but natural that these should have been of the type most convenient to procure, least expensive to provide, and, other things being equal, most like those to which the slaveowners were accustomed. The extension of African political institutions was also prevented by the total setting of slavery, so that only in the most secret fashion could African legal tradition find expression or African political talent be made effective.

On the other hand, in the fields of religion and magic and certain nonmaterial aspects of aesthetic life, retention by the slaves of African customs was not only possible but, in some cases, held to be desirable by the masters. One cannot read the literature of the slave period without being impressed by the number and strength of the complaints made by leaders of church groups at the lack of religious instruction given the slaves. It is difficult to suppose that the outstanding interest of the African in the supernatural, mentioned in the preceding section, could have been completely set aside by the slaves themselves. It would seem to be more logi-

cal, as well as to be better history, to argue that the slaves carried on as best they might, in secret if necessary, thus continuing earlier patterns in sufficient vitality so that when eventually they were exposed to Christianity they developed the aberrant types of religious behavior that to this day differentiate the ritual of Negro churches from that of their white counterparts. Again, the attitudes of the masters toward song and dance and folk tales varied throughout the New World from hostility and suspicion through indifference to actual encouragement. It was recognized by all slaveowners that recreation was necessary and desirable if morale was to be maintained among the slaves. African types of dancing and singing were permitted as long as they did not interfere with work or were performed on holidays; at such times, according to numerous accounts, they were enjoyed by the masters who watched them.

The field of social organization stands intermediate between technology and religion with respect to retention of Africanisms in the face of slavery. The plantation system rendered the survival of the African compound impossible, though it by no means completely suppressed various approximations of certain forms of African family life. The marriage tie was naturally rendered unstable, yet even in the United States it is far from certain that the existence of many permanent matings among the slaves has not been lost sight of in the dramatic appeal of the large numbers of enforced separations. Certain obligations of parents to children, and of children to parents, were carried over with all the drives of their emotional content intact, particularly as concerns the relationship between a child and its mother. The vivid sense of the power of the dead, and the related feeling that the ancestors are always near by to be called on by their living descendants, tended to give a kind of strength to family ties among Negroes that persists even today. And it was but natural that these attitudes and beliefs concerning kinship should have been taught to oncoming generations without undue interference by

the masters, as long as they led to no action that would impede the smooth functioning of the plantation.

Traditions underlying nonrelationship groupings of various kinds likewise survived the slave regime, especially the spirit behind the numerous types of African co-operative societies which was kept alive by the very form of group labor employed on the plantations. The feeling of the importance of helpfulness inherent in this tradition must, as a matter of fact, have contributed directly toward the adjustment of the African to his new situation, for without some formula of mutual self-help he could scarcely have supported the vicissitudes of slave existence. That this formula did survive is to be seen, moreover, in the manner in which African types of co-operative agricultural organizations sprang up in the Sea Islands immediately following emancipation, and how insurance societies, a phenomenon common to West Africa, likewise came into being. To be mentioned here also is the great number of Negro lodges in the United States today. For, though these follow in their outward form conventional white patterns, they are by no means the same as their white counterparts in inner sanction or as concerns their objectives. To explain facts of this kind, however, it is necessary once again to turn to the role of instruction, which gave to generation after generation a sense of the importance of leadership that characterizes all African social institutions. Analysis on this basis must conclude that here, rather than by the lash of the overseer, was inculcated the principle of order and regularity induced by a discipline exerted through responsible headship.

To analyze the educational devices that tended to retain African elements does not mean that the problem may be neglected of how the European patterns of behavior manifested by Negroes today, and their non-African sanctions, were established. We must also consider those positive measures which, in adults, made for acceptance of the masters' way of life and were thus taught to the children, while it is likewise

essential to bear in mind the negative forces that, without conscious direction, tended to discourage the retention of aboriginal customs. The difference between these two may be illustrated by an example. As has been pointed out, the economic workings of the plantation system inhibited African material culture and technological capacities. Ironworking, wood-carving, basketry, and the like simply had no place in the new scene, and hence such techniques almost everywhere died out of sheer inanition. On the other end, proselytizing among the slaves by Christian missionaries constituted a positive drive. There is, for example, no logical reason why the African world view might not otherwise have been continued to the same degree that African motor habits in dancing were retained. Changes would undoubtedly have appeared of themselves, as they have in the dance, since some measure of innovation must result from contact stimulus. Yet, in the case of the African world view, efforts directed toward affecting change caused a premium to be placed by the whites on the overt acceptance of Christian beliefs and practices and thus accelerated the disappearance of African religion in recognizable form.

Recognizing that more intimate contact between Negroes and whites in the United States has brought about greater accommodation on the part of the Negroes here to white institutions than elsewhere in the New World, the question as to the Africanisms that have been retained may be raised. In the main these take the form of less tangible manifestations: those that are of the kind that, as has been pointed out, would be transmitted to a considerable extent on the unconscious level, in the intimacy of the household. Aside from certain curios in the cultural cupboard, few recognizable overt African institutions are to be found except for some instances in such isolated regions as the Gullah Islands or the Mississippi Delta. Beliefs like those concerning the supernatural powers of children born with a caul or with some other unusual characteristic, or certain forms of hair-braiding of chil-

dren and old women, or certain dance steps, or the fact that the coiled basketry in the Sea Islands is always done in clockwise direction are of this nature. Elements in Negro funeral rites similarly persist. These range from reinterpretation of the West African custom of having partial and definitive burials in terms of the delayed funeral of this country to the part played by secret societies (lodges) in preparing the corpse, or the custom of passing a child over the body of a deceased parent.

It is not materials of this order, however, that are the most significant for an understanding of the effective role of education in permitting the carry-over of cultural values, even under conditions of most severe stress. It is more revealing to attempt to account in these terms for certain aspects of Negro social organization peculiar to this group. Thus it has been often remarked that family types found among Negroes are aberrant when contrasted to the present forms of the family among majority groups in this country. The importance of the mother as against the father, the role of the grandmother, the meticulous care with which relationships are traced, and above all, the fact that illegitimacy in the legal sense has little meaning as a sociological force in communities are some of these traits. It is rarely recognized, if at all, that a tradition stemming from the relationships within the African polygamous household might account for some of this. As has been seen, in Africa the child is closer to its mother than to its father; and this tradition can be thought of as having been reinterpreted and re-worked in the light of the American scene in terms of families where the relationship between mother and children has continued to be stronger than that between father and children. As concerns family structure accommodated to a pattern of monogamy, this results in a grouping wherein the man, in many instances, tends to play a secondary role. But the attitudes on which such a structure is based are attitudes that are the result of the continuation, through teaching within the family, of a point of view that is

far more easily thought of as originating in Africa than on the slave plantation. This latter situation, viewed in these terms, can again be regarded merely as something which reinforced earlier custom.

The very manner in which the Negro children in rural communities are trained shows again the carry-over of an earlier custom. Whipping is far more prevalent among Negroes than among whites, as is evidenced by the comments of many observers. But, as has been seen, whipping is an outstanding African mode of correction of children; this has been retained and, in all probability, reinforced by the corrective patterns of slavery. Other educational devices that derive from Africa may likewise be mentioned. Teaching of techniques of various kinds on the informal level is widespread, and the greater self-reliance of young Negro children in rural communities as against those of white families is well recognized. The manner in which a child has impressed on him, through constant contact, the types of accepted behavior at religious rituals, and the absence of sanctimoniousness at these rituals in Negro churches, where children are free to go about as they will, are similar carry-overs of African educational methods.

Even more important than such traits are the attitudes of suspended judgement, of reserve in contact with others, of keeping one's own counsel, that so characterize the Negroes of this country, not only in their relations with whites, but with members of their own group as well. It may be asserted that this is merely a survival of the protective coloration developed by any oppressed minority, and there is no desire in this discussion to minimize the extent to which reactions of this kind are essential if an underprivileged group is to survive. It is striking, however, that in Africa itself, where the people are free and where the relationships between individuals are those of any normal community, the same tendency toward reserve rather than frankness, toward keeping counsel rather than revealing one's affairs, characterizes the point of view of all classes. The continuation of an approach toward life

of this kind, so widespread among such a large group of people, is not a matter of chance; it has obviously been passed on, by precept and example, from older to younger members of the group as generation has succeeded generation in this country.

Another survival, only to be accounted for by teaching in the Negro slave cabin and in the Negro home after emancipation, is the great importance of proper modes of behavior. Here, again, the simplistic explanation, that this is merely a reflection of the discipline of the plantation, or copying manners observed in the Great House, is popular. Yet the etiquette of the whites who lived in the Great House, though this may have been copied, was not observed by most Negroes, who were field hands; more often the whites who could be closely observed by the slaves were the small planters, the crudity of whose modes of behavior has been remarked by traveler after traveler in the antebellum South. It is not easy, either, to see how the codes of behavior exacted of the slaves in the fields by their overseers were such as to inculcate the soft graciousness that so outstandingly characterizes the Negro's behavior. "Mind your manners" is a phrase so well known that it has become a part of the stereotype of the Negro "mammy"; and materials are not lacking which show that within the slave community the need to be well-mannered was impressed on

children in such a way as to insure proper behavior on their part. Slave autobiographies again and again testify to the respectful behavior exacted of the young slave toward his elders, and the punishment he received if he did not fulfil this expectation. But the importance of proper recognition of status, respect for elders, and the like is very great in West Africa itself; and it is here that one must look when considering points of origin.

The exploration of techniques of teaching and effective results of instruction in terms of the perpetuation of Africanisms of this less apparent type might go on indefinitely, if considerations of space permitted. The point to be made here, however, is the need for students concerned with assessing the role of education in shaping human institutions and human personalities to recognize that undue stress must not be laid on the function of education either as a stabilizing element in culture or as one making for change. Each situation must be analyzed in terms of its historical past, and of the sanctions underlying the institutions involved. The essential problem is to discover what are the situations under which one aspect or the other will predominate and to recognize that predominance of change does not rule out retention, or that predominance of retention does not imply complete stability.

NORTHWESTERN UNIVERSITY

THE CHANNELING OF NEGRO AGGRESSION BY THE CULTURAL PROCESS

HORTENSE POWDERMAKER

ABSTRACT

The Negro's resentment caused by the deprivations imposed on him by our society may be channeled in different ways, the particular form depending largely on cultural factors. The hypothesis is that over-aggression represents only a small part of the Negro's hostility. Behind the loyalty of the faithful slave and behind the meekness of the deferential, humble, freed Negro may lie concealed aggression and hostility. This hypothesis is arrived at through a functional comparison of the psychoanalytical analysis of the dependency situation of the child with that of the slave, and the psychoanalytical analysis of the problem of masochism with that of the meek, free Negro. There is no structural similarity in either comparison, but the functional comparison offers a clue to understanding the strength of the concealed hostility behind these two roles and the compensations they offer. The second role, which has persisted through today is diminishing in frequency because the cultural and psychological compensations are gradually disappearing.

We shall attempt in this article to look at one small segment of our cultural process—namely, a changing pattern of aggressive behavior—caused by the interracial situation. We limit ourselves to considering, at this time, only the Negro side of this complex of interpersonal relations; and we shall do no more than offer a few rather broad hypotheses on the relation between the forms aggression has taken during different historical periods and changes in the cultural processes at these times. For our hypotheses we are indebted to history, anthropology, sociology, and psychoanalysis; to the first three for understanding how social patterns come into being at a given point in time and how they are related to each other; and to the fourth, psychoanalysis, for a clue to the mechanisms by which individuals adopt particular social patterns. We shall concentrate on an analysis of two forms of adaptation where the aggression seems to have been concealed and, therefore, less understood. The two forms are that of the faithful slave and that of the meek, humble, unaggressive Negro who followed him after the Civil War. Since there is much more data on the latter role, this is the one we shall discuss in detail.

Education includes learning to play certain roles, roles which are advantageous to the individual in adapting himself to his particular culture. As the culture changes, so

does the role. Adaptation to society begins at birth and ends at death. Culture is not a neatly tied package given to the child in school. It is an ever changing process, gropingly and gradually discovered.¹ The family, church, movies, newspapers, radio programs, books, trade-unions, chambers of commerce, and all other organized and unorganized interpersonal relations are part of education. All these are part of the cultural process, which determines how behavior and attitudes are channeled.

The cultural milieu of the Negro in the United States has run the gamut from slavery to that of a free but underprivileged group, who are slowly but continuously raising their status. From the time slaves were first brought to this country until today there have been barriers and restrictions which have prevented the Negro from satisfying social needs and attaining those values prized most highly by our society. How the resentment against these deprivations is channeled depends largely on cultural factors. Each historical period has produced certain types of adaptation.

Much has been written as to whether slaves emotionally accepted their status or whether they rebelled against it, with

¹ For further elaboration of this point see Edward Sapir, "The Emergence of the Concept of Personality in a Study of Cultures," *Journal of Social Psychology*, V, 408-15.

the consequent aggressive impulses turned against their masters. There is no categorical answer. Aggression can be channeled in many ways, and some of these are not discernible except to the trained psychiatrist. But others are quite obvious. The fact that thousands of slaves ran away clearly indicates dissatisfaction with their status.² Crimes committed by the slaves are another evidence of lack of acceptance of status and of aggressive feelings toward the whites.

Many people have assumed that there was little or no crime by Negroes during the slave regime. The impression will be quickly dispelled if one consults the elaborate studies contained in *Judicial Cases concerning American Slavery and the Negro*. . . . In these lists can be found cases of murder, rape, attempted rape, arson, theft, burglary, and practically every conceivable crime.³

The fact that these crimes were committed in the face of the most severe deterrents—cutting-off of ears, whipping, castration, death by mutilation—bears witness to the strength of the underlying aggression. Equally cruel was the punishment of those slaves who broke the laws against carrying firearms, assembling, and conspiring to rebel. The Gabriel conspiracy in Richmond, the Vesey conspiracy in Charleston, the Nat Turner rebellion, and others resulted in the massacre of whites and in the burning, shooting, and hanging of the Negroes. These attempts were undertaken despite the fact that the superior power of the whites made it virtually impossible for a slave revolt to be successful.

But the overt aggression was very probably only a small part of the total hostility. The punishments imposed by the culture for failure were too severe and the chances for success too slight to encourage the majority

of slaves to rebel to any considerable extent. There were large numbers of loyal and faithful slaves, loyal to the system and to the masters. It is this loyalty that we try to understand.

Psychologically, slavery is a dependency situation. The slave was completely dependent upon the white master for food, clothing, shelter, protection—in other words, for security. If he could gain the good will or affection of the master, his security was increased. In return for this security the Negro gave obedience, loyalty, and sometimes love or affection. With certain limitations the situation of slave and master corresponds to that of child and parent. The young child is completely dependent on his parents for food, shelter, love, and everything affecting his well-being and security. The child learns to be obedient because he is taught that disobedience brings punishment and the withdrawal of something he needs for security. Basic infantile and childhood disciplines relating to sex are imposed on this level. In our culture, parents forbid and punish deviations by a child, who in turn renounces his gratification to gain the parent's approval. "The parent is needed and feared, and must therefore be obeyed; but the hatred to the frustrating parent, though suppressed, must be present somewhere."⁴

We mentioned above that there are certain limitations to our analogy. Obviously, the bondage is greater for the slave than for the child. Equally obviously, while there was love in some master-slave relationships, it was certainly not so prevalent as between parents and children. Again, the child always has a weak and undeveloped ego while the adult slave may have a strong, developed one. But most important is the difference in the reasons for the dependency attitude. The limited strength and resources of the child and his resulting helplessness and anxiety are due to biological causes. But the slave's dependency is imposed on him by culture and has nothing to do with biological factors. The structure of the two de-

² From 1830 to 1860 about fifty thousand escaped, chiefly through Ohio and Philadelphia. In an earlier period many escaped to near-by Indian tribes, others to Canada and the free states (see E. B. Reuter, *The American Race Problem* [New York, 1938], pp. 117-18).

³ Quoted in W. D. Weatherford and C. S. Johnson, *Race Relations* (New York, 1934), p. 265.

⁴ A. Kardiner and R. Linton, *The Individual and Society* (New York, 1939), p. 24.

pendency situations is, therefore, very different. Nevertheless, functionally they have something in common. To attain the only security available to them, both the slave and the child repress, consciously or unconsciously, their hatred for the object which restricts their desires and freedom. At this late date it is impossible to determine to what degree aggression occurred in slaves' fantasies or in minor overt acts.⁵ It probably varied from one slave to another, as it does for children. Neither all children nor all slaves repress their aggression all the time. Running away is a pattern for both groups. Disobedience is followed by punishment for both. Another alternative for both is open rebellion. Finally, children and slaves may accept their dependency and repress their aggression when compensations are adequate. They may even identify with the frustrating object. The picture of the faithful slave who helped the white mistress run the plantation while the master was away fighting, fighting the men who would liberate the slave, is only superficially paradoxical.

Data from psychoanalysis indicate that those children who do not permit their aggressive impulses to break through even in fantasy, not to mention overt behavior, have great difficulty as adults in entering into any personal relationship which does not duplicate the dependency pattern of parent and child. A legal edict of freedom did not immediately change the security system for the slave, conditioned over years to depend on the white man for all security. Time was needed for the compensations of freedom to become part of the ex-slave's security system. The process of growing up, or becoming less dependent, is a long and difficult one.

With emancipation the slave, from being a piece of property with no rights at all, attained the status of a human being—but an

underprivileged one. Psychological dependency did not vanish with the proclamation of freedom. In the period following the Civil War the slave's illiteracy, his complete lack of capital and property, the habituation to the past, and the continuous forces wielded by the whites in power created new conditions for the continuance of the old dependency. The recently freed Negro was dependent on the whites for jobs, for favors, for grants of money to set up schools, and for much of his security. In the South, following the Reconstruction Period, it was by obtaining favors from whites rather than by insisting on his rights that the Negro was able to make any progress or attain any security. The set of mores which insured the colored man's status being lower than that of the whites was and is still firmly entrenched. The denial of the courtesy titles (Mr., Mrs., Miss); the Jim Crowism in schools, buses, and trains, in places of residence; the denial of legal rights; the threat of lynching—these are among the more obvious ways of "keeping the Negro in his place." He is deprived of what are considered legal, social, and human rights, without any of the compensations for his deprivation which he had under slavery.

The same questions we asked about the slave occur again. Did the Negro really accept his position? Or was aggression aroused, and, if so, how did the culture channel it? This is an easier situation to study than the slavery of the past; for varied ways of reacting or adapting to this situation became stereotyped and still persist today. They are therefore susceptible of direct study.

First, there is direct aggression against its true object. Since the whites had, and still have, superior power and since Negroes are highly realistic, they rarely use this method on any large scale except in times of crisis, and then as a climax to a long series of more indirect aggressive behavior patterns. The knocking-down of a white overseer, the direct attack on other whites, has occurred, but only occasionally. One of the reasons advanced by many southern white planters for their preference for colored

⁵ I know of no accurate way of getting data on this point. The memories of old ex-slaves would be colored by what has happened to them since slavery was abolished. Aggressive impulses which may have been completely repressed during slavery could be released and brought into consciousness after slavery ceased.

share-croppers to white ones is that the former do not fight back like the latter.

A second method consists in substituting a colored object for the white object of aggression. This was, and still is, done very frequently. The high degree of intra-Negro quarreling, crime, and homicide, revealed by statistics and observation, can be directly correlated with the Negro's frustration in being unable to vent his hostility on the whites. The mechanism of the substitution of one object of aggression for another is well known to the scientist and to the layman.⁶ The substitution of Negro for white is encouraged by the culture pattern of white official and unofficial leniency toward intra-Negro crime. Courts, more particularly southern ones, are mild in their view of intra-Negro offenses, and the prevailing white attitude is one of indulgence toward those intra-Negro crimes which do not infringe on white privileges.⁷

A third possibility is for the Negro to retreat to an "ivory tower" and attempt to remain unaffected by the interracial situation. But this type of adjustment is very difficult and consequently a rare one.

Another form of adaptation consists in the Negro's identification with his white employer, particularly if the latter has great prestige. Some of the slaves also identified themselves with the great families whom they served. This pattern may likewise be observed in white servants. Still another adaptation is the diversion of aggression into wit, which has been and still is a much-used mechanism. We have not sufficient data on these two mechanisms to discuss them in detail.

But we do want to analyze in some detail a very frequent type of adjustment which occurred after the Civil War and which has persisted. We mean the behavior of the meek, humble, and unaggressive Negro, who

is always deferential to whites no matter what the provocation may be. The psychological mechanism for this form of adaptation is less obvious than some of the other types, and a more detailed analysis is therefore needed. We have called this Negro "unaggressive," and that is the way his overt behavior could be correctly described. All our data, however, indicate that he does have aggressive impulses against whites, springing from the interracial situation. He would be abnormal if he did not have them. Over and over again field studies reveal that this type of Negro is conscious of these resentments. But he conceals his true attitude from the whites who have power. How has he been able to conceal his aggression so successfully? His success here is patent. What is the psychological mechanism which enables the Negro to play this meek, deferential role?

A clue appears in certain similarities of this kind of behavior to that of the masochist, particularly through the detailed analysis of masochism by Dr. Theodor Reik in his recent book on that subject.⁸ The seeming paradox of the masochist enjoying his suffering has been well known to psychoanalysts. He derives pleasure, because, first, it satisfies unconscious guilt feeling. Second (and here is where Dr. Reik has gone beyond the other psychoanalysts in his interpretation), the masochist derives another kind of pleasure, because his suffering is a prelude to his reward and eventual triumph over his adversary. In other words, he gets power through his suffering. We must not be misunderstood at this point. The meek Negro is neither neurotic nor masochistic any more than the slave was biologically a child. But the unaggressive behavior has some elements in common with (and some different from) the behavior of the masochist; and a comparison of the two gives a clue to an understanding of the strength behind the meek, humble role played by so many Negroes.

First, there are essential differences be-

⁶ This is reflected in the jokes and stories about the man who has a bad day at the office and then "takes it out" on his wife or children when he comes home in the evening.

⁷ For further elaboration see H. Powdermaker, *After Freedom* (Viking Press, 1939), pp. 172-74.

⁸ *Masochism in Modern Man* (New York: Farrar & Rinehart, 1941).

tween the Negroes we are describing and the masochists analyzed by Dr. Reik and others. The Negro's sufferings and sacrifices are not unconsciously self-inflicted (as are those of the masochist) but are inflicted on him by the culture. The Negro plays his social masochistic role consciously, while the psychologically compulsive masochist does it unconsciously. These two important differences should be kept in mind while the similarities are discussed.

Our hypothesis is that the meek, unaggressive Negro, who persists today as a type and whom we have opportunity to study, feels guilty about his conscious and unconscious feelings of hostility and aggression toward the white people. These Negroes are believing Christians who have taken very literally the Christian doctrine that it is sinful to hate. Yet on every hand they are faced with situations which must inevitably produce hatred in any normal human being. These situations run the scale from seeing an innocent person lynched to having to accept the inferior accommodations on a Jim Crow train. The feeling of sin and guilt is frequently and openly expressed. In a Sunday-school class in a southern rural colored church a teacher tells the tale of a sharecropper who had worked all season for a white planter, only to be cheated out of half his earnings. The teacher's lesson is that it is wrong to hate this planter, because Christ told us to love our enemies. The members of the class say how hard it is not to hate but that since it is a sin they will change their hate to love. They regard this as possible, although difficult.⁹

One woman in the same community, who plays the deferential role to perfection and who, whites say, never steps out of "her place," tells me she feels guilty because she hates the whites, who do not seem to distinguish between her, a very moral, respectable, and law-abiding person, and the immoral, disreputable colored prostitutes of the community. She says that God and Jesus have told her not to hate but to love—and so she must drive the hatred and bitter-

ness away. Almost every human being in our culture carries a load of guilt (heavy or light as the case may be) over his conscious and unconscious aggressive impulses. It is easy then to imagine how heavy is the load of guilt for the believing Christian Negro who lives in an interracial situation which is a constant stimulus to aggressive thoughts and fantasies. By acting in exactly the opposite manner—that is, meekly and unaggressively—he can appease his guilt feelings consciously and unconsciously. It is this appeasement which accounts, in part, for his pleasure in the unaggressive role he plays with the whites.

But only in part. The unaggressive Negro enjoys his role also because through it he feels superior to the whites. Like the masochist, he thinks of his present sufferings as a contrasting background for his future glory. His is the final victory, and so he can afford to feel superior to his white opponent who is enjoying a temporary victory over him. My own field work and the work of others give many examples. Dr. Charles S. Johnson, in his recent book on rural colored youth in the South, discusses the dissimulation of many of the young people studied. He says:

Outward submissiveness and respect may thus be, as often as not, a mask behind which these youth conceal their attitude. George Cator is an example of this behavior. He has learned to flatter as a means of preserving his own estimate of himself. . . . "When I'm around them, I act like they are more than I am. I don't think they are, but they do. I hear people say that's the best way to act."¹⁰

Any expression of antagonism would be dangerous, but this is not the whole story. It is not just that this boy and others avoid danger by meek negative behavior. There is a positive element in that he and others are insuring eventual victory. This was expressed by a colored servant who is a model of deferential behavior when with the whites. However, to me she says, partly scornfully and

⁹ Cf. Powdermaker, *op. cit.*, pp. 247-48.

¹⁰ Charles S. Johnson, *Growing Up in the Black Belt* (American Council on Education, 1941), pp. 296-97.

partly jokingly, that she considers it ridiculous that having cleaned the front porch and entrance she has to use the back entrance. She hates having to walk in the back door, which in this case is not only the symbol of status for a servant but the symbol that a whole race has a servant status. She adds that she expects to go to Heaven and there she will find rest—and no back doors.¹¹

The Christian doctrines, "The last shall be first, and the first shall be last" and "The meek shall inherit the earth," and all the promises of future reward for suffering give strong homiletic sanction to the feeling that the Negroes' present status and suffering is a prelude to their future triumph. Colored ministers give very concise expression to this attitude. A sermon heard in a colored church in rural Mississippi related

the story of a rich woman who lived in a big house and had no time for God. When she went to Heaven she was given an old shanty in which to live and she exclaimed: "Why that's the shanty my cook used to live in!" The cook, who on earth had given all her time to God, was now living in a big house in Heaven, very much like the one in which her former mistress used to live.¹²

The Christian missionaries of the pre-Civil War period emphasized the reward for the meek and their contrasting glories in the future partly because it was an important part of Christian doctrine and partly because it was only by negating the present and emphasizing the future that the evangelists could get permission from the planters to preach to the slaves. The general theme of many of these sermons was that the greater the suffering here, the greater would be the reward in the world to come. One minister, referring to the case of a slave who was unjustly punished by his masters, says, "He [God] will reward you for it in heaven, and the punishment you suffer unjustly here shall turn to your exceeding

great glory thereafter."¹³ Sermons, past and current, quite frequently picture Heaven as a place where whites and Negroes are not just equal but where their respective status is the opposite of what it is here.

This fantasy of turning the tables on the oppressor is not always confined to the other world; sometimes the setting is our own world. An example of this is the fantasy of a young colored girl in a northern town who had publicly taken quite meekly a decision that the colored people could not use the "Y" swimming pool at the same time white people were using it. Privately she shows her anger and says that she wishes the colored people would build a great big, magnificent "Y," a hundred times better than the white one, and make that one look like nothing. Her fantasy of triumph over the whites obviously gives her real pleasure and allows her to carry the present situation less onerously. Another example of the same type of fantasizing occurs in the joking between two colored teachers who obey a disliked white official with deferential meekness. The joking consists of one of them boasting in some detail about how he has fired the white official; and the other one, in the same tone, describing how he "cussed out" the white official over the telephone.

Another aspect of the unaggressive Negro's pleasure is his feeling of superiority because he thinks he is so much finer a Christian than his white opponent. He, the Negro, is following Christ's precepts, while the white man does the opposite. The white man oppresses the poor and is unjust; in other words, he sins. He, the Negro, is virtuous and will be rewarded. One Negro, referring to a white man's un-Christian behavior, says, "It reflects back on him."

This feeling of superiority is a third characteristic of the unaggressive Negro's pleasure and is not limited to the feeling of Christian virtue. He feels superior to the whites because he is fooling them. His triumph is not completely limited to the distant future, but he enjoys at least a small part of it now.

¹¹ From the author's field notes in rural Mississippi.

¹² Powdermaker, *op. cit.*, p. 243.

¹³ Revor Bowen, *Divine White Right* (1934), p. 111.

One of my informants in Mississippi, who plays this role to perfection, told me how he has the laugh on the whites because they never know his real thoughts. He quite consciously feels that he and the other Negroes like him have the upper hand through their dissimulation. He says very clearly that it makes him feel superior. One woman who presents an appearance of perfect meekness laughs with a kind of gleeful irony when she tells me how she really feels, and her meekness drops away from her as if she were discarding a cloak. Another chuckles when she relates how much she has been able to extract from white people, who would never give her a thing if they knew how she really felt about them. A Negro official who holds a fairly important position in his community knows that he is constantly being watched to see that he does not overstep his place, that his position and contact with whites has not made him "uppity." As he goes around humbly saying, "Yes, ma'am" and "Yes, sir," waiting his turn long after it is due, appearing not to heed insulting remarks, he is buoyed up with a feeling of superiority because he is really fooling all these whites. He is quite aware of his mask and knows it is such and not his real self. This mask characteristic comes out particularly when one of these individuals is seen with the whites and then later with his own group. One woman who has been particularly successful in the deferential, humble role with the whites gives a clear impression of meekness and humility. Her eyes downcast, her voice low, she patiently waits to be spoken to before she speaks, and then her tone is completely deferential. An hour later she is in the midst of her own group. No longer are her eyes downcast. They sparkle! Her laugh flashes out readily. Instead of patiently waiting, she is energetically leading. Her personality emerges, vibrant and strong, a complete contrast to the picture she gives the whites. These people enjoy wearing their mask because they do it so successfully and because its success makes them feel superior to the whites whom they deceive.

The deferential, unaggressive role just described and well known to students of Negro life has a very real function besides the obvious one of avoiding trouble. As Dr. Reik says in his book on masochism, "The supremacy of the will is not only expressed in open fights." It is, as he says, likewise expressed "in the determination to yield only exteriorly and yet to cling to life, nourishing such phantasies anticipating final victory."¹⁴ Our unaggressive Negro, like the masochist, imagines a future where his fine qualities are acknowledged by the people who had formerly disdained him. This, in good Christian manner, will be brought about through suffering. This philosophy and its resulting behavior obviously make the Negroes (or any minority group) who have them very adaptable to any circumstance in which they find themselves, no matter how painful. They continue to cling to life, in the assurance of ultimate victory. They cannot be hurt in the way that people without this faith are hurt. The adaptability of the Negro has often been noted. This hypothesis may give some further clue to understanding it.

A special combination of cultural factors—namely, oppression of a minority group and a religion which promises that through suffering power will be gained over the oppressors—has channeled one type of adaptive behavior similar to that of the masochist. This behavior pattern has given the Negro a way of appeasing his guilt over his aggressive impulses and a method of adapting to a very difficult cultural situation. Because of the understanding given us by psychoanalysis of the pleasure derived through suffering, of the near and distant aims of the masochist, we are given a clue to the psychological mechanism underlying the so-called "unaggressive" Negro's behavior. This Negro is not a masochist, in that his sufferings are not self-inflicted and he plays his role consciously. He knows he is acting, while the masochist behavior springs from inner compulsion. Again, there is a real difference in structure, as there was in the de-

¹⁴ *Op. cit.*, p. 322.

pendency situations of the child and the slave; and again there is a real similarity in function. The masochist and the meek, unaggressive Negro derive a similar kind of pleasure from their suffering. For the Negro as well as for the masochist there is pleasure in appeasing the guilt feeling; for each there is the pleasure derived from the belief that through his suffering he becomes superior to his oppressors; and, finally, for each the suffering is a prelude to final victory.

Neither the slave nor the obsequious, unaggressive Negro, whom we have described, learned to play his role in any school. They learned by observation and imitation; they were taught by their parents; they observed what role brought rewards. Since the Civil War the Negro has likewise seen the meek, humble type presented over and over again with approval in sermons, in literature, in movies, and, more recently, through radio sketches. By participating in the cultural processes, the Negro has learned his role. This was his education, far more powerful than anything restricted to schools; for the kind of education we are discussing is continuous during the entire life of the individual. It is subtle as well as direct. One part of the cultural process strengthens another part, and reinforcement for the role we described comes from every side.

But the cultural process continues to change with resulting changes in behavior. Just as the completely loyal and faithful slave disappeared, so the meek, unaggressive, and humble Negro, the "good nigger" type, is declining in numbers. In the rural South, and elsewhere too, the tendency of Negro young people (in their teens and twenties) is to refuse to assume the unaggressive role. The passing of the "good nigger" from the scene does not entail a civil war as did the passing of the faithful slave. But it does indicate a psychological revolution. For the slave the Civil War altered the scope of the dependency situation. Today, without a Civil War, equally significant cultural changes are taking place. The Negro is participating now in a very different kind

of cultural process from that which he underwent fifty years ago.

Some of the differences occurring today are here briefly indicated. There is a decline in religious faith. The vivid "getting-religion" experience prevalent in the past has become increasingly rare for young people. Today they use the church as a social center. Gone is the intensity of religious belief that their parents knew. The young people are not atheists, but they do not have the fervor and sincerity of belief in a future world. They are much more hurt by slights and minor insults than are their parents, because they do not put their faith in the promise of a heavenly victory.

Along with changes in the form of religious participation have come many other changes. The illiteracy of the past has disappeared. A lengthening of schooling and a steady improvement in educational standards tend to give the Negro the same knowledge and the same tools enjoyed by the white man and to minimize cultural differences between the two. A more independent and rebellious Negro type is making its appearance in literature, as, for instance, the character of Bigger in the best seller, *Native Son*.

The steady trek of the rural Negroes to cities, North and South, has changed the milieu of masses of Negroes from the rural peasant life to the industrial urban one.¹⁵ Here they come under the influence of the trade-union movement, which slowly but gradually is shifting its attitude from one of jealous exclusion to one of inclusion, sometimes cordial and sometimes resigned. The shift is not anywhere near completion yet, but the trend is there. In the city the Negro is influenced by the same advertisements, the same radio sketches, the same political bosses, the same parties (left or right), and all the other urban forces which influence the white man.

The Negro's goals for success are thus becoming increasingly the same as those of the

¹⁵ Between 1920 and 1930 over a million Negroes migrated from the country to the cities. The figures for the past decade are not yet available.

white person; and these goals are primarily in the economic field, although those in other fields, such as art and athletics, are not to be minimized either. The securing of these goals is in this world rather than in a future one. They are attained through the competition and aggressive struggle so characteristic of our culture rather than through meekness and subservience. The compensations available to the loyal slave and the humble, unaggressive, free Negro no longer exist or, at least, are steadily diminishing. The white man can no longer offer security in return for devotion, because he himself no longer has security. The whites of all classes have known a mounting social insecurity over the past decade, and they obviously cannot give away something which they do not possess. Thus the material rewards for obsequiousness and unaggressiveness are fading away. Gone, too, is the religious emphasis on rewards in Heaven. When the cultural process takes away rewards for a certain type of behavior, dissatisfaction with that behavior appears and there is a gradual change to another form which is more likely to bring new compensations. Obviously, one can expect, and one finds, a growing restlessness and uncertainty which occur in any transition period, when old goals have been lost. The new goals are the standard American ones. But the means for attaining these goals are not yet as available to the Negro as they are to the white. Economic and social discriminations still exist. Unless some other form of adaptation takes place and unless discriminations are lessened, we may expect a trend toward greater overt aggression.

However, there are no sudden revolutions in behavior patterns, and this holds for the patterns of aggression. They change slowly;

the old ones persist while new ones are being formed, and opposing patterns exist side by side. But change occurs. The cultural process in which the Negro has participated from the time when he was first brought to this country until today has involved a constant denial of privileges. The denial has taken various forms, from the overt one involved in slavery to the more subtle ones of today. The compensations for the denial have varied from different degrees of material security to promises of future blessings in Heaven, and from the feeling of being more virtuous than the white to the feeling of fooling him. Today these compensations are fading away. Equally important, ideological fetters of the past have been broken by the Negro's increasing participation in the current urban industrial processes.

The Negro's education, formal and informal, has consisted of his participation in this ever changing cultural process, one small part of which we have briefly examined. Slavery, religion, economic and other social factors, have channeled his activities, offering him alternatives within a certain cultural range. We have examined only two of the alternatives in any detail—namely, the roles of the faithful slave and of the humble, meek Negro who was a fairly common stereotype following the Civil War; we have concentrated on the latter because he still exists and we therefore have more data on him. Both appear unaggressive. A functional comparison with the psychoanalytical analysis of the dependency situation of the child and of the problem of masochism has indicated how the aggression may have been present, although concealed, in these two roles.

QUEEN'S COLLEGE

THE EDUCATIONAL PROCESS AS APPLIED IN AMERICA

EDWIN R. EMBREE

ABSTRACT

Our educational system has been making progress in transmitting the tools of survival in our culture: reading, writing, and technical skills. Its increasing responsibility for the development of personality and intelligent, flexible adaptability to changing social conditions has not been so well met. The emphasis is far too much on rote learning and verbalization rather than on the handling of real situations.

I

It is not the purpose of this concluding paper to distil, from all the erudition that has gone before, the final truth about education here or elsewhere. My task is simply to apply some of the wisdom generated by discussion of education among various peoples of the world to the problems of growing up in America.

As a starting-point let me try to frame a definition of education that will take into account the chief points stressed in the preceding papers. Education in America as elsewhere is the process of "growing up," but growing up within the framework of some specific cultural milieu. This means something more than the transmission of a tradition and a cultural pattern from an earlier to a later generation, or from one cultural group to another. It is the means by which the individual discovers and adapts himself to the particular place to which his special talents or some accident assigns him. In our modern society an important problem that every individual has to solve, and solve pretty much for himself, is to find a job for which he is fitted and to fit himself for the job which he finds.

To be a little more specific, education in any society aims (a) to draw out the personality and abilities of the individual young people, (b) to prepare them for harmonious and creative living in their society, (c) to give them skill in the crafts and techniques that will enable them to be successful in their world. In any society formal schooling is only part of the educational process. That is one of the things that has been particularly emphasized in these papers and in the

discussions which accompanied them. Some preliterate peoples, it appears, have no formalized training, though the boys' societies and girls' societies, the "bush" schools of Africa, and initiation ceremonies common to most tribes are more or less comparable to what the Western nations have so highly formalized in schools.

Even in Europe and America many forces not ordinarily reckoned as schooling go into the total of education: the home, the church, the pressures of social cliques, and the admonitions of the wise old men of the tribe, as represented among us by quotations from George Washington and Abraham Lincoln, from Herbert Hoover and Father Divine.

Yet in modern times schools have become so formalized, rationalized, and glorified, so detached from the acts and experiences of daily life, that Dr. Johnson, in editing this series, has divided the papers into two parts: one entitled "Education without Schools"; the other, "Schools without Education."

Of the three prime purposes of education, it is natural that one phase should be stressed in one society and others in another. Static groups, such as island peoples or tribes cut off from outside contact, naturally stress acquaintance with and acceptance of tribal customs, rituals, laws, taboos. In modern society, marked by a high development of mechanical and intellectual tools, it is just as natural to emphasize training in the use of these very complex techniques. It is futile to scorn the ancient Samoans for not including science and mechanics and writing in their educational process, for these were not a part of their life; or to

criticize America for stressing tools so greatly, for these are the very basis of our culture.

In modern civilization it is proper and necessary to give much of the whole school course to learning the skilful use of our highly developed intellectual tools: reading, writing, mathematics, science. A person simply cannot live in the modern world without these techniques. All societies have taught crafts and skills as well as religious beliefs and tribal custom. American Indian tribes carefully taught the boys to hunt, to carry on warfare, to tan hides and fashion leather, as well as to take their place in the council ring. Samoan girls learned to cook and make tapa as well as how to deport themselves in village society. It is silly to become so sentimental about "the beautiful rhythms of life in primitive society" as to say—as some extreme progressive educators were saying a few years ago—"it doesn't matter whether a boy learns to write or figure; just let him grow and develop into a fine citizen." One can't be a useful or happy participant in Western civilization without knowing the techniques on which modern life rests.

II

The fault of the schools in America is not that they stress the tool subjects. The fault is that they neglect the other prime functions of education: the drawing-out of the personality and the fitting of the individual into creative relationship to his world. A part of this fault is that the tools are taught as if they were something apart from the rest of life. Not tied in with daily experiences, the techniques tend to become formalized and sterile and thus are themselves not well learned. Let me give a few homely examples from my own experience:

The autobiography of a southern country boy records that after going to school for several years he happened to pick up the family Bible. To his amazement he found that he could read it. Up to that moment, he said, it had never occurred to him that the rote drill in school called reading had any connection with something he

might do out of school. Suddenly he discovered that what he had supposed was a scholastic trick was instead a generalized tool, by means of which he could gain information and pleasure from the whole realm of literature.

This seems an extreme case. Yet the tests given to the draft troops during the first World War indicated that 25 per cent of that cross-section of American youth had never made a successful transfer from the school lessons to reading. One-fourth of the whole American draft army, although most of them had spent several years in school, had not learned enough to carry over into life the ability to read simple sentences or to write their own names.

In a little school just outside Baton Rouge, Louisiana, the teacher had been hearing a class read a lesson on birds in one of the standard textbooks. To test his knowledge of the lesson, she asked a boy, "When do the robins come?"

The pupil answered promptly, "In the fall."

"Now, Jimmie," urged the teacher, "read the lesson carefully again."

After he had droned out the text a second time, she said cheerily, "Now, Jimmie, when do the robins come?"

More hesitantly and sullenly he answered again, "The robins come in the fall."

"James, James!" shouted the teacher. "Read that lesson again. Now tell me, when do the robins come?"

Almost in tears the boy finally answered, "The robins come in the spring."

And so they do—in Boston, where the text was written. But in Louisiana, just in order to avoid the northern winter, they come in the fall, as the boy well knew.

Here we had an all too frequent combination of a stupid teacher, who was intent on grinding out a "lesson," and a textbook unadapted to the region. The result must have been either to destroy the boy's confidence in his own common sense or, more likely, to break down completely his respect for book learning.

The first problem of American education is to make the tool subjects a part of life, to teach the tools for just what their name implies, not as ends in themselves but simply as means to obtain efficiently the ends we want. These ends, simply stated, are to make a living and to enjoy life.

An Oxford professor of mathematics once boasted, "Thank God, my subject can never

be prostituted to any useful end." Of course, the professor was talking nonsense—trying to glorify his subject as an end in itself. Mathematics is the most practical of subjects, the very foundation stone of exact science and of all precise thinking. In an Alabama school I saw an example of this same Oxford attitude on a humbler level.

A Negro teacher giving a class "a lesson in health" said, "Why should we wash and comb our hair?" And the row of little Negroes droned back the answer, "So it will not get stringy and fall down in our eyes."

Neither teacher nor pupils seemed to think this a surprising answer from children whose hair was so kinky that it could never get into strings or hang down anywhere. This was the lesson; all that teacher or pupils had to do was to recite it. As with Tennyson's Six Hundred, "theirs not to reason why, theirs but to do and die." And in this rote learning children's minds die as stupidly and as wantonly as the members of the Light Brigade on the fields of Balaclava.

Learning for learning's sake belongs, as a principle, to the Middle Ages. For that reason this era is properly known as the Dark Age of Europe. The habits of mind generated by the educational process must be kept near the actual movement of events. The task of education cannot be achieved merely by working upon men's minds, as some philosophers would have it; it becomes effective only with action.

Happily, some progress is being made on this front. Many American children are learning to read, write, and figure with a fairly clear idea that these are tools of communication that open up vast storehouses of information and of inspiration and beauty. The sciences are also being fairly well learned as tools. In the higher professional schools of agriculture, medicine, and engineering, scientific knowledge is very skilfully presented as the basis for practical work.

III

The great problems of the American school system—still almost wholly unsolved—are concerned with education that is not technical and does not involve the use of either tools or technique. Let me simply

summarize some of the problems in stark outline.

1. In ideal organization the school should be bolstered in its educational tasks by other great social institutions. But in America the whole process of education is being more and more turned over to schools and colleges. The church has lost much of its prestige and seems to be having less and less influence in molding even the ideals of young people. The home is far from the powerful institution it was in most earlier societies. Apartment living, divorces, abdication of authority, have nearly written the family out as a guiding influence in children's lives. Play is increasingly on school grounds or public parks; standards of conduct for children are set by the gang and the play group; precepts come screaming out from tabloids and comic strips or dripping from suave radio voices and glamorous movie stars. The wise old men of the tribe are crowded out by the platitudes of the latest world's champion boxer, by ambitious politicians, by advertising slogans, by best sellers on how to make friends and influence people. Whether they like it or not, schools and colleges have to assume almost the whole role of serious education in America.

2. It is unfortunate—unnatural, as Margaret Mead has so trenchantly pointed out—that our emphasis is on teaching rather than on learning. In earlier societies young people who wanted to learn some skill that they thought useful hunted up an uncle or some wise man to teach them, or they voluntarily joined a class of their fellows who were trying to learn the same thing. With us it is the other way around. A teacher has something he wants to teach, and so *he* organizes the classes or else the school system organizes classes for him and compels the children to attend. Instead of students engaging in the pursuit of learning, schools and professors are in pursuit of students! The natural and normal thing is for children to ask the questions. With us, the teachers ask the questions and the children are expected to give the answers. Too often these answers are simply rote "recitations" from a book.

The function of education is not simply to transmit knowledge. Much more important is to keep alive curiosity and zest for more learning. The period during which children are wont to ask questions and to wonder about the world does not continue long, certainly not under the influence of the ordinary classroom. Soon the world becomes familiar; children get answers of a sort and stop asking questions. The interest in the world as a whole is destroyed because curiosity has been appeased with words or phrases which did not enlighten.

3. It is scarcely possible to prepare our children for the social order in which they are to live because our society is changing so rapidly. Our schools do well to resist the clamor to indoctrinate the students in this or that phase of "Americanism." Most of those who urge this sort of thing are themselves already a generation or two behind what America actually means. But it is unfortunate that two of the basic features of American life are distorted by the very organization of our teaching and our school system.

One of these bases is flexibility. The very essence of modern life is ability to build from where we were yesterday to where we will be tomorrow. This is true in science, in social organization, and especially in international and interracial relationships. But the essence of book learning and rote teaching is to instill the idea that there are fixed answers for every question, established codes to meet every dilemma. By closing the students' minds by a mass of rote knowledge, we tend to prevent that very inquiring spirit and open-mindedness that would enable the students to build soundly from one position to another.

The other enduring base on which our society is built is democracy. As Ruth Benedict points out, while we may give lip service to the principles of democracy in our teaching, our whole school system is an absolute autocracy. No feature of American life, not even big business, gives so little opportunity for the practice of democracy as our schools. From the kindergarten through the graduate school the student is a cog in a machine.

The teacher is as much a peon of the system as the student. If we are ever to learn democracy as a way of life, we must find some means for young people to experience it and practice it during the formative years of their school life.

4. We must find better means of drawing out the personality of the student. This is a tough task. Any given personality is largely formed by the customs of his society and the techniques he must learn. Yet there is something more. The definition at the beginning of this paper refers to harmonious and creative living. The individual is not the slave of his society or of its techniques. True, he must adjust himself to the social order, and he must learn to use the basic skills. But society and science progress as individuals create new ideas, revise customs to fit fresh conditions, invent still better tools. Professor Park grapples valiantly with this problem, although he has no ready solutions. He believes in more direct human relationships, more contact with nature, and, most of all, more contemplation. He believes that teachers with some wisdom and knowledge of life, rather than with high professional technique and low personality, should be sought as guides and instructors of the young. Our society has probably done its poorest job in this delicate process of drawing out the abilities and enlarging the personalities of the students.

This criticism leads us back to the heart of the symposium on education which these papers record. These discussions are unique in that, on the whole, they present the point of view of anthropologists rather than professional educators. They view the process of education as a whole, examining it in the context of simpler and more thoroughly integrated cultures than our own.

In preliterate societies knowledge is informal and unsystematic. It is taken over almost unconsciously as a body of folkways and mores. In our educational system common sense and traditional wisdom—the knowledge that we gained in the home and by experience—are regarded as inferior forms of knowledge because they are neither

scientific nor systematic. Yet the psychoanalysts are constantly insisting that what is learned in this very way by the child in his early years is probably the most important and determining of all the knowledge that he acquires.

What can we do to bridge this gap between informal knowledge, which is so effective in forming habits and attitudes, and the systematic knowledge of the textbooks? An incidental problem is that a great deal of present scientific knowledge concerns itself with everyday mechanics—electricity, medicine, and vitamins, for example—which have not yet been incorporated in the tradition and common sense even of educated people. Since we are ignorant about the principles involved, much of our modern knowledge is little more than a new and more sophisticated superstition. Meanwhile, we omit from our formal educational system the whole realm of homely experience and basic feeling: nature, sex, love, hate, prejudice, the mechanics of growth, the satisfaction of the fundamental urges of our personalities. For many students school is school and life is life and never the twain do meet.

IV

Standardization is not the answer to education in our society. Our efforts to standardize are due, in part, to a desire to conform to the democratic ideal of a classless society in which everyone, as far as his abilities permit, will have the same education. It is assumed that precisely what is good for the American child is good for every American child—is, for example, good for the American Negro child, irrespective of his background. On the other hand, if account is taken of the cultural heritage of the Negro child, the temptation is to identify that heritage with what are conceived to be the Negro's peculiar racial temperament and capacities, supposed to be basically African. This misses the point, for the truth is that the cultural heritage of the Negro, in his present setting at least, is neither American nor African. That heritage is a unique social

phenomenon which has evolved under peculiar historical conditions.

As Horace Mann Bond points out, there is something strangely unreal about the education of the Negro in the American system. It takes little account of the actual conditions under which Negroes live. As a result the educational procedures designed for general American youth often fail to fire the interest of the colored students, especially those who grow up in the special conditions of the rural South. These children, by some extraordinary quality of sheer mentality, are expected to find interest in educational content that has no roots in their own lives. An inevitable result is that the external forms are adopted with little sense of their meanings. Education becomes rote drudgery, against which both mind and will rebel. This general rebellion is evidenced in the fact that in some areas one-third of all Negro children in school are in the first two grades; that over half of them leave at the fourth grade; and that of those who survive to college few can read intelligently or respond vigorously and with decision to an idea when it is presented to them. Rural Negro pupils have gone on strike against the meaningless routine of the school system.

Today, when old forms are passing and there is much misery and uncertainty everywhere, the woods are full of solutions of "world problems"—most notably, economic solutions. Under these circumstances it is important that education should have made us familiar not merely with words but with things and ideas. What else is to protect us from those who, without experience, take over uncritically political and economic dogmas merely because they are frustrated and do not know how to think or act in a real world.

The situation of the American Negro is more critical than that of the rest of the population. Therefore he needs a greater spur to control and self-correction, in anticipation of institutional changes in progress. Circumstance turns back most of the Negro professionals and teachers to the Negro masses themselves. It turns them back to

step up the process of "civilization" of the masses, as that process seems to operate in the world in which the professional leaders are successful agents. There is no more profound service to the future of America, especially to Negroes and other minority groups, than that of carrying back to the masses the learning and interpretation of experience which the masses have somehow missed in spite of or because of the schools.

The very minority setting gives a chance to prove the adaptability of education to special groups of individuals—if educators and the minority leaders themselves were willing to try it. If, for example, schools were allowed to devote themselves to the needs of southern rural Negroes—instead of to standard "courses of instruction"—that group might learn self-reliance and co-operative living, accuracy and precision in place of loose and uncertain thinking, basic technical competence in this machine age, the ability to grow with some satisfaction in this swiftly changing society.

V

Education has never been a perfect process in any society. But every society has rec-

ognized its basic importance. In America faith in our public school system has become a religion. We have school enrolments beyond the dreams—or nightmares—of any other nation. Twenty-five million children are in our elementary schools every year. Seven million children are in high school—almost 70 per cent of all the young people of that age—as compared to 15 or 20 per cent of secondary-school enrolment even in such school-minded countries as England or France or Germany. Over a million students are in colleges and universities, five times the number or percentage of any other nation.

With the increased leisure that will come from still further development of mass production, it is likely that before the end of this century all young people between the ages of five and twenty-five years will be attending school. The very future of America, and of modern civilization, hangs on our ability to get sound educational procedures into our schools.

JULIUS ROSENWALD FUND

IN MEMORIAM

BEATRICE WEBB, 1858-1943

MARY E. MURPHY

The recent death of Beatrice Webb marked the conclusion of the active career of a woman noted for the range of her scholarly interest and the depth of her sensitive spirit.

Endowed from birth with beauty and an assured position in English society, Mrs. Webb, through fortunate association with Charles Booth and Herbert Spencer, assumed the role of social and industrial investigator. An understanding of the responsibilities inherent in the process of developing a social consciousness may be obtained from her autobiographical volume, *My Apprenticeship*. In its pages, too, are contained glimpses of her special technique of investigation, which was based not upon British Museum books and impersonal questionnaires but, instead, upon observation of and interviews with people. In the application of the scientific method to the study of social institutions she was a pioneer, and her studies of the sweating system and of dock labor in the 1880's utilized this procedure.

Through her romantic and intellectual alliance with the eminent Socialist, Sidney Webb, a literary partnership was established in which she was the investigator, he the executant. Through it, too, the Fabian Society gave strength and purpose to the Labour Party, the London School of Economics was founded, and literally hundreds of books, reports, and articles found their way into the sacred precincts of sociology, economics, and political science.

Some of the more distinguished joint studies of the Webbs include: *The History of Trade Unionism*, which has remained a classic approach to the subject and has provided organized labor in Britain with a class consciousness; *Industrial Democracy*, which

aroused trade-unionism to its political destiny; *English Local Government*, which involved the perusal of local archives and represented the introduction of the scientific method into the field of political science; and *Soviet Communism*, which introduced the Soviet Union to the English-speaking world.

It is difficult to think of Beatrice without Sidney Webb or, as their friend Bernard Shaw has put it, Darby without Joan. Beatrice possessed the unique gifts of being able to outline the method of approach to the problem at hand and to carry forward the investigation, on home or on foreign soil, with tact and insight. Sidney, in turn, contributed the skill of rapid absorption of voluminous documents and a photographic memory of the data they contained.

At their breakfast table each morning the day's work was laid out by the partners. Sometimes it involved hasty trips to the far corners of England to read dusty documents in unventilated vaults, or attendance at endless union or committee meetings, or personal consultation with individuals associated with the project. In this work Beatrice was the prime force, especially when her husband devoted the major share of his time to his position in the Cabinet and the London County Council. She served as a member of the Royal Commission on the Poor Law and, with her husband, prepared the Minority Report, which proposed the abolition of that law and the substitution of positive measures to prevent public destitution. This document, which attracted as much press notice as the recent Beveridge Report, was followed by a campaign organized by the Webbs (and enlisting the support of Winston Churchill), which led to a revision of the Poor Law.

Mrs. Webb was an indefatigable worker on innumerable governmental committees and commissions during and after the first World War. Largely through her efforts as president of the Fabian Society, socialism became respectable, the British Labour Party assumed a cohesive form, and recognition was accorded to the Russian experiment. Through her, too, the Webbs became protagonists of the theory that social reform should be accomplished through evolution, not by revolution. To her home on the Thames came prime ministers, government

leaders, and humble workers; each fell under the spell of her personality and took away with him some of her inspiration and zeal for social reform.

The world, and especially that corner called England, acknowledges at her passing a debt of gratitude to Beatrice Webb for her unique ability to breathe life into the social sciences and to endow them with a scientific, yet humane, spirit.

HUNTER COLLEGE OF THE
CITY OF NEW YORK

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

DEAR SIR:

In his article, "The Conceptual Status of Social Disorganization," which appeared in the January, 1943, issue of your *Journal*, Mr. Ralph Kramer made reference to the position of certain investigators who have emphasized the influence of language upon the causation of behavior disorders, and among them he included Dr. Trigant Burrow. In speaking of the writers cited by him, he says: "They hold that language is the most important social mechanism and that, if its structure is antiquated, confused, and inconsistent, then the institutions resulting from the application of this language will be confused, antiquated, and inconsistent."

As this writer's alignment of Dr. Burrow with the semanticists reflects an obvious lack of acquaintance with Burrow's phylobiological researches, it seems appropriate to draw to the attention of your readers the error of this too common allocator—an allocation to which Korzybski, as well as his pupils, appears to subscribe. Whatever the indubitable merits of Korzybski's teaching, it should be stated that Burrow's position is not for a moment to be identified with it. Far from incriminating the use we make of words in ordinary social communication, Dr. Burrow has repeatedly emphasized the innocuous nature of symbols per se in relation to behavior disorders.

Contrary to impeaching the symbols of human communication, Burrow takes the position that the expressions of neurosis are to be laid to physiological tensions which find outlet in the mutable and uncertain social affects we now autocritically *attach* to our words. These tensions and their corresponding manifestation in social affects are traceable to a division in the primary motivation of man's organism as a species, causing throughout social communities a pathological exaggeration of the self-image in each individual. Because of its affect-involvements, this division in internal patterns of tension has artificially exalted the individual to heights of symbolic self-importance that subvert the basic integrity of his organism in relation to others. So that today man's vocal gestures or words, begotten as they are of divisive and competitive affects, are arbitrarily colored by impassioned sentiments which rob his symbols of their pri-

mary etymological meaning. It is not the external code or the system of symbols that is at fault. But always it is the effect with its concomitant internal tension that is the offending element. If our social institutions are prone to employ words in a false or misleading connotation, it is due to the twisted motivations or to the affects that are latent within these institutions.

In view of the theoretical nature of Mr. Kramer's paper, this reply to his erroneous statement regarding Dr. Burrow may seem altogether disproportionate to the occasion. But, as this misapprehension exists quite generally among our colleagues and is one that appears with recurrent insistence, I have been prompted to offer this word in explanation of Dr. Burrow's phylobiological interpretation of behavior disorders.

HANS SYZ, M.D.

Secretary
Lifwynn Foundation

DEAR SIR:

Had Mr. Ralph Kramer read all of my papers, I am sure that he would have considered me an ally rather than an opponent of his views.

To be specific: (1) Like Mr. Kramer, I reject every single view attributed to one George Devereaux (*sic*) either directly or indirectly anywhere in his article;¹ with the exception of one direct quotation from one of my papers. (2) I feel certain that Count Korzybski would be the first to protest against the statement that I am one of his pupils.

This rejoinder is not written in a spirit of vindictiveness but rather to assure Mr. Kramer that I am in sympathy with his efforts to put the science of social pathology (or whatever it may come to be called eventually) on a sound foundation. I feel that Mr. Kramer is on the right track and look forward with interest to his future publications.

GEORGE DEVEREUX

University of Wyoming

¹ Ralph Kramer, "The Conceptual Status of Social Disorganization," *American Journal of Sociology*, XLVIII (1943), 466-74.

NEWS AND NOTES

RESEARCH NEWS

University of Arizona.—Dr. E. W. Burgess, past president and secretary of the American Sociological Society, and professor of sociology at the University of Chicago, was a visitor in Tucson during the winter quarter. He was guest of honor at a dinner meeting of the University of Arizona Social Science Club, February 25, and spoke on his studies predicting the success of marriage. Dr. Burgess is working on his book on *The Family*.

Dr. Frederick A. Conrad was the University faculty member elected to membership in the honor society of Phi Kappa Phi in the spring election of the University of Arizona chapter. He will be initiated at the time of the annual banquet. He has continued his research in population trends and completed a manuscript which was published in the March issue of the *Elementary School Journal*. This article was entitled "Urban Population Trends and the Public School."

Dr. E. D. Tetreau, professor of rural sociology, has an article in the March issue of the *Southwestern Social Science Quarterly* entitled "Population Characteristics and Trends in Arizona." This is an abbreviated version of the paper which was read at the annual meeting of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, Dallas, Texas, December, 1941. The results of the study of farm-labor requirements, 1942, and of labor available in the state were published in *Arizona Agricultural Experiment Station Bull.* 186, November, 1942, under the title, "Wanted—Man Power on Arizona Farms." A preliminary view of the labor situation for 1943 has been set forth in *Mimeographed Report No. 52, Arizona Agricultural Experiment Station*. Just recently a manuscript was completed entitled "The Impact of War on Some Communities in the Southwest." Dr. Tetreau continues the an-

alysis of the structure of the Arizona rural society.

NOTES

University of Chicago.—Herbert Blumer, editor of the *Journal of Sociology*, is out of residence at the University of Chicago from January 1, 1943, to October 1, 1943. During this period the editorial supervision of the *Journal* is being done by E. W. Burgess and Louis Wirth.

Four members of the department of sociology of the University of Chicago conducted a series of lecture-conferences with the Englewood Branch of the Chicago Dental Society at the Palmer House during March and April. Professors Wirth and Hughes, Mr. Lohman, and Mr. Johnson conducted discussions dealing with the role of the dental profession in a changing democracy.

Mr. Rollin D. Hemens, for many years acting manager of the Press, has replaced Mr. Donald P. Bean, who recently resigned from that position.

Cornell University.—An Army specialized program for the training of certain military personnel for services in liberated and occupied areas has been assigned to Cornell University. The program will encompass a "language and area study for Central Europe and Italy." The first group of from forty to seventy-five trainees may be gradually enlarged to a regular group of two hundred fifty men. Assistant Professor Svend Riemer, a member of the department of sociology and anthropology, will be one of those assigned to this program covering the social aspects of Central Europe.

University of Georgia.—Joseph B. Gittler, associate professor of sociology, is on leave

this year and is working as research associate with the Population Study of the Virginia State Planning Board.

Julius Rosenwald Fund.—The award of thirty-nine Rosenwald fellowships totaling \$65,500, and twenty-one scholarships, totaling \$16,000, was announced by Mr. Edwin R. Embree, president of the Julius Rosenwald Fund. The fellows include twenty-two Negroes and seventeen white southerners, selected for their creative talent or superior scholarship. The fellowships this year average about \$1,700. In addition, scholarships of \$500 plus tuition were awarded to twenty-one outstanding graduating seniors of selected Negro and white southern colleges to enable them to begin graduate study.

University of Kansas City.—Clarence Senior, formerly director of the Inter-American Institute, University of Kansas City, has been appointed chief of the Latin-American Division, Office of Exports, Board of Economic Warfare, in Washington.

Michigan Academy of Science, Arts, and Letters.—At the forty-eighth annual meeting of the academy, A. E. Wood, of the University of Michigan, was chairman of the Section of Sociology and Norman Humphrey, of Wayne University, served as secretary. Other participants in the program were: R. L. Jenkins, Michigan Child Guidance Institute, "Personality Structure and Child Guidance"; Leslie A. White, University of Michigan, "Sociology and Mathematics," with William Fuson, University of Michigan, discussant; Alfred McClung Lee, Wayne University, "Is Sociological Methodology Sterile?"; C. R. Hofer, Michigan State College, "The Community Basis of Peace"; Jack B. Burke, field representative, President's Committee on Fair Labor Practices, Detroit, "Employment Practices and Minority Groups"; Horace White, housing commissioner, Detroit, "The Negro and the War"; Claude Williams, Institute of Applied Religion and Detroit Presbytery, "Manipulation of Anti-minority Sentiments"; Nor-

man F. Kinzie, Detroit Council of Churches and Wayne University, "Japanese Relocation in Michigan"; and Ernest E. Neal, University of Michigan, "The Negro and the Community." The sociology meetings were held March 26 in the Rackham Building, Ann Harbor, Michigan.

Mills College.—The Committee on Family Life Education in the schools is offering a three weeks' workshop at Mills College beginning June 28 and ending July 16. The staff will be: Mrs. Frances Bruce Strain, Evanston, Illinois, author of *New Patterns in Sex Teaching*, *Love at the Threshold*, etc., nationally known writer and lecturer; Dr. Paul Popenoe, general director of the American Institute of Family Relations and lecturer on biology, University of Southern California; and Dr. John H. Furbay, associate professor of education, Mills College and author of *Workbook Manual for Marriage and the Family*.

They will be assisted by a group of distinguished lecturers and consultants. The fixed conferences each day are as follows: 9:00 A.M., "The Biology of Family Relations," Popenoe; 10:00 A.M., "Sex Guidance and Teaching in Childhood and Early Adolescence," Strain; 11:00 A.M., "Social Problems of Love and Marriage," Furbay, Strain, and Popenoe; 2:00-4:00 P.M., round-table discussions led by staff and the visiting consultants.

The workshop offers a maximum of three units of college credit, either graduate or undergraduate, to those qualified. Anyone else may take the work without credit and without prerequisites, if interested. Write for catalogue to the director of the summer session, Mills College, Oakland, California.

University of Minnesota.—Professor F. Stuart Chapin, chairman of the department of sociology, attended the Fourth Army Orientation Course for Civilians at the Army Command and General Staff School, Fort Leavenworth, Kansas, from March 15 to April 10, 1943. The purpose of the course is to acquaint civilians with Army problems.

University of Missouri.—Professors C. T. Pihlblad and Brewton Berry have joined the staff of the Office of Price Administration. Mr. Pihlblad is located in the regional office at Dallas, and Mr. Berry is in Washington, D.C.

The social work curriculum has been expanded to meet the needs of undergraduate students taking a preprofessional course. Miss Joyce LaRue, a graduate of Washington University, has been added to the staff as instructor and supervisor of field work.

Office of War Information.—Harold Kaplan, former instructor of French at the University of Chicago, was one of the group sent by the O.W.I. to the psychological warfare section of the North African Expeditionary Force.

Oklahoma Agricultural and Mechanical College.—Robert T. McMillan has been promoted from the rank of assistant professor to that of associate professor of sociology and rural life. He will receive the Ph.D. degree from Louisiana State University in June, having passed his final examinations during the fall of 1942.

William L. Kolb completed the formal residence requirements for the Ph.D. degree at the University of Wisconsin during the summer of 1942 and was recently promoted from the rank of instructor to that of assistant professor of sociology.

Queens College.—By special invitation of the War Department, Kimball Young, chairman of the department of anthropology and sociology, attended the Third Army Orientation Course at Fort Leavenworth, Kansas. These orientation courses are designed to inform industrial, business, civic, and professional leaders from various sections of the country regarding current developments in our vast military operations at home and abroad.

Professor Hortense Powdermaker is continuing the research project begun last year on the food habits of selected civilian groups in the borough of Queens. The field work is

done under her direction by Senior majors in the department. This project is one organized in co-operation with Dr. Margaret Mead's program on food habits for the National Research Council in Washington, D.C.

Dr. Paul W. Tappan, of the department of anthropology and sociology, has been awarded a postdoctoral fellowship for 1943-44 by the Social Science Research Council. The year will be spent in field training and advanced interdisciplinary research in sociological jurisprudence. Dr. Tappan has been granted a leave of absence for the year to pursue this work.

Special Libraries Association.—"Information for Victory" will be the theme underlying the several sessions of the 1943 wartime conference of the Special Libraries Association, which will be held June 22-24 in New York at the Hotel Pennsylvania, according to Marguerite Burnett, chairman of the Wartime Conference Committee and librarian of the Federal Reserve Bank of New York.

Vassar College.—A new journal, the *Family-Community Digest*, was launched in February under the joint sponsorship of the National Council of Parent Education, the Vassar College Summer Institute for Family and Child Care Services in War Time, the Institute on Personality Development, the Merrill-Palmer School, and the Progressive Education Association.

State College of Washington.—The following six members of the department of sociology have entered war services: Dr. Delbert C. Miller is assistant personnel director with the Sperry Gyroscope Company, New York; Dr. Henry J. Meyer is with the War Labor Board, Washington, D.C.; Dr. H. Ashley Weeks is senior statistician with the War Production Board, Washington, D.C.; Dean Paul H. Landis is with the Office of War Relations in the United States Department of Agriculture and is stationed in Denver, Colorado; Dr. Joseph Birdsell is a

second lieutenant in the Air Corps of the United States Army stationed in Miami Beach, Florida; Dr. Fred R. Yoder is a first lieutenant in the Air Corps of the United States Army stationed in Miami Beach, Florida.

Dr. Gordon H. Armbruster, of Olivet College, and Dr. Carl W. Strow, of East Central State College at Ada, Oklahoma, have taken temporary positions in the department during the emergency.

Wayne University.—A committee consisting of Florence Booth, Dr. Fritz Redl, and Dr. Alfred McClung Lee, chairman of the department, has developed two curriculums for the university's new preprofessional social work major. The curriculums are for specialization in group work and case work and are to be administered by the department of sociology in the College of Liberal Arts, with Professors Lee and Booth as advisers. The curriculums are planned to aid: (1) the student who wishes a job immediately on graduation; (2) the student who is trying to decide for what type of social work he is best qualified; and (3) the social worker already working who is not eligible for graduate professional training. All students who elect a major in preprofessional social work must acquire forty credits in the field, of which a minimum of twelve credits must be in required general sociology courses. The graduate curriculums in social work, leading to the M.S.W. degree, are supervised by the Graduate School of Public Affairs and Social Work, of which Dr. Lent D. Upson is director.

Dr. Norman F. Kinzie and Dr. Thomas M. Pryor have been appointed special instructors in sociology at Wayne University. Dr. Kinzie, who received his Ph.D. in social administration at Ohio State University, is

director of social service for the Detroit Council of Churches. Dr. Pryor is pastor of the Royal Oak Methodist Episcopal Church.

Dr. Edward C. Jandy, associate professor of sociology, has organized for Station WWJ, of the *Detroit News*, a series of weekly broadcasts on "Post-war Problems" each Saturday at 7:00-7:30 P.M. Dr. Jandy serves as moderator each week and is assisted by selected panels of experts.

Dr. Alfred McClung Lee is chairman of the University Committee on Post-war Reconstruction. He has just been elected a member of the board, Detroit Council of Social Agencies, and appointed consultant to the United States Department of Justice.

Wellesley College.—"Issues Today Determining Democracy Tomorrow" is the theme of the Summer Institute for Social Progress which is open to men and women of all vocations. The conference will be held June 17-27 on the campus of Briarcliff Junior College at Briarcliff Manor, New York, instead of at Wellesley College as formerly, in response to the government's request to cut down vacation travel.

A few critical problems of the home front and their relationship to the war effort and the possibility of a just peace will be discussed. J. Stewart Burgess, head of the sociology department of Temple University, will be chairman of the faculty. Forums and round tables will be led by statesmen, writers, and teachers of economics and politics from leading universities.

Ordway Tead, chairman of the Board of Higher Education of the City of New York, is the Institute's Program Committee chairman. M. Louise Walworth is chairman of the Board. For program apply to Miss Dorothy P. Hill, 22 Oakland Place, Buffalo, New York.

BOOK REVIEWS

The Education of Negroes in New Jersey. By MARION M. THOMPSON WRIGHT. New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University. Pp. viii+227. \$2.35.

Although this book is written in the closely packed style of a historical treatise, with emphasis upon the chronology of important events and personalities, it provides on the whole a description of the interplay of significant social forces which underlie at least three major American institutions: education, economics, and race. New Jersey is classified geographically as a northern state, but in its racial climate, which is an index to its social politics, it is a border state. The inconsistencies in practice and the fundamental conflicts in its institutions and community sentiments merely reflect the deeper-lying conflicts in population backgrounds, group interests, and motivating idealism.

The variations and fluctuations in policies with respect to the education of Negroes provide excellent material for studying the character of the state as well as the dominant threads of its history. There are and have been over many years both separate and mixed schools, with administrative school practice varying from extreme and humiliating discrimination in separate Negro facilities to schools totally integrated both in the student bodies and in the teaching staffs. Dr. Wright's study follows this historical development carefully from the founding of the state to 1900 and, in a supplementary chapter, refers briefly to the situation at the present. One of the most important contributions of the study is the identification of the concrete influences upon the present picture of the social ideology of the basic interest groups which emerged in the course of the development of the state.

In the earlier population were Dutch, English, Quakers, and Scotch Presbyterians—all representing fairly strong attitudes toward slavery, education, and race. In the later population were many new European immigrants and southern Negro migrants. The Dutch at first opposed and later encouraged slavery on economic grounds but, with the English, favored education for religious reasons. The Quakers

opposed slavery, and the Presbyterians took a middle ground in sponsoring colonization. It was a hundred years before a Negro leadership emerged, and, when it did, it repudiated the "best-interest" theory of both colonization and immediate integration. Out of the rough-and-tumble education of protest conventions, riots, and economic struggle there developed a class of Negroes capable of supporting the waning strength of the great religious and philanthropic leaders who kept up the fight for education as a common necessity as well as a humanitarian policy. In the end segregation increased in areas in which Negroes were numerous but politically impotent or indifferent and declined in areas—Newark, for example—where even with larger numbers it was not economical to provide separate schools. In other words, human nature, in both the dominant and the minority groups, is what it is most profitable and convenient to be.

As a historical treatise the book is a thorough and painstaking piece of work, bringing to light many new and important documents of interest to a much wider area than Negro education. As an educational document it has profoundly useful implications for American educational policy, particularly with respect to the education of minorities.

CHARLES S. JOHNSON

Fisk University

The Negro in Tennessee, 1865-1880. By A. A. TAYLOR. Washington, D.C.: Associated Publishers, Inc., 1941. Pp. 306. \$3.25.

This book is a dispassionate account of the forces influencing the life of Negroes in Tennessee when local and national agencies were participating in the rehabilitation of the state. In some respects the story of Tennessee was like that of other commonwealths having the same experience, but important aspects of the role of the Negroes in that drama are still to be treated. The narrative from the political point of view has already been told in the works of J. W. Fertig and Clifton R. Hall. Dr. Taylor, however, is mainly concerned with the changes made in the status of the Negro as a result of what the Ne-

gro did for himself while others were helping him. Political activity is presented as only one of the factors involved. Social and economic developments receive more emphasis than the emotional and spectacular efforts of politicians.

When the reader has completed this volume, he will understand the transition of Tennessee Negroes from slavery to freedom through a period of turbulence and of migration in quest of a better environment, during which the large majority became settled to work out their future on native soil. These Negroes of vision acquired land, built homes, established churches, opened schools, and, finally, in spite of the reaction, had a little voice in politics years after they had been betrayed by their "loyal" white leaders. This book helps us to understand better the Tennessee Negroes of today who owe their prosperous course to favorable beginnings of those earlier days of freedom.

Dr. Taylor presents the facts in scientific form and relies upon the reader to make his own inferences as to the significance of what happened. Throughout the book he maintains a restraint indicating a desire to present the truth without showing any inclination to sustain a position or to defend a cause.

C. G. WOODSON

Washington, D.C.

On Becoming a Kwoma: Teaching and Learning in a New Guinea Tribe. By JOHN M. WHITING. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1941. Pp. 226. \$2.75.

The student of learning in our own culture who wishes to give a systematic demonstration of how culture is transmitted from one generation to another is hampered by the heterogeneity of the material with which he is forced to deal. In following through the behavior of individual children who have been recorded and studied with great care, he still has difficulty in separating out that which is special to the child, the family, the class, and the period under discussion. It should therefore be valuable to teachers who wish to illustrate with coherent concrete materials the way in which a tradition is mediated between generations to have this data on a New Guinea tribe organized specially to the point of teaching and learning. The hypotheses concerning learning which have been developed at Yale in recent years, particularly those hypotheses as they have been applied to

cultural problems by John Dollard, have been used by Whiting as his theme, around which he has arranged some of his observations on Kwoma childhood and development. Theoretical interest prevails over interest in the culture as such; Whiting is interested in showing how a given belief or piece of behavior is reinforced or extinguished in the child and how his observations may be profitably systematized with the help of learning hypotheses. He is not interested in showing how one aspect of the Kwoma culture is related to another, nor is he interested in any of those subtler problems of *Gestalt* in learning, the distinctive way in which each culture teaches a child to organize what he learns into a systematic view of the universe, which is a point at which anthropology and learning-psychology may meet creatively.

It is probable that in every culture children are given an expectation that the universe is arranged in a certain way, in certain kinds of sequences, and that in time one or more sorts of learning—say, rote learning or learning by instrumental avoidance—is facilitated. In modern heterogeneous cultures, all these types of learning may be distinguished, and the problem of isolating and describing any one, as it occurs in real life-situations, is very difficult. We must depend upon material from primitive societies for such data. But we will get such data only if the investigator asks: "How is this culture which I am investigating *different* from other cultures? How must I modify my abstractions in order to include the observations which I am making here?" If instead the investigator asks: "How can I apply these principles of learning, which have been derived from animal experiments and observations on human beings in our own culture, to observations made in other cultures?" he is shutting off a principal source of enlightenment. In evaluating Whiting's method, which he has employed with a vigorous recognition of the importance of working with theoretical premises rather than merely accumulating unordered facts, it is important to ask: Does it add to the learning hypotheses? (This is a question which must be answered by specialists in this field.) Is it a method of using anthropological data which adds to our knowledge of the Kwoma culture in particular or of the processes of culture in particular? Has Whiting identified a new technique of learning or a new dimension of culture by pursuing this method? On the whole, his book would seem to be a demonstration that the abstractions used have stood the

test of cross-cultural application but have not been enriched by it.

MARGARET MEAD

*American Museum of
Natural History*

Married Life in an African Tribe. By I. SCHAPER. With an Introduction by BRONISLAW MALINOWSKI. New York: Sheridan House, 1941. Pp. xvii+364. \$3.50.

This is a book by an outstanding anthropologist who states that it is his object "to describe in a straightforward manner how the Kgatla family has changed and what sort of life it leads today." Moreover, he feels that an "analysis of the effects produced upon the Kgatla family by contact with Western civilization" may be useful to "Administrations, Christian Missions, humanitarians, and others, to whom the future of indigenous African society is a matter of grave concern." The author has written a narrative which, as the late Professor Malinowski states in an Introduction showing the wider implications of the study, is "as alive and free from pedantic dead-weights as it is informative and illuminating."

The outstanding merit of this study is that the author has presented a detailed analysis of concrete materials on every phase of the family life of the Kgatla. His analysis shows first that the changes which have taken place in the culture of the Kgatla have not been uniform. Then he turns his attention to the changes which have occurred in various phases, including the most intimate, of their family life. His analysis reveals that the changes have not been uniform from the standpoint of the family as a social group and a cultural unit or of the reactions of the individuals composing the family. Consequently, the Kgatla appear as human beings endowed with individuality and human impulses and not as automatons stereotyped by their culture. Moreover, his analysis gives due weight to the various factors which are bringing about changes in the family life of the Kgatla. For example, he shows that while the migration of labor to European industrial and agricultural areas has been one of the principal causes of the disruption of the traditional family system, nevertheless, the introduction of Christianity has been the "most directly subversive factor" affecting family life. In fact, Christian missionaries have been forced to make concessions to

traditional practices in order to prevent the complete demoralization of the natives' sex and family life. In some instances, the native chiefs have exhibited a more intelligent understanding of the problems involved in changing old practices than missionaries or government officials.

Sociologists who are interested in social change as well as those having a special interest in the problem of culture contacts and acculturation will find in this book a wealth of informative and suggestive materials.

E. FRANKLIN FRAZIER

Howard University

Guam and Its People. By LAURA THOMPSON. ("Studies of the Pacific," No. 8.) New York: American Council, Institute of Pacific Relations, 1941. Pp. xii+308. \$2.50.

Recent years have witnessed an increasing willingness on the part of social scientists to ignore the lines dividing their various disciplines and to seek aid in the understanding of particular problems wherever it can be found. The present book is an attempt to apply the methods of history, sociology, ethnology, and even personality psychology to an analysis of current conditions in the island of Guam and to the urgent problem of developing an educational program which will fit the natives for participation in modern civilization. Since the techniques for such synthetic studies are still in process of development, it will prove of interest even to those who are not concerned with Pacific problems.

The author begins with a description of the local geography and natural resources, followed by a brief account of aboriginal conditions and early history. The various aspects of modern life are then taken up separately but with constant references to their historic background. The influence of both aboriginal and Spanish culture patterns is quite justifiably stressed, but it is harder to evaluate the results of the forty years of American occupation. The various efforts which American administrators have made to change the well-integrated Spanish-Chamorro culture which they found are passed over lightly, with a notable lack of what might be termed case histories. Thus it would be interesting to know just how the natives reacted to an early governor's prohibition of religious processions and cockfights. There is also a lack of discussion of the present attitudes of the natives

toward Americans, although this point is of great importance for the intelligent planning of educational and administrative policies. The reviewer also feels that the rapid increase in the native population under American rule deserves fuller discussion than it has received. A tripling of population in forty years can scarcely fail to have had important social as well as economic repercussions, but there seems to be no mention of these.

One of the most interesting items in the book is a day-to-day account of activities in a native village over a six-month period, as recorded by an educated resident. Although the record is brief and highly objective, it serves to bring together and place in perspective much of the material which is disassociated in the body of the book. A somewhat similar function is performed by the description of the individual life-cycle given in chapters xv-xix inclusive. The last chapter, on basic educational problems, represents a valuable contribution to the field of applied social science.

RALPH LINTON

Columbia University

The Haitian People. By JAMES G. LEYBURN. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1941. Pp. x+342. \$4.00.

This work deals ably with caste and class, religion, home life, politics (with some attention to foreign relations), language of the masses, and economic activities (including foreign trade) in Haiti. All these aspects of Haitian culture are viewed historically. Handicapped by the scarcity of materials for the century following Haitian independence, the author has made, in general, good use of available printed materials. An examination of the manuscripts in the foreign offices of London and Paris would have yielded a few nuggets; but, of course, this would have been impossible after the summer of 1939. The volume includes a most useful bibliography and an excellent map. Two or three of the outstanding Haitian leaders in politics and education are neglected. The author contends that the main problems of Haiti are those of caste, overpopulation, health, and education. His contentions are supported by convincing evidence; but political disorders should be added to the list. Haiti suffered for more than a century from extreme political turbulence. This re-

viewer would be delighted if Professor Leyburn would undertake a similar volume on the little nation which occupies the other side of the island of Española.

J. FRED RIPPY

University of Chicago

Essays on Anti-Semitism. Edited by KOPPEL S. PINSON. ("Jewish Social Studies Publications," No. 2.) New York: Comet Press, 1942. Pp. xi+202.

This volume consists of two parts, Part I containing historical and regional studies, and Part II, analytical studies. The first part presents the following articles: "Anti-Semitism in the Hellenistic-Roman World," by Ralph Marcus; "Christian-Jewish Relations in the First Millennium," by Solomon Grayzel; "Jews in Medieval Art," by Joseph Reider; "The Jews in Medieval Law," by Guido Kisch; "The Jews and Islam," by Samuel Rosenblatt; "Anti-Semitism in Tsarist Russia," by Mark Vishniak; and "Anti-Semitism in Poland," by Raphael Mahler. How inevitably perspectivistic such concepts as "persecution" are is clearly revealed by a statement on page 29, according to which the persecution of the Christians by the Jews in the first century A.D. was "merely defensive"; during this period the "rabbis bent their efforts to create internal unity and this meant the ejection from the Jewish fold of all who subscribed to Christian ideas." In approaching scientifically such phenomena as persecution (or oppression, or aggression), we should always realize that what, from the point of view of the "victim," looks like "being persecuted" may look, from the side of the "persecutor," like "self-defense." The medieval Crusaders would have been honestly surprised if a social psychologist had tried to explain to them that they were "persecuting" Mohommedans. Unfortunately, the scientific analysis of this type of a phenomenon is frequently vitiated by the fact that the sociologist or psychologist so identifies himself, unconsciously, with one group or another, that, instead of achieving a perspectivistic understanding of both aspects of the relationships involved, he misinterprets the attitudes of the one group, or of both, in terms of his own frame of reference.

Of special sociological interest, and of far-reaching practical importance, are the remarks

in the article about anti-Semitism in Russia on the relations between "official anti-Semitism" and "unofficial anti-Semitism" (pp. 89-90), which would allow a certain comparison with the change in the situation of the Negroes in the United States before and after the Civil War. Full of social psychological insight are the following remarks in the article about anti-Semitism in Poland:

Together with the social and economic backwardness of Poland in the 19th and 20th centuries there persisted an attitude towards commerce reflecting the agricultural character of the country. Despite some capitalistic development the overwhelming majority of the Polish people still regarded commercial occupations with mistrust. Trade was identified with swindle, trickery and deceit. But the relative majority of the Jews in Poland during the entire period before the first World War was engaged in commerce and more than two-thirds of all the people engaged in such vocations were Jews. Petty trade was dominated to an even larger extent by Jews. Under such circumstances it is apparent why the Jew came to be associated in the minds of so many of the people with the idea of a swindler [pp. 128-29].

Furthermore, the Yiddish language was spoken for internal use by a group dispersed among the Polish population and was therefore "regarded as a sign of obstinate clannishness, marked by a kind of group-conspiracy, like the slang used by elements beyond the margin of society, such as thieves, beggars, and the like" (p. 130).

In the analytical part, besides a well-balanced article by B. Weinryb on "The Economic and Social Background of Modern Anti-Semitism" (the author is fully aware that he explains not the existence of anti-Semitism but only the causes of an intensification of anti-Semitism under certain circumstances), the most stimulating contribution is offered by the late Professor Diesendruck in his article on "Anti-Semitism and Ourselves," centered upon the difference between the "rational appearance" and the "irrational essence" of anti-Semitism. One of the most promising topics, according to Diesendruck, would be a historical monograph on anti-Semitism "which would divest the identical attitude of the time-conditioned garbs of argumentation" (p. 190).

By and large, the volume may be considered a valuable contribution to the problem of anti-Semitism.

GUSTAV ICHHEISER

Chicago

Economic Development in Europe. By CLIVE DAY. New York: Macmillan Co., 1942. Pp. xxi+746. \$4.00.

This is a "revision and extension" of the same author's textbook, in circulation since 1933, under the title *Economic Development in Modern Europe*. The present edition enlarges the book in three significant directions.

In the first place, it extends it backward to the medieval days beginning with the *Domesday Book*. The new chapters present some five centuries of medieval economy with little reference to other developments which took place within such a long period and create a somewhat misleading picture of medieval poverty and lawlessness. Of course, modern progress shines brightly when contrasted with the lack of progress before, but the latter certainly need not be exaggerated. The origin and functioning of medieval institutions are interpreted on a rationalistic level which would do honor to a Voltaire rather than to a twentieth-century historian. The tendency to present English conditions as typical of the medieval, and to ignore many of the vastly different developments on the Continent, further enhances the impression that the author's knowledge of that period is of the "second-hand" type.

Second, the geographic scope of the book has been extended by adding Italy, Spain, and Ireland to England, France, Germany, and Russia. The gain is quantitative rather than qualitative. Obviously, Dr. Day is none too familiar with the history of those "minor" countries. Twenty pages devoted to Italy, including the Renaissance, half of them to the developments since 1900, can scarcely be called "economic history."

Another concession to marketability might have been the reason for extending the book forward into the post-1914 era. It may be debatable whether a textbook of economic history should include such recent developments. But it is not debatable that over 60 pages out of 110 devoted to Germany's post-1914 era, as against 27 pages to her entire economic history before 1871, make the title of the book appear as a misnomer. The worst of it is that the author is not a thorough student of post-war developments and is unfamiliar with many of the intricate problems involved.

So much about the innovations of the present edition. Otherwise, the work retains its character, similar to that of textbooks current in the field. It is distinguished by sharp formulations,

vivid illustrations, and by a very lucid style. Its backbone is the well-balanced and up-to-date history of England's, France's, and Russia's capitalist transformation, with proper emphasis on statistical material as well as on political and cultural backgrounds. The utilization of unconfirmed anecdotes and vague generalizations is, however, scarcely compatible with scientific standards. The story, e.g., that the Germans lack engineering ingenuity (p. 401 —haven't we heard it lately about the Russians and the Japanese? —would make a conscientious "foreign correspondent" blush. Such forced attempts to imitate Sombart in producing flashy interpretations *pour épater le bourgeois* make Dr. Day's lack of originality painfully evident. The organization of the book by countries leads to more neglect of international comparisons than is good for the understanding of differences and similarities in the history of individual nations.

MELCHIOR PALYI

Chicago

Sociologia peruana. By ROBERTO MAC-LEAN Y ESTENÓS. Lima: Talleres gráficos de la librería ó imprenta Gil, 1942. Pp. 556.

Several factors create confidence in this volume. The author's theoretical background is large and solid. The chief materials in the book have appeared as monographs or printed lectures through a series of years, thus permitting scrutiny and revision. The author has had a distinguished career as observer and university professor in the very region of which he is writing. The treatment of materials in the volume embraces both a clear statement of basic facts and an adequate explanatory commentary by the author. The volume is strictly "indigenous" and not a compilation of abstracts from "foreign" authors. This meets the requirements of a student who craves sociological discussions of Latin America which disclose genuine originality, intimate observation, and bold interpretation by a trained thinker.

Part I describes the genetic processes by which the Peruvian population came into being and gained its social characteristics. Part II is concerned with the major functions of this Peruvian society in operation through the centuries. The discussion is topical, not historical. In Part I the differentiation of the groups that occupy three different altitudes in the terrain and the characterization of Peruvian cities at

once hold the attention. In Part II sex, myth, witchcraft, demonism, art, language, custom, law, and morals are the key words.

A few abbreviated statements will give clues to the author's work as an interpreter of social facts. The original inhabitants of Peru were savage immigrants from overseas, as was the case throughout all America. Geographical conditions have had an almost fatalistic effect in molding cultural life. Genuine nationalism has always been impossible because of the persisting cleft between the whole social life of the Indians and that of the colonials and their descendants; even the Negroes and mulattoes are not assimilated. The conquistadors made the most egregious mistakes (repeated many times over) in trying to make profit from, and establish a new culture among, a population of which they knew nothing on arrival and learned little afterward. Brigandage was excluded from the pre-Columbian Peru but arose among the colonists and still continues. The first national women's congress urged the press to avoid descriptions of current criminal operations.

One dislikes to lay the volume down, as the account moves on with real power and illumination on a region little known to most of us.

H. L. LATHAM

Chicago

Politics, Parties and Pressure Groups. By V. O. KEY, JR. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell & Co., 1942. Pp. viii+814. \$3.75.

This book differs from most textbooks on American political parties in that about a third of the work is devoted to a discussion of pressure groups. In the section on "The Contenders for Power" the author discusses, with clarity and balance, such topics as sectionalism, pressures from agrarian, labor, and business interests, the techniques of pressure groups, and such related tendencies as oligarchy, traditionalism, guild influences, and the opposition of business groups to economic planning. Parts II and III, discussing "The Party System" and "The Electoralate and Electoral Problems," follow the traditional organization. Professor Key's presentation, however, is sparing in the space given to a historical survey of American party policy. The scope of the volume is unusually comprehensive, and there are few problems relating to American parties and pressure groups that are not treated.

Separate chapters on propaganda and straw polls are included. Noteworthy is the author's discussion of the role of money in politics, considered separately in relation to party finance and as the technique of "pecuniary sanctions." Of interest is the last section, "Diverse Political Techniques," containing three chapters—"Force," "Pecuniary Sanctions," and "Education and Politics." Although they are of merit and interest, they add little to the value of the book, hanging at the end as appendages instead of being integrated into the body of the analysis.

Professor Key has brought to this work his uncanny quality of thoroughgoing research. He has included in it much material of importance that has, thus far, hardly been used, such as evidence from congressional investigations, the T.N.E.C., the N.R.P.B., and various articles from the historical journals. His chapter on "Administration as Politics" contains many fine insights on the political problems of public administration. On the other hand, more, probably, could have been said on party politics relating to international affairs and to the present war.

Considered as a whole, this book is not so good as its individual parts. Its chapters are well organized; they are based upon careful research, and they display unusual insight and balanced judgment. But what is lacking is synthesis, differentiation in emphasis, and, above all, a challenging perspective. The weakness of the book is its excessive caution. Why, for example, does Dr. Key rely so upon the reputed authority of Mosca and Michels, quoting them as the fountains of political wisdom, when he is so obviously not in sympathy with their conclusions. That groups and forces are engaged in a constant struggle with each other for political ascendancy is so much a commonplace that one wonders at this theme's being made the dominant motif for a present-day study of American politics. When democracy is fighting for its life and for a better world order, is not a little more intellectual daring the order of the day? The book has abundant materials out of which a more challenging view could have been constructed, and the author reveals at times that he has the capacity and the insight to do it. It is indeed unfortunate that he has not done so.

FRANK P. BOURGIN

Chicago

Andrew D. White and the Modern University. By WALTER P. ROGERS. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1942. Pp. ix+259. \$2.50.

Andrew D. White's leadership among the men who revolutionized the pattern of the American college is often obscured by the greater institutional prestige associated with Charles W. Eliot's role at Harvard or Daniel C. Gilman's at Johns Hopkins. White's struggle at Cornell came first in chronology, however, and it also presents a clearer picture of the forces that were at work. White drew his lines more sharply—think of his forthright struggle against sectarian influences in education—and he had a gift for vigorous participation in controversy which may not always have served his immediate institutional ambitions but which made him a tower of strength in the clarification of national thinking in this area.

Walter P. Rogers has taken advantage of this characteristic of his hero and set his story in the framework of the development of the modern university. As a result the final product is the most readable and comprehensive story of the emergence of the modern American college and university now available, and far more interesting to a reader without a specific institutional interest than, for instance, Henry James's story of Eliot.

If the reconstruction of American education is a matter of high priority in our national life—as it is now commonly admitted—this volume should be required reading for the participants in the college and university stages of the controversy. It is an effective antidote for the social and historical illiteracy that has characterized the Flexner and Hutchins chapters in recent discussion. The Cornell, Harvard, and Johns Hopkins reforms were historically inevitable in the light of the intellectual and social trends of the post-Civil War period, and Rogers makes it quite clear that a different "slant" among the "presidents" of the period would simply have encouraged the development of similar innovations apart from the formal educational structure of the time—with all the uncertain but probably unfortunate consequences of such dual development. Such leadership might have preserved the primacy of the classics and metaphysics in the established colleges and universities, but it would probably have relegated the existing institutions to an insignificant part in the emerging picture. Any future reconstruction of American education will have to deal

with the corresponding trends in recent American social life—or it will be sterile and irrelevant. The reviewer notes with realistic malice that, with all credit to White's superior candor and courage—relative to his contemporaries—he, too, could make a forthright attack on the sectarian hold on instruction in such subjects as biology but insist simultaneously on the presentation of “both sides”—by separate lecturers—of the great post-war controversy on the tariff. White's Cornell did not see the need for two lecturers—or two “sides”—on evolution. The church was a master whose will White—at great cost to his new university—was prepared to challenge. The new struggle for integrity in the face of dominance by economic or political interests was just beginning.

HARRY D. GIDEONSE

Brooklyn College

The Academic Men. By LOGAN WILSON. London, New York, and Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1942. Pp. viii + 248. \$3.00.

According to the author, who is professor of sociology in Tulane University, this is a work designed to meet a need by “providing an objective basis for understanding professional life as it exists within the social organization of the contemporary American university” (p. 5). It is confined in the main, however, to “the central or major universities,” such as “Harvard, Chicago, Columbia, Yale, California, Wisconsin, and others that rank high in the universe of learning” (p. 6). It may be notable that a table of thirty leading graduate centers, included in the Appendix, does not list Tulane.

In the opinion of the reviewer, this book does not constitute so much of an advance upon existing works on institutions of higher education in the United States as the author seems to imply in his introductory chapter. It is, nevertheless, a moderately comprehensive and accurate account of life in the larger American universities, particularly as seen from the standpoint of faculty members, and a suggestive interpretation of university teaching as a career. In his interpretation, Professor Wilson has emphasized especially the competitive nature of the university world and the feeling of insecurity under which the university teacher, and particularly the junior members of a faculty, is likely to labor. The standpoint and problems

of the administrator are characterized with considerable sympathy and insight; no specific indictment is brought in against any particular class of persons for the shortcomings of contemporary universities. The treatment of inter-departmental relations in the university (p. 83), though brief, is noteworthy.

FLOYD N. HOUSE

University of Virginia

American Family Behavior. By JESSIE BERNARD. New York: Harper & Bros., 1942. Pp. xx + 564. \$3.50.

In a court of law the admissions of a reluctant witness are generally regarded as having a special value as evidence. The reviewer can perhaps lay claim to the right to give testimony of this sort concerning Jessie Bernard's excellent book. He accepts few or none of her methodological premises, but he nevertheless feels the greatest admiration for the job that she has done.

Mrs. Bernard has written a book which heavily emphasizes quantitative researches into family life. Wherever possible she has used such researches to make her points, and she has put them together with unusual skill. The merit of such a book is that it is based upon a wide variety of researches. The inevitable disadvantage is that it must contain a great many gaps and be uneven in quality. In filling these gaps, Mrs. Bernard has rightly drawn upon imagination, common sense, and investigations of an empirical, nonquantitative nature. The result is a book of great value to specialists in the family.

A considerable portion of the book is devoted to the task of measuring the adequacy of the performance of the family institution with regard to its reproductive, protective, socializing, affectional, and regulatory functions. The author attempts to establish norms for each of these functions and to assemble information enabling her to evaluate performance. Mrs. Bernard deserves commendation for this phase of her work, not merely because of the ingenuity which she displays in her attempts at measurement but also by reason of the courage which she displays in following her evidence when it leads to pessimistic conclusions. For it becomes very clear that our family institutions discharge their alleged functions on the whole rather poor-

ly. It could be argued, of course, that many of these tests are tests of our economic system rather than of the family. Nevertheless, Mrs. Bernard's demonstration makes it clear that the family institution does not work well in the present social order. The interest and value of this section of the book derives from the fact that the author has used quantitative and relatively objective researches as a means of arriving at evaluative judgments. All credit is due to her for her frank handling of some very touchy subjects.

In other sections of her book the author manages to cover reasonably well most of the topics usually discussed in textbooks on the family. In the opinion of the reviewer, she rides her predilection for quantitative researches much too hard, but that is a matter of opinion, and her preference is far from absolute. At times the discussions become quite complex and abstract, so that undergraduates may have difficulty in following them. There is a particularly good chapter on sibling relationships. There are a number of very helpful tables which summarize results of researches on specific topics. There is an index, but bibliographies and other so-called classroom aids are lacking.

WILLARD WALLER

Columbia University

Marriage for Moderns. By HENRY M. BOWMAN. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., Inc., 1942. Pp. ix+493. \$3.00.

This is a clear, introductory survey of the problems and processes involved in attaining conjugality and mastering the problems of married life. Such fundamental issues as the reasons for marriage, fitness for the responsibilities of married life, choosing and winning a mate, personality adjustment in the conjugal state, happy marriage, failures in matrimony, and divorce are covered with considerable thoroughness.

Related issues, such as the life of the unmarried adult; marriage versus a career and a career with marriage; the desirable age for successful marriage, courtship, wedding, and honeymoon; family finances and the use of leisure time; the problems of reproduction, involving childlessness, birth control, and planned parenthood—are handled in adequate fashion.

The book assumes to emphasize the psychological approach to the analysis of premarital

and marriage problems, but the predominant attitude throughout is that of the homely, practical and "common-sense" mode of treatment. There is, however, some keen psychological analysis of courtship and marriage issues, though in this respect it does not rival Professor Waller's candor and insight.

While this is a substantial and useful volume and reveals not a little practical wisdom, the flavor of "modernism" appears mainly in the title. That is, unless one means by "marriage for moderns," marriage for those who live in modern times, as contrasted with marriage in the Middle Ages. The attitude toward sex is rather traditional and conventional. This is, perhaps, as it should be, but those who anticipate from the title that they will get a thrill or a shock from the book are likely to be disappointed.

HARRY ELMER BARNES

Cooperstown, New York

Reductions in Recidivism through Therapy. By RUTH JACOBS LEVY. New York: Thomas Seltzer, 1941. Pp. 143. \$1.50.

Briefly summarized, this is a study of specialized psychological treatment of forty delinquent boys in Manhattan, the results of which were statistically checked against those of a control group of forty not subjected to this, or any other, special therapy.

The procedure of the author was as follows: "(1) look for those needs which are not finding fulfillment or satisfaction in socially acceptable areas; (2) find them; (3) help the child to fulfill these needs within non-delinquent channels" (p. 31).

The actual therapeutic devices consisted of the author's interviews with the boy, the school, and the recreation center. The group dealt with was chosen so as to secure a relatively high degree of homogeneity; all were between ten and twelve when first arraigned in the Manhattan Children's Court; were American born of Italian parentage; were of the Roman Catholic faith; were of a relatively low socioeconomic level; none was psychopathic or had an I.Q. of less than 60.

The author summarizes the results as follows: Of the experimental group of forty, two were rearraigned; of the control group, eight. The chi-square test gives a *P* of .04288. Of the experimental forty, five were still on supervision

at the end of the study, as contrasted with seventeen of the forty in the control group. Chi-square test gives a P of .00270. This seems to establish clearly the more than chance difference between two groups originally selected for their similarity in a number of significant traits.

C. E. GEHLKE

Western Reserve University

Housing for Health: Papers Presented under the Auspices of the Committee on the Hygiene of Housing of the American Public Health Association. Lancaster, Pa.: Science Press Printing Co., 1941. Pp. 221. \$1.50.

The Committee on the Hygiene of Housing of the American Public Health Association under the chairmanship of Dr. C. E. A. Winslow has been working for a number of years to define the relation of health to housing conditions. In 1939 the committee published *Basic Principles of Healthful Housing*. The present volume is a collection of papers which have been presented at symposiums held by the committee in 1939 and 1940, together with a few papers presented by members of the committee on other occasions. These papers present the findings of individuals or groups who have undertaken to measure various aspects of the relationship of health and housing.

In his introductory chapter Dr. Winslow says that so far it has been impossible to demonstrate by exact statistical procedure the effects of poor housing on the death rate, and in the absence of such proof he believes that "we may profitably turn to the testimony of that rare commodity which we ironically call 'common sense.'" He reminds his readers that the Committee on the Hygiene of Housing "has correctly pointed out that more damage is done to the health of the children of the United States by a sense of chronic inferiority due to the consciousness of living in substandard dwellings than by all the defective plumbing which those dwellings may contain." This position is a sound one for the chairman of the committee to take, even though unproved by factual evidence, because some of the best papers in this volume, while presenting important evidence very carefully, fail to establish conclusively that poor housing is a factor in the etiology of disease. Britton, Brown, and Altman present some interesting data on the relation of overcrowding to illness and accident. They show that both illness and accidents occur more often

in dwellings with more than one and a half persons per room than in dwellings with one person or less per room; that communicable disease is more frequent among small children in crowded homes; and that the rate of disabling illness is higher in homes with low rentals which normally show more than the average overcrowding. There is, however, no way of holding constant the psychological factor which Dr. Winslow mentions, nor are there any facts on the amount of education which heads of families had. Some families with average education and an abundance of common sense may be able to live in the slums without more than the average incidence of disease. To define the relation of illness to poor housing precisely, we need information on some of the less tangible factors, as well as the amount of formal education which parents in the slums have had in order to correlate them with income and rate of illness.

John C. Leukhardt makes a case for the establishment of health centers in the public housing projects, because these seem to offer an exceptional opportunity to supervise the health of a group of families and to carry on health education. This suggestion seems to imply that, even though slum-dwellers move into the fine new public housing developments, they need some special health attention. That overcrowding, absence of toilet facilities, and dilapidated houses may contribute to the weakening of resistance to disease or may facilitate the spread of disease organisms seems a priori incontrovertible, but so far these factual studies have to rely to a considerable extent on projection by faith.

The case for good housing probably must be made on the basis of the inherent desirability of good housing rather than as a means of preventing illness, delinquency, or crime. The chapters by Svend H. Riemer and F. Stuart Chapin in this volume deal with certain aspects of housing as housing. They show that family life goes on more satisfactorily if the dwelling is good, suitable to its purpose, large enough, and located satisfactorily with respect to other similar dwellings. Family life would seem to be the elemental basis upon which to plan a housing program. The relation of certain physical facts of housing to satisfying life in the family is shown conclusively by Allan A. Twichell, Dr. Winslow, and Riemer. Given these physical minimums, health would probably be assured in so far as housing in itself affects health.

R. CLYDE WHITE

University of Chicago

Farm Ownership, Tenancy, and Land Use in a Nebraska County. By ROBERT DILLER. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1941. Pp. viii+192. \$2.00.

The ninety-eight pages of text (the rest being appendixes) are devoted to a natural history of land ownership and use in the selected county. The author confesses to having started his study with the popular notions that ownership has become essentially unstable and that tenancy is even more so. His findings led him to the conclusion that, in this county at least, land ownership was unstable and speculative from the first and that it has become less so as time has passed. He also finds that tenancy is frequently associated with stable ownership of the farm by heirs of previous owners and that the tenant is likely to stay on the farm longer, to keep it in better condition, and to be better off financially than owner-operators. It is the latter, who often have never had more than a slight equity in their farms, who do not stay long and who are so handicapped by the burden of debt that they have little money for improvements.

Such findings, if they turn out to apply fairly generally in comparable farming areas, might require considerable revision of current notions about farming and land tenure. Whether this turns out so or not, the study is valuable as an attempt at an institutional study of the farming enterprise in a particular area.

University of Chicago EVERETT C. HUGHES

How To Create Job Enthusiasm. By CARL HEY-EL. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co. Inc., 1942. Pp. vii+248. \$2.00.

The author sees job enthusiasm as a matter of the worker's attitude toward both the job and the company and as something which can be maintained only through the constant attention of management toward problems of human relations. With this thesis, he presents an analysis of the factors which make for job satisfaction or dissatisfaction and the type of attitudes and behavior which accompany job enthusiasm.

This work on the whole presents a certain body of sentiments toward the worker and the work situation which are coming into increasing acceptance by business management. The analysis of the entire problem is superficial, however, and makes no new contribution to the field. The illustrative cases, description of various techniques employed by different companies, and quotations from various books and

publications are well selected and would be suggestive to business executives and of considerable interest to students.

Chicago BURLEIGH B. GARDNER

The Diffusion of Science. By JESSE LEE BENNETT. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1942. Pp. ix+141. \$2.25.

Mr. Bennett's is another voice in that considerable chorus of moderns who feel that the times are out of joint in education. The modern world is a world of science and industry whose products moderns enjoy, but the principles of whose production they neither understand nor study. Our educational establishments look either toward an irrelevant "pansophism" such as the ancients aspired to, or to a blind specialization such as prevails among our contemporaries. Both miss that growing "area of relative certainty" which science provides as the material of a new education, looking to a way of life based on the idea that "man is an energy system" and that "education is a device for affording outlets for that energy in ways beneficial to the individual and to society as a whole." The formation of this device is a task like the engineer's or the architect's. It would work both by conditioning and by recapitulation, and the material it used would be to the growing mind what the water, soil, and fertilizer are to the growing plant. It could be the same everywhere in the world.

In the post-war appearance of such agencies as the League of Nation's International Institute of Intellectual Cooperation there is a sign that people are becoming aware of the need of a "statesmanship of science." Such a statesmanship would set up a centralized authority for the diffusion of scientific knowledge, a world association for the diffusion of science. This authority could begin by studying the existing processes of diffusion and their agencies; it could discern and eradicate their lacks and evil effects, develop a process of propaganda that would modify popular attitudes toward the sciences, and lay the ground for the brave new world of energy systems. Existing associations for the advancement of science, foundations, etc., might either compose such a world association or come under its authority.

Mr. Bennett does not consider the precedents of centralized educational authority—say the Roman Catholic Congregation *Propaganda Fidei*—I assume because they are nonscientific.

But in human terms they are well worth pondering.

H. M. KALLEN

New School for Social Research
New York City

The Principles of Power. By GUGLIELMO FERRERO. Translated by THEODORE R. JAEKEL. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1942. Pp. ix+333. \$3.50.

Two great, if humble, discoveries have, so he says, converted Guglielmo Ferrero from a learned but impercipient historian into a clairvoyant sage, incipient savior of mankind. The first discovery was that Mussolini, with great power and enormous popular support, was afraid—was afraid of Ferrero, was and is, indeed, afraid of any and every body.

The second discovery is the very principle(s) of legitimacy. Only Talleyrand had seen these principles before, and now Ferrero builds wisdom and salvation upon seven lines of Talleyrand. The first discovery runs, in generalized fashion, that "power acquired through a *coup d'état* has the diabolical property of frightening the one who . . . possesses himself of it before it frightens the others" (p. 12). The second discovery came to Ferrero as a "revelation"; it was and is "momentous." From the time of its disclosure to him in 1918, says he, "I began to see clear in the history of mankind and in my own destiny" (p. 19). This book is the last of the trilogy (*The Gamble* and *The Reconstruction of Europe* having appeared in a happier Paris) in which this unique insight has been shared with the world.

These two discoveries are linked. The fear which dogs modern dictators arises from their *illegitimate* possession of power. What, then, are the principles of *legitimate* power? These our author first intuited from Talleyrand. Stated without fanfare, they are four: the majority principle, the elective principle, the aristocratic principle, and the monarchic principle. There are interrelations, which for practical purposes combine the first two and then the last two. Whoever has power deriving from either combination of these principles has possessed himself of a rationality which helps allay the fear that makes modern tyrannies nervous and sadistic. It is the outrage of his own rationality that gives birth to the tyrant's fear of the people. But what makes the people afraid of him? This question will send us, says our

author, "to plumb the most profound depths of human nature. For the awful fear of the dictators springs from these depths; and it bears with it the essence of life" (p. 27).

It does no violence (though not detailed justice) to Ferrero's intricate psychoanalysis of this fact to say that fear between the governing and the governed is mutual, inevitable, inexorable, iniquitous, and unexorcisable. Yet no order is possible, no civilization achievable, no progress conceivable, save upon the minimization of this mutual fear. Though the legitimacy of government is measured by this minimization, no government can wholly allay this primeval curse; yet no government can succeed that does not largely allay it. Time, most of all, is required for the maturation of legitimacy of any type. This follows from the fact that no principle is self-implementing, that all governing power begins at the top and in a minority. Time, however, is not enough; it must be allied with fate and be aided by patient and punctilious observance of the rules appropriate to each form of legitimization.

The democratic form has its own rules—His Majesty's opposition and universal suffrage—and the aristocratic its rules. The trouble with Europe, says Ferrero, is that the complex of traditions supporting the aristocratic form broke down—partly through necessitated but artificial imitation of the democratic—before sufficient traditional support was available for the democratic form. Any legitimacy is adequate; for it is the fact, not the form, that allays fear. The importance of this book surpasses its originality. The *Federalist* papers have most of its insights. Merriam's *Power* and Lasswell's *Personal Insecurity and International Order* complete the insight, without poignant egotism and prophetic romanticism.

T. V. SMITH

University of Chicago

Self-analysis. By KAREN HORNEY. New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 1942. Pp. 309. \$3.00.

Though Karen Horney's two subsequent books have not achieved the deep and relentless dissection revealed in *The Neurotic Personality of Our Time*, they have retained the same haunting sense of the neurotic, the same intuitive lucidity, and the same balanced approach. The present volume, exhibiting these characteristics in abundance, carries a freshness and clairvoyance that give it vivid significance. It is not a

manual for the layman, but a running commentary on the problem of self-analysis.

Dr. Horney defends the possibility of self-analysis. Even with the assistance of an analyst the patient must do much for himself and, however limited his insight, must necessarily know the psychic facts about himself better than anyone else. The real limitation lies not so much in the realm of fact as in the realm of incentive and interpretation. Freud errs in recognizing as the only sufficient incentive the patient's desire to overcome his gross symptoms. In contrast, the newer psychoanalysis has a more constructive aim—the alteration of the entire character—and recognizes in the patient basic motives which, regardless of symptoms, are in conflict with the underlying neurotic trends. The patient's inner suffering, his failure to achieve his culturally desirable goals as against the neurotic ones, urge him to combat his resistances. Without these other aspects to his character, his neurotic trends would be so powerful as to render him incapable of psychoanalysis.

The author's handling of resistances and the individual's means of overcoming them is the best part of the book. The individual should use free association rather than rational thought as the primary method of singling out his neurotic trends. Rather than fight his resistances with false determination or self-blame, he should free-associate in connection with them. Keeping written notes on his associations, he should go back to a previous blocking and seek there a clue to the present unwillingness to accept what his new associations reveal. In this way further clarification will arise and gradually overcome the latest resistance.

On the question of interpretation Dr. Horney's views are not so explicit. A person totally unacquainted with psychoanalysis would hardly evolve a satisfactory understanding of his free associations. It is probably for this reason that Dr. Horney feels it necessary to review briefly her own theory of psychoanalysis; and she suggests that the person attempting self-analysis should, if possible, occasionally see a professional analyst.

In contrast to the deterministic Freudian and Adlerian schools, the author is pluralistic. She recognizes the existence of many different kinds of neurotic trends, often in the same person, and holds that it is not the content but the character of the trends that constitutes their neurotic nature. Whether they lead in the direction of love, power, or security, they are com-

pulsive and indiscriminate. They strait jacket and violate the rest of the personality, over-inhibiting the individual and removing his spontaneity, his genuineness, his "true self." And yet, however misguided, they serve a function in the situation. In treatment one must discover each neurotic trend in turn, penetrating to its function in the total personality structure and social setting. One should begin with the shallowest trends and work gradually from them to the deeper ones, proceeding each time by three steps—recognition of the trend, discovery of its manifestations, and comprehension of its function. Beyond this there are no definite rules. Each case must work itself out in its unique manner, employing free association as the primary tool.

As an example of self-analysis, a long study is given of a woman who, though she had some professional treatment, finally worked out her problems by self-analysis. The history occupies fifty-six pages, and, in addition to illustrating the process of self-analysis, brings out one further fact—the striking resemblance between the psychoanalytic description of character (in Dr. Horney's hands) and the description which a good novel might contain. The way the reader is drawn into sympathetic identification with this woman resembles the subtle though somehow fuller character analysis found in novels such as Forster's *A Passage to India* or De Maupassant's *Une Vie*. This would not be possible were it not that Karen Horney's psychoanalysis is nearer to common sense, less doctrinaire, less fantastic than that of virtually any other analyst. Behind her theory is a conception of the personality as a psychic equilibrium, and she has gone further than most mental healers in recognizing that ends and values do not change by outside command or inner determination but rather by "insight," the sudden appreciation of a new balance in one's evaluative system. Her suggestions as to how this "insight" is accomplished, though not complete, represent the permanent contribution of this book.

KINGSLEY DAVIS

Office of Population Research
Princeton University

Climate Makes the Man. By CLARENCE A. MILLS. New York: Harper & Bros., 1942. Pp. vi+320. \$3.00.

The author, a professor of experimental medicine at the University of Cincinnati, has been

publishing papers on climate for the last dozen years or more. There is some interest in a report of his comprehensive book on the subject.

Everyone knows climate is important, especially the extremes. The question of climate concerns its degree of importance as compared with other factors such as heredity, psychology, tradition, and invention. In Part I, Doctor Mills opens badly with this sentence: "That cold room rat was displaying the same aggressive ingenuity and industry which has prompted people in cool climates to develop a high civilization and accomplish near miracles." The Chippewa Indians dwelling around the Great Lakes had the same climate as the present white residents, but they did not have so high a culture. The hot humid lowlands of the Mayans had a far higher civilization than did the Great Lakes area of the Chippewas.

Suspecting that the author is unfamiliar with the researches of the cultural anthropologists of the last quarter of a century, we turn with interest to the chapters on world dominance and weather, thermometers and history, climate and world war.

Thermometers and history are handled in this fashion: By driving the Chinese westward up into the highlands of the interior, Japan has probably performed a great service for her enemy. The Chinese army and tens of millions of the most progressive inhabitants of the coastal cities have thus been pushed back into a much more invigorating climate. . . . Here the hand of temperature is affecting the course of history still in the making. . . . Of course, there were Chinese in the invigorating climate of the uplands before the war; and one wonders why they did not develop the high culture there instead of at Peking and Shanghai in the lowlands. Further, "Perhaps, it would be wise for the Chinese to keep Chungking as their permanent capital . . . and continue with the development of that rich, more stimulating upland region." Perhaps we should move Washington from the District of Columbia to California! And perhaps, again, the location of a capital does not have so much to do with nation-building as have the locations of trade routes and coal fields.

Of the business depressions of the 1930's, the author says that "even more excessive warmth began in 1929, initiating the severe and prolonged economic depression." But the mean annual temperature in New York City in 1929 was only six-tenths of a degree higher than in

1928. The depression began in the cool autumn, which was 15° or 20° cooler than the hot summer when business activity was at its peak. Furthermore, the prosperous year, 1939, was warmer than 1929; yet, instead of ushering in a severe depression, 1939 initiated an even more prosperous year.

Climatic causation in history is further exemplified by this statement: "Up until 1899 [how long is "up until"?] temperatures there [in Japan] were above the long term average, but from 1899 to 1914, *every single year was colder than normal*. During this period she embarked upon the career of imperial expansion." Let us examine these sentences carefully. Looking up the mean annual temperatures in Tokyo, we find that there were "up until" 1899—that is, from 1876 to 1899—more years with temperatures below the average than above. Not "*every single year was colder than normal*" from 1899 to 1914 in Tokyo; in 1912 and 1913 the temperatures were not below normal. The average annual temperature for Tokyo for 1899–1914 was, however, lower than normal, but only by two-tenths of a degree. (What a difference of two-tenths of a degree in temperature may mean is not known; but it should be observed that the mean monthly range of temperature in Tokyo from the coldest to the hottest month of the year is 42° F.) Dr. Mills does not mention the temperature preceding the present war of expansion of Japan. Looking up the temperatures for a comparable period preceding this present war of conquest, we find that the present war was preceded by a warm spell in Tokyo, above normal to a greater extent than the period before the preceding war was below normal. Below-normal temperatures initiated the expansion of Japan at the turn of the century, he says, but above-normal temperatures initiated the expansion of Japan in the late 1930's. Yet the author chooses to attribute the present war of expansion of Japan to these long-ago cool years (cooler by two-tenths of a degree), for, he says, "Japan is still riding the wave of her 1899–1914 period of energizing lower than normal temperatures."

In a chapter called "From Flood Tide to Beginning Ebb" the author observes the well-known fact that statures have been increasing but notes that in certain universities he studied the statures have been slowing up in their increase, and in some cases there has been no increase for a decade. In no case is there a citation of a decrease of stature. Yet in the next

paragraph he speaks of "the growth tide reversal," "reversing our trend from racial expansion in size," and a "beginning biologic recession." Since no instance or evidence of a reversal in stature is cited, it seems to be assumed that because there is a slowing-up in growth of stature there will inevitably be a decrease. But such does not necessarily follow. Man cannot go on increasing his stature or his length of life forever. There is a limit. Why assume that a slowing-up of these increases means a "profound retreat" or a "biologic recession"?

From climate and civilization we turn more hopefully to the chapters dealing with the important and interesting subjects of the author's researches, such as the effects of varying room temperatures upon experimental animals and the influence of climate on diseases. Significant as some of his studies may be, the reports in this book (without footnotes or bibliography) are so loosely and inadequately presented that the reader is hesitant about accepting any specific new conclusion, especially in view of the evidence of the author's methods, cited in the preceding paragraphs of this review.

As to general significance, the reviewer questions whether there is much that is new. We do not have to show by laboratory experiment that the rat thrives better in a cool room than in a cold or a hot one in order to possess the general knowledge that an animal is often better adjusted to one climate than another. (This is not to say that the researches on temperature and the rat have not made important new discoveries.) The polar bear and the hippopotamus are seldom seen in zoos or circuses in the temperate zones. Our interest really centers in man, who lives in nearly all climatic regions and thrives remarkably well. The polar Eskimos invented the dome, and the Indians of the tropics invented the zero, while the Greeks living in the "ideal" climate had neither the dome nor the zero.

As to variations of disease by climate, the general point is known. Malaria exists in the south and colds in the north. It is the specific that is significant. Hence, it is a matter of regret that the author has not given a fuller presentation, for instance, of the relations of moods to barometric pressure and of the analysis of cancer distribution.

The book is quite popularly written—indeed, the style is chatty. Bits of advice are sprinkled here and there. We should eat more vitamin B₁, or study the weather maps more. Irrelev-

vancies are mixed in suggestively. Dictators are discussed along with climate and business depressions.

Since it may be thought that the reviewer is unfair in reviewing a popular presentation as if it were a scientific treatise, a few comments will be made on the book as popularization. The author says: "Science today should make every possible effort to put its findings into easily understood language, especially when they bear directly upon the public welfare." But does not the popularizer of science have the moral duty and obligation to present as science only that which has been proved and verified and which can be taken by the public as reliable? Jazzing up miscellaneous and casual observations may be popularizing, but it is not popularizing science.

A real problem of popularization is what to do with the question of the statement of the degree to which something occurs, which the scientists struggle so long to obtain. There have been many papers written, for instance, to determine how much warmer it is getting as the years go by. One instance of the author's popularization of this point is:

The records definitely show that temperatures over the earth have been rising almost universally for the last eighty years or so, slowly at first, but much more rapidly in recent years and especially during the last twenty years. . . . Climates have altered since grandfather's days.

Is a popularizer obligated to define "rapidly"? I, as a reader, had a curiosity to know how much is "more rapidly" and the "much more rapidly" of the last twenty years. Looking up the temperatures of New York City, I find that the "much more rapidly" of the last twenty years is three-hundredths of a degree per year for that city. Furthermore, I am also reminded that there are short cycles, long cycles, and longer cycles in weather; therefore, I do not know of how much importance is a rise of six-tenths of a degree in twenty years of mean annual temperature in view of the phenomenon of long cycles. Also, in speaking of the stature of the European peoples of the Dark Ages, no measurements of skeletons or of sizes of armor are presented, but instead we are left to infer the degree from his statements that the knights were "pygmies" compared to our picked soldiers, the common people were "puny," and the damsels were "females in miniature." Impressionism is not science, nor is impressionistic

writing a popularization of science, especially when measurements exist.

Still, *Climate Makes the Man*, published by Harpers and Brothers, established in 1871, should be purchased by college libraries to show the students what science is not.

WILLIAM F. OGBURN

University of Chicago

Millhands and Preachers: A Study of Gastonia.

By LISTON POPE. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1942. Pp. xvi+369. \$4.00.

Millhands and Preachers is at once a social survey, a community study, a study of social institutions, a study of the culture of a region, and a study of the interrelationships of classes and institutions within a southern county. The study has its focus in Gastonia, Gaston County, North Carolina. Its subject is the relationship between churches and the development and management of cotton mills. The author makes a broad interpretation of the operation of the mills and sees the churches in terms of culture patterns, institutional survival, the leadership of persons, and the satisfaction of personal needs of many kinds, including "security, new experience, response and recognition," although he does not insist upon this language. The pattern and type of the study is sociological, with its emphasis on relationship, interrelationships, and the changing and dynamic character of local life.

The author studies the role of the churches in the rise and growth of the mills, the emergence of social classes in Gastonia, the relationship of the various types of churches to the social classes, and the relationship of the established patterns and forms of church life to the incoming groups. He tells why the newer population groups have their own churches. He shows how the economic and occupational groupings within the community are related to the various church groups. He deals with the control exercised over the churches by the operators of the mills and with the "social constraint" of the churches. He uses the Loray Strike of 1929 as a kind of case study to delineate the roles of the various institutions in the time of community crisis.

The author holds that if we were to attempt to explain the series of events in Gaston County since 1880 by using the economic interpretation of history we should find ourselves greatly oversimplifying the situation. Likewise, he would

rule out the explanation that "religious factors are basically determinative of all social patterns." He summarizes as follows:

Religious institutions in Gaston County sixty years ago were considerably more active in helping to shape economic affairs than they are at present. Cotton Mills exercised less influence over the churches at the outset than now. During the period as a whole, economic factors have more nearly shaped religious institutions than been shaped by them. Even so, the churches have been of tangible significance in the life of the mills, both in giving early impetus and in according subsequent support. At various times and in diverse ways they have been both source and product of economic developments. Both indifference and irrelevance to economic affairs have been notable characteristics of their strategy. They have provided powerful sanctions for prevailing economic arrangements. Slight traces of antagonism to those arrangements have likewise appeared at times, though the churches have been less active in this mode of relationship than in any other. In short, all six of the possible types of interrelationship between religious and social institutions have been exemplified at one time or another [pp. 331-32].

The study was carefully and painstakingly done. It represents a combination of the historical, the statistical, and case study procedures without using any methodology in a wooden fashion. One might wish that the author would write a few articles regarding the factors and forces and the needs and satisfactions which account for the rise of the sects. He disposes of recent interpretations rather quickly and without adequate criticism of them or full elaboration of his own position. Perhaps he will write some new chapters in "the religion of the disinherited."

This book is "required reading" for all students of community and institutional life and for all those who are interested in the relationship of religious institutions to the other phases of society, especially the economic order.

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Boletín del Instituto de Sociología, No. 1. Edited by RICARDO LEVENE. Buenos Aires: Facultad de Filosofía y Letras, 1942. Pp. 292.

This is an important publication, because it represents the third major step in the recent revival of sociology in Latin-American universities. First came the *Revista mexicana de soci-*

ologia, now ready to enter its fifth year. Then followed the *Sociologia* of the University of São Paulo, Brazil. And now, in 1942, the University of Buenos Aires has established, in its faculty of philosophy and letters, an institute of sociology under the direction of Dr. Emilio Ravignani, who has already placed historical investigation in that university on a firm footing. The present *Bulletin* initiates the publication (perhaps annually) of a series of papers presented before the Institute of Sociology. The *Bulletin* is introduced by Dr. Ricardo Levene, long professor of sociology in the university, and by Dr. Ravignani, the present dean of the faculty of philosophy and letters. These introductory addresses are followed by papers on leading sociologists; on the history of sociology in Argentina, Brazil, and Latin America as a whole; and on schools of sociology in the United States, as well as by papers on social theory, Max Scheler, public opinion, the philosophy of history, and other themes. The leading contributors include, in addition to those already mentioned, Gilberto Freyre, Renato Treves, Alfredo Poviña, W. R. Crawford, Rodolfo Mondolfo, Alberto Baldrich, Francisco Ayala, Gino Germani, Agustín V. Podestá, Juan B. Molinari, Ricardo Sáenz Hayes, Justo Prieto, and others. There are also reviews of current books, analyses of magazines, and outlines of sociology courses in the several Argentine universities, as well as national and international sociological news. Altogether, the *Bulletin* is highly informative in its first number and should be in the libraries of all North American universities doing graduate work in sociology.

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British Rule in Eastern Asia: A Study of Contemporary Government and Economic Development in British Malaya and Hong Kong. By LENNOX A. MILLS. ("International Research Series," issued under the auspices of the Secretariat, Institute of Pacific Relations.) Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1942. Pp. vii+581. \$5.00.

This book on British administration in Malaya and Hong Kong is a study by a political scientist primarily for political scientists. It does, however, contain much of interest to

sociologists. The heterogeneous population of British Malaya, the geographic position of both Malaya and Hong Kong on the fringe of the Asiatic population mass, and their important commercial role made them unusual centers of cultural interactions. In 1937, British Malaya had an estimated population of 5,137,474, of which the indigenous Malays constituted less than half. The Chinese, with 41 per cent, and the Indians, with 14 per cent, accounted for over half the total population. The population of Hong Kong was more homogeneous, the Chinese constituting 96 per cent of the population. Nevertheless, as a focal point of trade between East and West and as an island of Western administration in the midst of a predominantly Chinese population, Hong Kong offers interesting material for the student of society.

Professor Mills states that the problem of government in Malaya "has been to reconcile the legitimate interests of foreign capital and the immigrant races with the equally valid claim of the Malays to a larger share in the government of their own country" and with the necessity for the British to act as trustees on behalf of the Malays, who "were quite incapable of safeguarding their own interests." With this as the basic problem in mind, Mills describes and analyzes the administrative, fiscal, commercial, labor, agricultural, public health, and educational policies of the British Malayan government. On the chief problems involved in all these policies Mills has interesting and significant things to say. The comparison with the policies of the Dutch in the East Indies and the Americans in the Philippines increases the value of this study. The treatment of the government and administration of Hong Kong is briefer and of less interest to the sociologist.

It is fortunate that this excellent study—which was largely a field study—was completed not long before the Japanese invasion. Mills has provided students of eastern Asia with a realistic analysis of the basic problems which must be faced in these highly strategic and important areas in the post-war reconstruction. This book takes a high place in the literature of colonial government and administration.

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